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SIGLA

AASS	Acta Sanctorum (Antverpiae et alibi 1643 ss.)
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
ACO	Eduardus Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* (Berolini 1914 ss.)
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
Assemani, BO	Josephus Simonius Assemanus, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* (Romae 1719, 1721, 1725, 1728) (rep. Hildesheim 1975)
AOC	Archives de l'Orient Chrétien
BHG	François Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (Bruxelles 1957^{3})
BHO	Paul Peeters, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis* (Bruxelles 1910)
BO	Bibliotheca Orientalis
Brightman	Frank Edward Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, I: *Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford 1896)
BSAC	Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte
BV	Bogoslovskij Vestnik
Byz	Byzantion
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CCG	*Corpus Christianorum*, Series Graeca (Turnhout 1971 ss.)
CCL	*Corpus Christianorum*, Series Latina (Turnhout 1953 ss.)
CerVed	Cerkovnye Vedomosti
ChrČt	Christianskoe Čtenie
CICO	*Codex Iuris Canonici Orientalis* (Città del Vaticano 1957–1958)
COD	*Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta* (Bologna 1973^{3})
ConcFl	*Concilium Florentinum. Documenta et Scriptores* voll. I–XI (Roma 1940-1976)
CPG	Mauritius Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (Turnhout 1974 ss)
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Louvain 1903 ss.)
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Wien 1866 ss.)
CSHB	*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn 1828-1897)
CtOIDR	Čtenija v Imperatorskom Obščestve Istorii Drevnostej Rossii
DACL	Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie
DDC	Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique
Denz., ROC	Henricus Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium* . . . I, II (Wirceburgi 1863-1864)
DHGE	Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique (Paris 1912 ss.)
Dmitr	Aleksei Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie Liturgičeskich rukopisej chranjaščichsja v bibliotekach pravoslavnago vostoka*, I-II (Kiev 1895, 1901) III (Petrograd 1917)
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DSp	Dictionnaire de Spiritualité
DTC	Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique
Dz	Henricus Denzinger et Adolphus Schönmetzer *Enchiridion . . . symbolorum* (Freiburg im Br. 1965^{33})
EOr	Échos d'Orient
FCCO	*Fonti della Codificazione Canonica Orientale* (Città del Vaticano 1930 ss.)
Funk	Franciscus Xaverius Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* (Paderborn 1095)
GAL	Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (Weimar 1898) II (Leiden 1912)
GAL2	*Idem* I-II (Leiden, 1943-1949)
GALS	*Idem*, Supplementbände I-III (Leiden 1937, 1938, 1942)
GAS	Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden 1968 ss.)
GCAL	Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, coll. ST 118, 133, 146, 172 (Città del Vaticano 1944, 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953)
GCS	*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Berlin 1897 ss.)
Goar	Jacobus Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale graecorum* (Venezia 1730^{2} repr. Graz 1960)
Grumel, Reg	Venance Grumel, *Régestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople* (Paris 1932–47)
GSL	Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922)
HOr	Handbuch der Orientalistik (Leiden–Köln 1952 ss.)
Irén	Irénikon
JÖB	Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik (Wien 1969 ss.)

JSSt	Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS	The Journal of Theological Studies
LOC	Eusèbe Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, 2 vol. (Francofurti 1847²)
LQF	*Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen*, deinde *Liturgiewissenschaftliche Q. u. F.* (1957 ss.)
LTK	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche (1957² ss.)
Mai, SVNC	Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio* 9 voll. (Romae 1825–1838)
Mansi	Johannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Firenze 1759 ss.)
HGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica* inde ab anno 500 usque ad annum 1500 (Hannover 1826 ss.)
Mus	Le Muséon
MUSJ	Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph (Beyrouth)
NRT	Nouvelle Revue Théologique
OC	Oriens Christianus
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
OKS	Osterkirchliche Studien
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung
OS	L'Orient Syrien
PalSb	Palestinskij Sbornik
Pauly-Wissowa	Paulys Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft
Pedalion	Πηδάλιον ἤτοι ἅπαντης οἱ ἱεροὶ καὶ θεῖοι κάνονες (ἐν Ἀθήναις 1908)
PG	Jacobus Paulus Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* (Paris 1857–1866)
PL	Jacobus Paulus Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris 1841-1864)
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis* (Paris 1903 ss.)
POC	Proche-Orient Chrétien
PS	*Patrologia Syriaca*, I-III (Paris 1897, 1907, 1927)
PSRL	Polnoe Sobranie Russkich Letopisej
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RBK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
REArm	Revue de Études Arméniennes
RByz	Reallexikon der Byzantinistik
REByz	Revue des Études Byzantines
RechBeyr	*Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut des Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth*
Renaudot, HP	Eusèbe Renaudot, *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum* (Paris 1713)
Rhallis-Potlis	G. A. Rhallis et M. Potlis, Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων (ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1852-1859)
RHC	Recueil des Historiens des Croisades (Paris 1864-1906)
RHE	Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique
ROC	Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
RSBN	Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
SC	Sources Chrétiennes (Paris 1941 ss.)
ST	Studi e Testi (Città del Vaticano 1900 ss.)
SynOr	Jean-Baptiste Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil des synodes nestoriens* (Paris 1902)
TKDA	Trudy Kievskoy Duchovnoj Akademii
TODRL	Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoj Literatury
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
VV	Vizantijskj Vremennik
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZMNP	Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveščenija
ZNTS	Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeny Ševčenka

Karl-Heinz Uthemann

Die pseudo-chrysostomische Predigt CPG 4701

Kritische Edition mit Einleitung

Die hier veröffentlichte Edition der pseudo-chrysostomischen Predigt CPG 4701 gehört zur Vorbereitung einer kritischen Ausgabe Severians von Gabala für das *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca*. Sie soll vor allem einen Beitrag zur differenzierteren Beurteilung eines der wichtigsten Zeugen für die Predigten Severians, des *Codex Mosquensis Musei Historici olim Bibliothecae Synodalis 128 (Vl. 159)* liefern. Sofern aber Photius Exzerpte aus dieser Homilie im Codex 277 seiner Bibliothek sowie in den Amphilochia wiedergibt und sofern der genannte Codex 277 nichts anderes als ein Corpus von vierzehn[1] unter dem Namen des Johannes Chrysostomus überlieferten Predigten darstellt, von denen einzig drei echte Chrysostomica sind, fünf jedoch sicher in den Zusammenhang mit der *Quaestio disputata de Seueriani authenticis* gehören und für drei weitere in der Forschung gelegentlich schon Severian als Autor genannt wurde, schafft die vorliegende Edition eine Basis, um nochmals über Strategien und "Kriterien zur Abgrenzung der Homilien Severians von Gabala unter den Pseudo-Chrysostomica"[2] nachzudenken.[3]

Die genannte pseudo-chrysostomische Predigt wird uns in vier Handschriften überliefert, zum einen im Kodex 192 (B.8.8) des Trinity College in Cambridge auf den Folia 290v bis 298, dessen getreue Wiedergabe die Edition von B. de Montfaucon darstellt,[4] zum anderen im

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[1] Der fünfzehnte Text, ein bisher nicht identifiziertes Zitat aus einem Brief an Cyriacus (525 a 19-29) kann hier vernachlässigt werden. Zu den verschiedenen Rezensionen der *epistulae ad Cyriacum* vgl. man P.G. Nicolopoulos, *Αἱ εἰς τὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσόστομον ἐσφαλμένως ἀποδιδόμεναι ἐπιστολαί*, Athen, 1973, 381-449.

[2] Eine Einführung in die Fragestellung habe ich unter diesem Titel 1987 in Oxford zu bieten versucht; man vgl. Studia Patristica XX, ed. by E.A. Livingstone, Leuven, 1989, 61-69.

[3] Dies habe ich auf der Basis der hier vorliegenden Edition in dem Artikel *Severian von Gabala in Photius' Bibliothek und Amphilochia*, der voraussichtlich 1993 im JÖB erscheinen wird, getan.

[4] Näheres dazu sowie zum Beitrag von W. Taylor vgl. unten S. 20.

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einstigen Kodex 128 (Vlad. 159) der Moskauer Synodalbibliothek auf Blatt 168 bis 175 sowie im Codex Marcianus gr. 569, ff. 113v-123. Im Codex Holkham gr. 44 liest man auf Blatt 129 bis 139 eine Abschrift dieses Venezianischen Zeugen. Die ersten Zeilen der hier zu edierenden Predigt bilden auch den Anfang eines Cento, den die Turiner Handschrift C.V.23, ff. 76v-92 mit dem Lemma Ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, λόγος πρὸς μὴ συναθριζομένους ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κτλ. überliefert.[5]

A. Die Beschreibung der Handschriften.

C Codex Cantabrigiensis Collegii S. Trinitatis 192 (B.8.8), ff. 290v-298

Pergament, 10. Jahrhundert; ff. 321, 28-30 Zeilen; 275 x 200 mm. Vorbesitzer: Pantokrator-Kloster auf dem Athos; seit 1727 R. Bentley. Diese komplexe Handschrift, die nach einer Mitteilung von J. Paramelle auf einem 1987 in Aarhus gehaltenen Workshop entgegen der Beschreibung von M. Aubineau nicht nur von zwei, sondern mehreren Kopisten angefertigt wurde, bedarf einer ausführlichen Analyse. Sollte dieser Kodex aus der Bibliothek des Studiu-Klosters in Konstantinopel stammen? Zu Beginn der meisten Hefte sieht man die sog. drei "studitischen Kreuze". Walter Taylor hat aus diesem Kodex zehn von dreizehn Homilien zusammen mit einer lateinischen Übersetzung für eine Edition vorbereitet und an Bernard de Montfaucon (1655-1741) geschickt, der sie

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[5] Es handelt sich um die Zeilen 1,1-5 (θεάσηται) der vorliegenden Edition. Zu dieser von verschiedenen Kopisten geschriebenen, kleinformatigen Papierhandschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts (215 x 140 mm; 15 Zeilen; ff. 668) vgl. man J. Pasinus, A. Rivautella et Fr. Berta, *Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae Regiae Taurinensis Athenaei per linguas digesti et binas in partes distributi, in quarum prima hebraei et graeci* (etc.), I, Turin, 1749, 398-402; A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, III (Texte und Untersuchungen, 52), Leipzig, 1952, 651-652; 883; R.E. Carter, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci*, V, Paris, 1983, Nr. 286, S. 223-224 mit der Analyse ebd., Appendix 38, S. 243-244. Der Text beginnt hier mit den Worten: Πολλὴ μὲν τῷ γεηπόνῳ ἡ προθυμία καταβαλλεῖν (letzteres *sic* wie in C geschrieben). In 1,3 liest man λυμαῖνον, in 1,4 πλείων δὲ] πλείω, in 1,4 nochmals καταβαλλεῖν (in C hier wie in m: καταβάλλειν) und in 1,5 παρασκευασμένον. Die Überleitung zum Folgenden knüpft an 1,3-4 an: Διὸ τοῖς παροῦσιν παρακαλῶ τοῦ ἁπλῶσαι τὸν κόλπον τῆς ὑμετέρας ψυχῆς ὥστε μετ' εὐκολίας καταβληθῆναι τὰ σπέρματα. Ἕκαστος τοίνυν ὑμῶν τὸν θεὸν ἀεὶ ἱκετεύσειεν· καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ ἀνακράζετε λέγοντες· «*Καρδίαν καθαρὰν κτίσον ἐν ἐμοί, ὁ θεός*», κτλ.

veröffentlichte; es handelt sich um die in PG 64, 11-44 abgedruckten Texte (CPG 4694-4702). Dazu liest man die Mitteilung von W. Taylor: "E Codice manuscripto annorum circiter 700, quem inter alios a coenobio τοῦ Παντοκράτορος in monte Atho, invectos in Angliam anno 1727."[6]

M. Rh. James, *The Western Mss in the Library of Trinity College. A Descriptive Catalogue*, I, Cambridge, 1900, 250-252;

A.-M. Malingrey, *Jean Chrysostome. Sur la providence de Dieu* (Sources Chrétiennes, 79), Paris, 1961, 46;

M. Aubineau, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci*, I, Paris, 1968, Nr. 29, S. 24-27;

ders., *Une homélie ps.-chrysostomienne inédite* In Apostolum Paulum *(BHG 1462s)* dans le cod. Cantabr., *Trinity Coll.*, B.8.8, OCP 40 (1974) 415-420 (= Variorum Reprints, London, 1988, XV).

M Mosquensis Musei Historici olim Bibliothecae Synodalis 128 (Vlad. 159), ff. 168-175

Pergament, 10. Jahrhundert, ff. 446, 2 Kolumnen zu 39 Zeilen, 433 x 311 mm. Dieser in einer "minuscule bouletée"[7] geschriebene Kodex wurde vom Patriarchen Jeremias II. von Konstantinopel, der dieses Amt dreimal zwischen Mai 1572 und Ende 1595 innehatte, dem Kloster Stauronikita auf dem Athos geschenkt und 1655 von Arsenij Suchanov nach Moskau gebracht. Er enthält heute 76 Homilien unter dem Namen des Johannes Chrysostomus, von denen dreißig authentisch sind. Der Pinax zufolge, deren erster Teil (ff. 1-2^{v}) auf eine Restauration des Kodex im 13., nach Archimandrit Vladimir im 12. Jahrhundert zurückgeht, las man in dieser Handschrift ursprünglich 87 Predigten.[8] Die Sammlung

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[6] Vgl. die Einleitung von B. de Montfaucon in PG 64, 10.

[7] Vgl. J. Irigoin, *Une écriture du Xe siècle: La minuscule bouletée*, in: La paléographie grecque et byzantine (Colloques Internationaux du C.N.R.S., 559), Paris, 1977, 191-198. Zur Frage, inwiefern dieser Minuskeltyp auf Konstantinopel beschränkt ist oder nicht, vgl. die Hinweise von E. Lamberz, die ich in der Einleitung zu meiner Edition *Die pseudo-chrysostomische Predigt* In baptismum et tentationem *(BHG 1936; CPG 4735)* wiedergebe, um eine frühere Aussage mit Bezug auf den Codex Ottobonianus gr. 14 zu relativieren.

[8] Sieben Inedita des Mosquensis habe ich mit R.F. Regtuit und J.M. Tevel in *Homiliae pseudo-chrysostomicae, Instrumentum studiorum*, I, Turnhout, 1993, herausgegeben; es handelt sich um CPG 4271, 4697 (zur Edition der ersten Zeilen durch W. Taylor vgl. das oben zum Cantabrigiensis Gesagte), 4888, 5045, 5059, De exitu animae (inc. 'Αδελφοί, μὴ ἀγνοεῖτε οἷον φόβον) und In illud: *Noli aemulari in malignantibus* (inc. Πάντα μὲν τὰ θεῖα λόγια). Zum Text CPG 4911, der auf ff. 121^{v}-135 überliefert ist, haben wir festgestellt, daß es sich hierbei um fast das ganze

verrät nirgends die Absicht, sie für die Liturgie zu gebrauchen, wenn auch an einigen Stellen in der Abfolge der Texte noch ein ursprünglicher liturgischer Zusammenhang zu erkennen ist. So begegnet z.B. die Predigt *In baptismum et tentationem* (BHG 1936; CPG 4735) noch unmittelbar verbunden mit der sog. Homilie *De spiritu sancto* des Severian von Gabala (CPG 4188), zwei Texte, die in der liturgischen Tradition des 10. Jahrhunderts auch sonst miteinander dem Fest der Epiphanie zugeordnet werden.[9] Ostern als liturgischer "Sitz im Leben" gehört wahrscheinlich zu den ersten sechs,[10] ferner zur 22. und 23., 27. bis 29. sowie 50. bis 53. Predigt.[11] Die hier edierte Homilie CPG 4701 folgt als 30. Text unmittelbar auf Predigten der Osterwoche; auch ihrem Inhalt nach legt sie einen liturgischen Gebrauch in der österlichen Zeit nahe. Auffällig ist bei dem hier edierten Text, daß eine zeitgenössische Hand (M^2) des öfteren verbessernd eingreift; sofern man dies auf Grund eines Mikrofilms beurteilen kann, scheint es eine zweite, nicht mit dem Kopisten von M identische Hand zu sein. Angemerkt sei, daß der einstige Kodex *A 66a* der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek in Dresden, der sich nun wieder in Moskau befindet,[12] aus denen Becher 1839 die von J.-P. Migne im Band 64, Sp. 453 bis 492 wiedergegebenen Texte (CPG 4706, 4707, 3172, 4708, 5694) herausgegeben hat, nichts anderes ist als jene Folia, die, wie ein Vergleich mit der Pinax der Moskauer Handschrift bestätigt, heute in diesem Kodex fehlen.[13] Schon 1989 hat O. von Gebhardt gezeigt, daß Pfarrer Chr. Fr.

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erste Buch von Johannes Chrystomus Schrift Ad Stagirium (CPG 4310) handelt. Diesen aus der Clavis zu eliminierenden Text liest man auch in den Codices Atheniensis Bibl. Nat. 210, ff. 40-60v und 313, ff. 82v-113 sowie laut Katalog im Codex Mosquensis 127 (Vlad. 161), Nr. 30, eine Handschrift, die ich bisher nicht einsehen konnte.

[9] Vgl. meine in Anm. 7 genannte Edition.

[10] CPG 4341, 4210, (4196), 4371: hom. 2-4.

[11] CPG 4380, 4581, 2082, 2083, 5058, 4460, 4582, 4201, 4576.

[12] Vgl. M. Richard, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs*, Paris, 21958, Nr. 329, S. 88.

[13] Bei CPG 4706 handelt es sich um die 44. Homilie der alten Pinax, die in der Zählung nach Vladimir zwischen der 38. und 39. Predigt steht, ferner bei CPG 4707 und 3172 um die 58. und 59. Predigt, die nach der 51. von Vladimir einzuschieben sind, schließlich bei CPG 4708 und 5694 um die 76. und 77., die einst zwischen der 66. und 67. Homilie in der Zählung von Vladimir standen. Die letztgenannte Predigt hat F. Loofs, *Nestoriana. Die Fragmente des Nestorius*, Halle, 1905, 230-242 wiederum aus dem Codex Dresd. A 66a, ff. 21v-25v herausgegeben, wobei er die Handschrift auf das 9. Jahrhundert datiert.

Matthaei, der langjährige Seelsorger der Moskauer Lutheraner und Herausgeber des Nemesius von Emesa (CPG 3550), sie hier herausgerissen und nach Sachsen mitgenommen hat.

Vladimir, Moskau, *Систематическое описаніе рукописей Московской Синодальной (Патріаршей) Вивліотеки.* I: *Рукописи греческия*, Moskau 894, 162-167 (9. Jahrhundert);

Fr. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Katalog der Handschriften der Königlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden*, I, Leipzig, 1882, Nr. 3;

O. von Gebhardt, *Christian Friedrich Matthaei und seine Sammlung griechischer Handschriften*, in: Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, XV (1898) 345-357, 393-420, 441-482, 537-566;

M. Aubineau, *Un traité inédit de Christologie de Sévérien de Gabala* In centurionem et contra Manichaeos et Apollinaristas (Cahiers d'Orientalisme, V), Genève, 1983, 25-28 (9. Jahrhundert auf S. 24; "Mitte oder Ende des 10. Jahrhunderts" auf S. 27);

K.-H. Uthemann, *Die pseudo-chrysostomische* (= Anm. 7).

h Oxoniensis Bodleianus Holkham gr. 44, ff. 129-139

Papier, 16. Jahrhundert; 192 x 130 mm, ff. IV. 226, 30-31 Zeilen; Kopist: Maximos Margunios (1549-1602), mit dem bürgerlichen Namen Μανουὴλ Μαργούνιος ὁ Κρής, der nach seinem Episkopat in Kythera Mönch im Metochion, welches das Sinaikloster auf Kreta besaß, wurde und später in Venedig wohnte. Schon der äußere Aufbau dieser Handschrift läßt vermuten, daß es sich hier ab Blatt 61 um eine Abschrift des Codex Marcianus gr. 569 (V) handelt, wobei auch vom gut erhaltenen Teil des Venetus, d.h. in ursprünglicher Zählung von der 9. bis 29. sowie von der 35. bis 43. Homilie, nicht alle Texte kopiert wurden.[14]

R. Barbour, *Summary Description of the Greek Manuscripts from the Library at Holkham Hall*, in: The Bodleian Library Record, t. VI, 5 (1960) 600-601;

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[14] In der Abschrift des Maximos Margunios findet man die folgenden Predigten, die hier in der ursprünglichen Reihenfolge gezählt werden, nicht: 9., 11., 14., 15., 22., 35., 37.-42. (CPG 4419, 4185, 4434: hom. 8 [= 4921], 4358, 4684: ecloga 44, 4318: hom. 1-5 mit 4324). Von den vollständig erhaltenen Texten hat Margunios noch die 33. Homilie (CPG 4587) nicht übernommen; da die 34. (CPG 4528) heute im Marcianus nur unvollständig vorliegt, stellt sich die Frage, wo Margunios diesen Text, der im Codex Holkham gr. 44 als einziger von der Reihenfolge des Marcianus abweicht und wie ein Anhang am Ende (ff. 204-207v) steht, gefunden hat. Leider konnte ich nicht überprüfen, welcher Text sich im Holkham gr. 44 auf Blatt 177v bis 181 befindet, d.h. an jener Stelle, an der man im Marcianus die fragmentarische Homilie auf Eutropius (CPG 4528) liest.

M. Vogel — V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Beiheft 33), Leipzig, 1909, 285-286;

M. Aubineau, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci*, I, Paris, 1968, Nr. 260, S. 234-235.

V Venetus Marcianus gr. 569, ff. 113v-123

Pergament, Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts, 420 x 310 mm, ff. 239, 2 Kolumnen, 35 Zeilen; Vorbesitzer: Giacomo Contarini; seit 1713 im Besitz der Bibliotheca Marciana. Die Schrift dieses prächtigen Kodex gehört zum Typ der "bouletée".[15]

E. Mioni, *Bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum Codices graeci manuscripti*. Vol. I Thesaurus antiquus. Codices 300-625, Roma, 1985, 473-474;

E. Mioni — M. Formentin, *I codici greci in minuscola dei sec. IX et X della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana*, Padova, 1975, Tav. XXXIX (s).[16]

B. Der überlieferungsgeschichtliche Zusammenhang der Textzeugen.

Schon bei der Beschreibung der Handschriften wurde im Ausgang von einer inhaltlichen Analyse des Marcianus gr. 569 (V) und des Holkham gr. 44 (h) erwähnt, daß der zuletzt genannte Kodex eine Abschrift des ersteren ist.

1. Zu des Maximos Margunios Abschrift des Marcianus gr. 569 (V).

Die Kollation beider Zeugen, des Marcianus und des von Maximos Margunios geschriebenen Kodex Holkham gr. 44, bestätigt das genannte Verhältnis unmittelbarer Abhängigkeit, das an sich, wenn keine ausdrückliche Bezeugung hinzukommt, nur bedeutet, daß Margunios Text vom Marcianus kopiert sein kann, nicht aber, daß er auch tatsächlich aus dem

[15] Vgl. oben Anm. 7.

[16] Zum Inhalt sei einerseits auf den Codex Holkham gr. 44 (h) verwiesen, anderseits angemerkt, daß diese Handschrift weder in der Aufzählung der Zeugen für CPG 4318 bei A.-M. Malingrey, in der von ihr mit J. Daniélou und R. Flacelière herausgegebenen Edition: *Jean Chrysostome. Sur l'incompréhensibilité de Dieu*, Tome I (SC 28bis), Paris, 21970, 66-69 (in V ursprünglich Predigt 37-41, heute 28-32), noch in jener der von A.-M. Malingrey veröffentlichten Edition von CPG 4400 (ursprünglich 32., heute 23. Text mit inc. mutil.): *Jean Chrysostome. Lettre d'exil* (SC 103), Paris, 1964, 34-35, erwähnt wird. Ob diese Handschrift auch in der Edition von CPG 4324 (ursprünglich 38., heute 33. Homilie) übersehen wurde, habe ich ohne unverhältnismäßigen Aufwand nicht verifizieren können.

Marcianus übernommen wurde. Eine einzige Stelle könnte auf den ersten Blick dagegen sprechen: In 6,7-9 enthält V eine Lücke, die auf einem Homoioteleuton beruht, so daß man dort den Satz liest: Κτίσις ἐν τῇ γραφῇ καλεῖται οὐ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος ἐπί τὸ βελτίον μεταβολή. An sich könnte diese Aussage vollständig sein; der durch das οὐ μόνον angeregte Verweis auf ein zweites mit ἀλλά eingeleitetes Glied muß auf der Ebene des Sprachzeichens nicht ausgeführt sein, wenn sich dies aus dem Zusammenhang als selbstverständlich ergibt. Nun lesen wir bei Margunios im zuvor zitierten Satz nicht ἐπὶ τὸ βελτίον, sondern zunächst ein εἰς τὸ εἶναι, was an sich einen guten Sinn ergibt, der im Kontext sicher besser zu begreifen ist als die Aussage des Marcianus. Doch schrieb Margunios über das Wort εἶναι ein βελτίον, so daß sich die Frage stellt, ob er eine ausführlichere Vorlage als den Marcianus besaß. Da er aber einerseits das εἶναι durch Punktierung tilgt, anderseits auch an anderen Stellen verbessernd eingreift,[17] erübrigt sich die Frage: Das Verb εἶναι kann sowohl ein spontaner Lesefehler des Margunios gewesen sein, der bei einem nachträglichen Korrekturlesen aufgefallen ist, als auch ein erster Versuch, dem οὐ μόνον gerecht zu werden; dieses εἶναι setzt nicht voraus, daß Margunios' Vorlage nicht mit dem Marcianus identisch gewesen ist.[18] Die Kopie des Margunios ist äußerst getreu; einige Ausnahmen wie z.B. ein wahrscheinlich spontan hinzugesetztes δὲ in 2,34 oder das in 3,25-26 fehlende καὶ ταῦτα δοῦλα bzw. das in 5,17 fehlende τι der lectio uarians von V sprechen nicht gegen diese Beurteilung.

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[17] In 1,10 schrieb Margunios ἐπιδείκνυνται, in 2,53 παρελεύσονται, in 4,50 διαδήματος, in 5,18 ἀσαφὴς, in 5,99 τοῖς λόγοις, um nur einige Beispiele zu nennen. Vor allem sprachgeschichtlich bedingte orthographische Fehler, die in V nicht selten auftreten, korrigiert Margunios; gelegentlich greift er auch dort ein, wo es nicht notwendig gewesen wäre. So schreibt er z.B. in 2,10 die vom Vaticanus und seinem Verwandten, dem Mosquensis (M), im Text durchwegs gebrauchte Form εὗρον statt ηὗρον; letztere bevorzugt der Cantabrigiensis (C), der an dieser Stelle jedoch ein eher umgangssprachliches ηὗραν wiedergibt. An einigen Stellen bleibt Margunios jedoch seiner Vorlage verhaftet; so schreibt er z.B. in 5,25 συντεταμμένην und in 5,30 den entsprechenden Dativ.

[18] Ein analoger Fall liegt in 2,41 vor: Zunächst schrieb Margunios statt ἰδιώτης τὸν φιλόσοφον, wie es hier von V bezeugt wird, ein Ἰουδαῖος, φιλόσοφον, strich dann aber das erste Wort und schrieb dafür ἰδιωτης. In 6,45 hatte der Kopist von V ein οὐρανὸς zu ἄνθρωπος verlesen; Margunios folgt der Lesart von V, schreibt aber an den Rand: οὐρανὸς ἴσ(ως).

2. Die Handschrift des Moskauer Historischen Museums (M) als nächster Verwandter des Marcianus.

Schon ein flüchtiger Blick auf die Kollation zeigt, daß der Codex Marcianus gr. 569 (V) an vielen Stellen mit jener Handschrift des Moskauer Historischen Museums übereinstimmt, die im Katalog der Moskauer Synodalbibliothek von Vladimir als 159. Kodex beschrieben wird (M).

Einige auffallende Lesarten sollen hier als Beleg genannt werden: In 1,22-23 geben beide Handschriften ein τὸ συνειδός wieder, das im Vergleich mit dem im Kontext gut bezeugten und im Cantabrigiensis (C) vertretenen τὴν διάνοιαν m.E. gewiß sekundär ist. In 2,10 fehlt in beiden αὐτὸ[1], das sicher im Kontext spontan begriffen wird, ohne daß es auf der Lautebene gesetzt wird. Durch das in 2,28-29 fehlende Εἰ δὲ λέγω ἐγώ wird im Unterschied zum Cantabrigiensis die lange Periode zerschlagen, ein Indiz, daß die Lesart von M und V hier wohl sekundär ist, sofern sich bei den Varianten von C keine Parallele zum vorliegenden Fall aufweisen läßt.[19] Auch die Wortvariante Εὐριπίδης statt εὐπατρίδης in 2,30 hat an dieser Stelle, nachdem in 2,28 schon Platon und Pythagoras genannt waren, keine Chance ursprünglich zu sein, z.B. auch nicht so, daß man sowohl in C als auch in M und V einen Lesefehler unterstellt, der durch den Auslaut — ίδης beider Worte veranlaßt wäre ("saut du même au même"). Anders könnte es sich bei der ebenda im Mosquensis und Marcianus auftauchenden Lesart εὐγενής verhalten; ein Lesefehler in der Überlieferung der Cambridger Handschrift ist nicht auszuschließen. Daß aber M und V hier gegen die Grundaussage des Textes kein πλούσιος überliefern, spricht für eine Textverderbnis in diesem Überlieferungszweig, der man eine bindende Funktion nicht absprechen kann. Analoges gilt für die Wortvarianten πρᾶξις statt παράταξις in 2,36, χαρακτήρ statt χάρτης in 2,48, νῦν statt προσκύνησον in 2,53, ἐγκυλίεσθαι statt ἐκκυλίεσθαι in 4,3, νόησον statt εἴσοδον δὲ in 6,63 bzw. die Zufügung von τὸν λόγον in 4,4.

Eine Variante mit trennender Kraft ist höchstwahrscheinlich jenes πολεμουμένη ἔστη in 2,59-60, welches als Subjekt ein auf der Zeichenebene nicht erscheinendes ἡ ἐκκλησία vorauszusetzen scheint, nicht aber "die Worte des Paulus" bzw. als Kurzformel dafür "Paulus".

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19 Zur Notwendigkeit der Tendenzkritik bei der Beurteilung von Varianten vgl. K.-H. Uthemann, *Codex recentior, non deterior?*, in: Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik 40 (1990) 129-143.

Sicher bindend und scheidend zugleich ist eine Veränderung in der Textfolge, die sowohl im Mosquensis als auch im Marcianus auftritt: Die Zeilen 4,67-68 Ὦ — ἐξέχεαν überliefern diese Zeugen nach 4,73 Σάρρα. Wie es dazu gekommen ist, läßt sich nicht mehr feststellen. Auch die Lesart οὐκ ἐπιβουλεύονται ἀπόφασιν in 8,19 statt οἱ ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἀποφύγωσιν scheint sekundär und besitzt angesichts des Sprachniveaus dieses Textes nicht nur bindende, sondern auch trennende Kraft; anders wäre es, stände hier abhängig von ἵνα statt οὐκ ein μή.

Die Frage Τί γράφει ἡ δεξιά; in 5,9-10 war im Modell von M und V wahrscheinlich nach einer Korrekturlesung am Rande notiert worden; denn sie fehlt in M und erscheint in V schon in Zeile 9 vor Τί[1]. Da weitere Hinweise fehlen, sollte man in dieser Variante nicht einen Hinweis auf Kontamination durch laterale Überlieferung sehen. Die zuvor genannte Tatsache, daß die Zeilen 4,67-68 in der Vorlage von M und V aus ihrem Zusammenhang gelöst und kurz nach ihrem ursprünglichen Standort in den Text eingeschoben wurden, scheint zwar auch darauf hinzuweisen, daß diese Zeilen einst *in margine* geschrieben waren und dann in den Text zurückgewandert sind; doch ein Argument für den Einfluß lateraler Tradition wird man aus dieser *transpositio* nicht gewinnen können.

Die M und V gemeinsame Überlieferung besitzt eine Variante, die sich am einfachsten als Lesefehler begreifen lassen, wenn die Vorlage in Unzialen geschrieben war: In 4,79 liest man statt συγγενίδα das Wort εὐγενίδα.[20]

Daß hier tatsächlich von einem Modell beider Zeugen gesprochen werden muß, zeigt die Tatsache, daß weder M Vorlage von V noch umgekehrt V Vorlage von M sein kann. Eine Auswahl von Sonderlesarten beider Handschriften zeigt dies deutlich. Der Asterisk dient hier (im Gegensatz zu seinem Gebrauch im kritischen Apparat) zur Kennzeichnung jener Varianten, denen scheidende Kraft bei der Frage, ob einer der beiden Zeugen dem anderen als Vorlage gedient habe, nicht abgesprochen werden kann.

Lücken von M:

1,10 und 4,42 γὰρ; 3,25-26 *καὶ[2] — δοῦλα; 4,38 καὶ[2]; 4,46 δ'ἂν; 4,48 Καὶ[1]; 4,95 τῇ; 5,88 τὰ[1]; 5,95 τὰ; 5,99 τοῖς λόγοις; 5,105 *Ὁ — ἔβλεπεν;

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[20] Zieht man εὐγενίδα vor, so gilt Analoges für den Cantabrigiensis. Zu dessen Lesart μείζονα statt μεῖζον δὲ in 3,32 vgl. unten S. 17.

5,113 οἱ; 5,116 *ἐναντίους (Verlust wahrscheinlich schon im Modell, so daß die Lesart von V: τοὺς ἀπίστους als Konjektur aufzufassen ist); 6,28 *ἀκόλαστον; 6,50 Ὁ; 6,68-69 *τὴν — πατουμένην; 7,9 ὅπου² und καὶ; 8,29 τι; 8,43 τοῦτο; 9,37 ὁ²

Zusätze von M:

2,8 Διὰ] Καὶ διὰ; 3,14 Μωϋσῆς] praem. ὁ; 4,14 θαλάμῳ] add. σύ; 5,70 Παῦλος] praem. ὁ; 5,93 σὺ] σὺ δέ; 6,56 ἰατρὸς] praem. ὁ; 8,36 φορτίον] praem. τὸ

Wortvarianten von M:

1,12 σοφὸν] *συνετὸν; 3,23-24 Εἰ δὲ und εἰ δὲ] Ἴδε bzw. ἴδε; 4,8 ἐπειδὰν ὑβρίσωσιν] *χλευάζουσι (statt κακίζουσιν καὶ V); 4,100 τότε] πότε; 6,13 ἄνθρωπον] οὐρανόν; 6,79 ἐκζητῶν] ζητῶν; 7,21 οὐδὲ οὐρανοῦ] ἀνθρώπου; 8,39 σιδήριον] σίδηρον; 9,30 ἐνέπλησαν] *ἐνεπληροῦν

Formvarianten von M:

2,20 καλεῖς] καλεῖ; 3,7 ἐφθέγξατο] ἐφθέγγετο; 3,19 Ὁρᾷς] Ὅρα; 4,68 ἐξέχεαν] ἐξέχεον; 5,28 εἶδον τὰ] εἰδόντα; 5,91 θεοποιῇς] θεοποιήσης; 6,65-66 τῶν ἀνθρώπων] τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; 6,94 ἐπιδείκνυνται] ἐπιδεικνύντες; 9,21 παραγινόμενον] παραγενόμενον

Veränderung der Wortfolge in M:[21]

4,37-38 τὸν υἱόν μου] μου τὸν υἱόν; 5,71 καινὰ τὰ πάντα] τὰ πάντα καινά

Lücken von V:

2,13 ἐκείνη; 2,15-16 *οἰκουμένη διαλεγόμενος; 2,16-17 *ἵνα — ῥήματα; 3,2 ὁ¹; 3,31 δουλείας — πνεῦμα²; 3,36 *τὸ¹ — οὐδαμοῦ; 3,40 αὐτό; 3,42-44 *προέλαβεν — λάμπει (ohne ἐν Περσίδι: vgl. 3,42); 4,12 εἶναι; 4,23-24 *καὶ² — ἐκήρυττε; 6,39-40 *ἐπὶ — φθαρτοῖς; 6,44-45 *Ὁρᾷς — κτίσις; 6,69 *τοὺς — σαλευομένους; 6,80 *Ὁ ἰατρὸς ταῦτα; 6,83 *Ἐκάθισεν — Ἄλλος; 7,7 ὅπου νόμος; 9,3-5 *Ὅταν — κτίσις; 9,15-16 *Οὐκέτι — γίνονται; 9,34-35 οὐδενὸς — κεφαλή

Zusätze von V:

1,22 πλέον] add. οὖν; 1,22-23 add. παρακαλῶ; 2,12-13 ὁ und ἡ¹] add. δέ; 2,18 ψαλμοῦ] praem. τοῦ; 2,23 μου] μοῦ φησι; 2,48 οὐ] add. γάρ; 3,21 ἀφῆκε] ἀφῆκεν οὖν; 3,45 ῥῆμα] add. τοῦτο; 3,50 ἕκαστος] add. οὖν; 3,56 Ῥῆμα] Τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο; 4,11 Μάθε] add. οὖν; 4,16 ἐγκώμια] ἀλλ' ἐγκώμια; 4,20 ἀργὸν²] add. ζῆν; 4,45 ἀπῆλθεν] add. οὖν; 4,46 λέγοντα]

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[21] In den genannten Fällen sollte ein Kopist keinen Anlaß haben, in der Wortfolge von M etwas zu verändern.

praem. τὸν; 4,60 τέλος] praem. τὸ; 4,60 παρασκευὴν] praem. πρόθεσιν καὶ; 4,89 Ταῦτα] add. δὲ; 4,98 τὴν] praem. τοῖς πᾶσιν; 5,28 ἀπὸ] add. γοῦν; 5,28 εἶδον] add. πολλάκις; 5,49 Δεῦρο] add. οὖν; 5,55 οὐρανὸς] praem. ὁ; 5,63 σε] add. οὖν ἐγώ; 5,66 Καὶ] Ἀλλὰ καί; 5,86 ἔνδοθεν] add. ὄντων; 5,116 παιδεύω] add. καὶ διορθῶ (vgl. 5,117); 6,14 κτίζει] add. δὲ πάλιν; 6,28 Ὅταν] add. οὖν; 6,89 Ποίαν] add. οὖν; 7,2 Ποία] add. οὖν; 8,33 Παρακαλεῖ] add. οὖν; 8,42 Ἵνα] add. οὖν; 8,48 εἰ add. δὲ

Wortvarianten von V:

2,49 παραβῆναι] παρελθεῖν; 2,54 μου] αὐτοῦ; 3,29 οὐρανοῦ] ἀνθρώπου; 4,6 ταῦτα εὐηχῶν] ὑμῖν λαλῶν ταῦτα; 4,13 μὲν] γάρ; 4,69 κατεφρόνησαν] οὐ κατοφρύνονται; 5,2 ἔνια] τὴν ἔννοιαν (scr. την ἐννοια); 5,7 γράφει] γάρ φησιν; 5,17 βυθὸς[1]] βάθος; 5,61 ὑπερβολή] ὑπεροχή

Formvarianten von V:

1,3 λυμαινόμενον τῇ βλάστῃ] λυμαῖνον τὴν βλάστην; 2,17 ὁ] τὸν (was grammatikalisch besser ist); 2,22 βούληται] βούλεται; 2,31 γλῶτταν] γλῶσσαν (mit Ausnahme des Zitats in 2,19.23 folgt unser Text dem attischen Sprachgebrauch); 4,37 λέγουσα] λέγει; 4,41 παρέχων] παρέχει καὶ λέγει; 5,16 Κατάβητε] καταβῆναι; 9,10 εἰσελθοῦσαι] εἰσῆλθον καὶ

Veränderung der Wortfolge in V:

2,3-4 *Καὶ[1] — πόρνην] transp. post 2,5 λῃστήν; 3,42 χώρᾳ] praem. κἂν ἐν Περσίδι (=3,43); 4,75 τοῖς ἱματίοις τοις σηρικοῖς] τοῖς σηρικοῖς ἱματίοις; 6,2 καινὰ τὰ πάντα] τὰ πάντα καινά.

Aus dieser Übersicht über Sonderlesarten von M bzw. V wird zugleich die Eigenart beider Texte deutlich. In M erkennt man vor allem das Bemühen eine getreue Abschrift der Vorlage zu liefern, auch wenn an einigen Stellen kleine Eingriffe wie ein zusätzlicher Artikel vorzuliegen scheinen. In V zeigt sich einerseits ein freierer Umgang mit der Vorlage, der sich z.B. mit der auffällig häufigen Zufügung von οὖν[22] veranschaulichen läßt, anderseits viel weniger Sorgfalt beim Abschreiben der Vorlage. Beides muß nicht auf ein und denselben Schreiber zurückgehen.

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[22] Gewiß ist οὖν bzw. μὲν οὖν für diesen Text charakteristisch. Doch geht es m.E. zu weit, alle nur durch V bezeugten οὖν dem Archetypus bzw. dem ursprünglichen Text zuzuweisen. Denn dies hat etwas Unwahrscheinliches an sich: Nur an diesen οὖν, nicht aber an anderen Charakteristika würde sich die größere Nähe, die V zum Ursprung besäße, zeigen.

sondern kann als Widerspiegelung von zwei oder mehr Kopiervorgängen in der Vorgeschichte von V begriffen werden.

3. Die Handschrift des Trinity College in Cambridge (C) in ihrer Beziehung zum Modell der Moskauer (M) und der Venezianischen Handschrift (V)

Fallen schon beim Marcianus gr. 569 (V), einer kostbaren und prächtigen Handschrift, die vielen sprachgeschichtlich bedingten Verstöße gegen die historische Orthographie, insbesondere Jotazismen und analoge Erscheinungen, auf, so treten die aussprachebedingten Abweichungen beim Cantabrigiensis (C), einem im Vergleich zu V höchst schlichten Kodex, noch deutlicher in Erscheinung. Hinzukommt die Tatsache, daß der Kopist von C nicht nur sehr oft keinen Akzent schreibt, sondern diesen sogar des öfteren auf die verkehrte Silbe setzt; letzteres tritt nach meiner Beobachtung in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung selten auf. So liest man z.B. in 4,15 Ἀγοραιος ohne jeden Akzent, in 2,7 ἀγώραιον und in 4,18-19 bzw. 4,21 ἀγόραιον bzw. ἀγόραιος. Ferner schreibt der Kopist, um nur einige Beispiele zu nennen, in 4,76 μυλῶθριδος, in 5,2 ενία (sic) statt ἔνια oder in 7,10 ἀσεβείαι. Auch im Mosquensis (M) fehlt wie des öfteren bei *uetustissimi* der Akzent an einigen Stellen, an denen wir ihn im Cantabrigiensis (C) missen. Besonders häufig stimmt aber C mit dem Marcianus (V) in einem verkehrt gesetzten Akzent[23] bzw. in Verstößen gegen die historische Orthographie überein; so liest man z.B. in beiden in 3,34 ein ἀνάβω. Beide Kopisten schreiben εἴ τις aus dem oft in diesem Text zitierten Paulusvers II Kor. 5,17 als ἥτις.[24] Für κτίσις und κτίζειν findet man in C durchwegs, (sieht man von 6,29.30 Ἐκτίσθη und 6,37; 9,22.26, wo für κτίσις ein κτίσης steht, ab), die Schreibung κτῆσις bzw. ἔκτησεν, κτῆσον, κτησθεῖσα. In 3,15 jedoch geht der Akzent von δαψηλία in C und δαψηλείαν in M und V vermutlich auf den "Archetypus" zurück.

Eine analoge Beobachtung kann man für das ν ἐφελκυστικόν machen. Der Kopist von C schreibt durchwegs bei den hier in Frage stehenden Flexionsendungen und Wortausgängen ein Ny, auch wenn dieses überflüßig ist; meist kommt er darin mit dem Schreiber von V überein,

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23 Vgl. z.B. den kritischen Apparat zu 4,1.

24 Einzig im Titel und in 5,13.34 liest man in C ein εἴ τις. Ein gemeinsames ἥτις findet sich in 5,11.37.70; 6,1.44; 9,26.28.41.

auch wenn dieser nicht dieselbe Konsequenz zeigt. Da nun auch M an nicht wenigen Stellen zugleich mit C und V ein "nachgeschlepptes Ny" ohne jede verbindende Funktion bietet, ist zu vermuten, daß diese Erscheinung auf den "Archetypus" selbst zurückgeht. In die Edition habe ich dieses Ny nicht aufgenommen; da es nicht sinnvoll ist, jede Atempause durch Komma zu kennzeichnen, sollte im allgemeinen dort, wo bei den betreffenden verbalen Formen ein Ny vor einem Konsonanten steht, eine solche gliedernde Pause angesetzt werden.[25]

Sieht man von den bisher genannten Erscheinungen ab und wendet sich jenen Lesarten zu, denen bindende bzw. trennende Kraft eigen ist, dann zeigt sich, daß sowohl das Modell von M und V als auch C sehr oft an derselben Stelle sich ausschließende, doch "gute Lesarten" wiedergeben, ohne daß man m.E. Argumente findet, die für eine von beiden Traditionen eine größere Nähe zum Ursprung beweisen. Weder läßt sich zeigen, daß C bzw. eine C vorausliegende Textgestalt die Quelle für das Modell von M und V gewesen ist, noch gibt es überzeugende Argumente dafür, daß C sich von dieser M und V gemeinsamen Vorlage herleitet. Die Gestalt eines gemeinsamen "Archetypus" läßt sich zwar, wie weiter unten gezeigt werden soll, durch C, M und V gemeinsame "Fehler" bis zu einem bestimmten Grad herausarbeiten, doch über weite Strecken bleibt es offen, ob er mit dem Text von C oder mit jenem von M und V übereinkommt; m.a.W. es liegt hier der typische Fall einer "offenen Rezension" vor, wie sie G. Pasquali definiert hat.[26]

Einen Hinweis verdient die Tatsache, daß man in 3,32 in C statt μεῖζον δὲ ein μείζονα liest, was sich am einfachsten als ein Flüchtigkeitsfehler erklären läßt, wenn die Vorlage von C ein Unzialkodex gewesen ist. Denn dann konnte ein Delta (Δ) leichter mit einem Alpha (Λ) verwechselt werden. Mehr als eine Vermutung kann dies nicht sein; und auch die Interpretation für eine analoge Erscheinung in der Vorlage von M und V

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[25] Man vergleiche z.B. 3,10-13 oder 4,61 ἔσφαξεν und 8,19 ἀποφύγωσιν. — Zu M sei angemerkt, dass diese Handschrift an über zwanzig Stellen kein ν ἐφελκυστικόν überliefert, obwohl dieses dort jeweils notwendig ist. Sollte in der Vorlage von M das Ny hier jeweils mit einem leicht übersehbaren hochgestellten waagerechten Strich geschrieben gewesen sein?

[26] *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, Firenze, [2]1952, 126. Man vgl. ebda, 15-21, zur Frage: "Ci fu sempre un archetipo?" Ferner vgl. man G. Alberti, *"Recensione chiusa" e "recensione aperta"* in: *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, N.S. 40 (1968) 44-60.

in 4,79, nämlich für die Lesart εὐγενίδα statt συγγενίδα, die oben gegeben wurde,[27] kann nur eine Vermutung sein. Beide Beobachtungen zusammen könnten darauf hindeuten, daß sich die Aufspaltung der Überlieferung spätestens beim Transliterationsvorgang vollzog.

Jene Lesarten, in denen C mit V gegen M übereinkommt, sind nicht hinreichend gewichtig, um ein dreigliedriges Stemma anzusetzen: Es handelt sich um Varianten, denen keine trennende Kraft eignet, so daß, falls es sich nicht um zufällige Übereinstimmungen zwischen C und V handeln sollte,[28] die Hypothese naheliegt, daß der Kopist von M hier korrigiert hat, m.a.W. daß es sich um archetypischen Varianten handelt. Sieht man von in der Aussprache gleichlautenden Formen ab, dann handelt es sich einzig um die folgenden Lesarten:

1,5.16 παρεσκευασμένον (bzw. — μένους) M] παρασκευασμένον (bzw. — μένους) CV; 2,9 ὂν τὸ M] ὄντα C, ὄντα τὸ V; 3,9 Τί λέγεις, ὦ Ἰουδαῖε; Μέγα φρονεῖς M] Τί λέγει ὁ *Ἰουδαῖος; *Μέγα φρονεῖ C, Τί λέγεις; Ὁ *Ἰουδαῖος μέγα φρονεῖ V; 3,10 θάλατταν M] θάλασσαν CV; 4,91 βαπτίζηται — ἐπαίρηται M] βαπτίζεται — ἐπαίρεται CV; 4,100-101 γενόμενος M] γινόμενος CV; 5,93 δὲ] om. CV; 8,29 εὗρεν M] ηὗρεν CV.

All diese Übereinstimmungen können an sich Zufall sein. Anderseits sprechen auch jene Varianten, in denen C mit M gegen V übereinkommt, nicht für ein dreigliedriges Stemma; die Sonderlesarten von V scheinen weitgehend auf eine bewußte, wenn auch höchst oberflächliche Redaktion zurückzugehen. Die einzigen Stellen, an denen die Lesart von V gegen C und M notwendig scheint oder ist, findet man in 5,109; 6,49 und 9,8: In 5,109 handelt es sich um das Subjekt ὁ σωτήρ; an sich spricht nichts dagegen, hier angesichts der Eigenart der Sonderlesarten von V mit einer Konjektur dieser Überlieferung zu rechnen. Anderseits darf man m.E. zurecht in Frage stellen, ob der Prediger angesichts des folgenden Zitats hier das Subjekt ausdrücklich auf der Ebene des Sprachzeichens zum Ausdruck bringen mußte; darum und insofern sprach ich zuvor vom Schein der Notwendigkeit. Auch bei der Lesart von V in 6,49 ὁ αὐτός[1] läßt sich nicht mehr sagen; sie verdient m.E. den Vorzug, ist aber an sich

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[27] Vgl. S. 13.

[28] Gewiss zufällig ist es z.B., daß sowohl in C als auch in V die Worte 8,49 ει — πιστεύετε[2] fehlen.

nicht notwendig. Einzig in 9,8 wird man den Aorist περιεβάλοντο von V dem Imperfekt von C und M vorziehen; doch diese Variante hat keinerlei bindende Kraft. Sollten diese Lesarten also zum ursprünglichen Text des "Archetypus" gehören, so muß man hier dreimal mit einer zufälligen Übereinkunft zwischen C und M rechnen.

Vorläufig scheint die Feststellung, es handele sich hier um eine sog. offene Rezension zweier Überlieferungsstränge, die Grenze einer Rekonstruktion der Überlieferungsgeschichte von CPG 4701 zu markieren, — vorläufig. Denn eine kritische Edition jener anderen Texte, in denen C und M übereinstimmen, könnte neues Licht auf die Frage des Zusammenhangs von C und M werfen, zwei Zeugen, die im 10. Jahrhundert beide wahrscheinlich in Konstantinopel geschrieben wurden. Immerhin handelt es sich um weitere sieben Texte, die unter Umständen die gleiche Überlieferungsgeschichte gehabt haben.[29]

Sofern es sich bei der hier zu edierenden Homilie um eine sog. offene Rezension handelt, wäre es angemessen, sie in einer zweispaltigen Ausgabe zu veröffentlichen, und dies auch dann, wenn man an nicht wenigen Stellen der einen Tradition gegenüber der anderen einen gewissen Vorzug einräumen kann. Da eine solche Darstellungsweise jedoch ziemlich aufwendig ist, habe ich es dennoch gewagt, einen einspaltigen "Mischtext" herzustellen, d.h. einen Text, wie ihn der Philologe als typisches Produkt der Kontamination durch laterale Überlieferung fürchtet. Doch mit einem Unterschied: Ich habe im kritischen Apparat alle Lesarten der Seitenüberlieferung, die an sich nicht zu verwerfen sind, durch einen Asterisk (*) gekennzeichnet. Ich habe dies getan, um Raum zu sparen; denn eine dritte Möglichkeit hätte darin bestanden, den einen Überlieferungsstrang in den Text, den zweiten,

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[29] Es handelt sich um die folgenden Homilien, wobei in der Klammer angegeben wird, um welchen Text es sich im Aufbau des Mosquensis (M) und des Cantabrigiensis (C) handelt; die jeweils erste Zahl gibt die Zählung bei Vladimir bzw. für C von M. Aubineau nach CCG I wieder; falls eine zweite Zahl genannt wird, so bezieht sie sich auf die Zählung der λόγοι in den Handschriften selbst: (1) CPG 4587 (M: 9, θ'; C: 29; auch in V überliefert: λγ'); (2) 4368 (M: 11, ια'; C: 24, κη'); (3) 4697 (M: 43, μθ'; C: 38); (4) 4576 (M: 47, νγ'; C: 36); (5) 4377 (M: 50, νϛ'; C: 27); (6) 4669 (M: 59, ξη'; C: 34); (7) 4411: hom. 4 (M: 75, πϛ'; C: 14, ιγ'). Bei CPG 4565 handelt es sich um verschiedene Fassungen (M: 42, μη'; C: 5, ε'). Der Pinax von M zufolge bestanden in einem früheren Stadium noch drei weitere Übereinstimmungen zwischen C und M: (1) 4414: hom. 1 (M: ιη'; C: 15, ιδ'; (2) 4622 (M: ιθ'; C: 9, θ'); (3) 4583 (M: κ'; C: 33). Vgl. auch den auf S. 8 genannten ehemaligen Codex Dresdensis A 66a.

sofern dessen Varianten an sich dem ersten gleichwertig sind, in einen Apparat zu setzen, der dann vor dem kritischen Apparat hätte stehen müssen. Die hier gewählte Darstellungsmethode hat einen Vorteil; es läßt sich nämlich in der Textwiedergabe unterscheiden, daß einer Überlieferung nicht nur im allgemeinen trotz prinzipieller Gleichwertigkeit "größere Nähe zum Ursprung" zukommt, nämlich jener von M, sondern auch im einzelnen, d.h. bei den einzelnen Lesarten. So ist es nicht selten, daß für jene Variante, die im Text erscheint, mehr spricht, daß sie die ursprüngliche sein könnte, als für jene, die nun mit einem Asterisk im kritischen Apparat erscheint; man beachte z.B. den Gebrauch des Wortes διάνοια oder von μὲν οὖν, ohne daß man an den betreffenden Stellen ein entsprechendes καρδία oder μὲν verwerfen kann. Durch den Asterisk wird der Leser unmittelbar über den Status beider Lesarten, jener im Text und jener im Apparat, informiert: Es handelt sich um an sich gleichwertige Varianten einer sog. offenen Rezension, wobei jene im Text nicht selten eine gewisse Präferenz verdient. Ich habe hier davon abgesehen, diese Fälle durch ein weiteres Zeichen hervorzuheben.

Eine Bemerkung zu der bei J.-P. Migne wiedergegebenen Edition von B. de Montfaucon.

Wie bei der Beschreibung der Handschriften schon vermerkt wurde, geht diese Edition auf eine Kopie und lateinische Übersetzung von W. Taylor zurück. Dieser hat versucht, an verschiedenen Stellen den Text seiner Vorlage zu verbessern oder zu heilen. So liest man z.B. in 2,8 in C statt eines Ἡ γὰρ ein Εἰ γὰρ; letzteres hat W. Taylor beibehalten und fügt dann zwei Einschübe an, die hier mit Klammern markiert werden: Εἰ γὰρ (ἡ) εὐτέλεια τοῦ μαθητοῦ δείκνυσι τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ διδασκάλου, (ἡ εὐτέλεια τοῦ διδασκάλου) δείκνυσι θεῖον ὂν τὸ κήρυγμα. In 3,14 liest man den Zusatz διαθήκης zu παλαιᾶς weder in C noch in einem anderen Zeugen. In 3,30 sah W. Taylor zurecht, daß hier in C das Prädikat fehlt: Er konjizierte ein εἶχε; in M und V liest man ἔσχε. Eine analoge Konjektur in 3,39-40 erschloß den ursprünglichen Wortlaut zwar nicht, traf aber die intendierte Aussage. Es lassen sich noch weitere gelungene,[30] aber auch nicht gelungene Texteingriffe von W. Taylor nennen; zu letzteren zählt

[30] Vgl. 4,15; 4,82; 9,29.

insbesondere die von ihm in 4,28 nach dem Wort γνώμη vermutete Textlücke, da er das von C bezeugte ἐνόμιζεν beibehielt.[31]

4. Der "Archetypus" ω.

Auffallend ist in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung von CPG 4701, um es paradox zu formulieren, etwas Unauffälliges, daß nämlich alle drei Zeugen in bestimmten unauffälligen Punkten übereinstimmen, an denen m.E. eine Korrektur angebracht ist; die wahrscheinlichste Hypothese dürfte jene sein, die annimmt, daß es sich hier um Lesarten handelt, die auf einen "Archetypus" ω zurückgehen, der sich jedoch wegen der genannten Tatsachen, die für eine "offene Rezension" sprechen, bei den bisher gesicherten Erkenntnissen über C und M nicht mehr genau rekonstruieren läßt. Denn die relative Häufigkeit solcher Lesarten spricht gegen eine Erklärung durch den Begriff des Zufalls.

Stellen, an denen m.E. eine Ergänzung des Textes notwendig ist:

In 2,32 findet man wahrscheinlich beim ersten Lesen die Aussage περιφάνειαν ἔχων προγόνων nicht eigentlich verkehrt: Doch welcher Genitiv ist hier gemeint, der subjektive Genitiv oder der objektive? Wäre es der erstere, dann stimmt diese Aussage nicht unmittelbar mit dem Kontext überein, in dem es nur um die περιφάνεια des heidnischen Lehrers geht. Natürlich kann diese auch aus dem Ansehen seiner "Altvorderen", hier aus dem Ruhm seiner Schule und deren Stifter, erwachsen. Doch kann man, wenn dies, wie es hier der Fall ist, zum Ausdruck gebracht werden soll, vom Ansehen dieses Lehrers "in Bezug auf seine Schultradition" sprechen und so περιφάνεια προγόνων als objektiven Genitiv rechtfertigen? Meines Erachtens wird man dies nicht ohne weiteres ausschließen können. Nun heißt es aber in unserer Predigt an einer anderen Stelle, an der eine analoge Relation dargestellt werden soll: ἰατρὸς πολλάκις εὐγενὴς καὶ περιφανής, ἐκ προγόνων ἔχων περιφάνειαν (7,27-28). Hat man die Wahl zwischen einem Genitiv und dem präpositionalen Ausdruck, so verdient m.E. hier der zweite den Vorzug.

In 2,49 überliefern die Handschriften Εὔκολον, doch fordert der Zusammenhang einen Komparativ wie Εὐκολώτερον.

Angesichts des durchgängigen Sprachgebrauchs der Predigt scheint es mir sinnvoll, in 3,28 nach ἕως ein ἂν hinzuzufügen.

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[31] Da in C die Worte ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ — ἦν von 4,49 fehlen, schrieb W. Taylor in 4,49 Διὰ τί οὔ; Ἐπειδὴ σκηνοποιὸς ἦν statt Διὰ τί; Οὐκ ἐπειδὴ κτλ.

In 3,46 fehlt offensichtlich eine Negation vor ἀφίησιν. Nach den Regeln der Grammatik erwartet man in 3,53 eine prädikative Stellung des Demonstrativpronomens, auch wenn deutlich ist, daß zumindest die Kopisten unserer Handschriften dies nicht in ihrem Sprachgefühl besitzen. Ein τὴν nach ταύτην kann in handschriftlicher Überlieferung leicht verlorengehen.

In 4,17 muß m.E. mit W. Taylor statt eines συνάγει ein συνάγεις geschrieben werden.

In 4,80 und in 5,80 ist das Wort "mir" jeweils stark betont. Die Handschriften überliefern jedoch ein unbetontes μοι. Wahrscheinlich ist im "Archetypus" das Epsilon von ἐμοί ausgefallen.

In 5,60 fehlt, so wie es auch W. Taylor beurteilt hat, eine Aussage, die auf die Antwort Μὴ μαίνομαι in 5,62 Bezug nimmt. W. Taylor fügte ein μὴ μαίνου ein; ich schlage ein Μέμηνας vor.

In 5,65 erwartet man ein Λέγεις; die Handschriften überliefern jedoch Λέγει bzw. Οὐ λέγει Παῦλος. Letzteres gehört zu den für V typischen Versuchen, den Text zu glätten.

In 6,39 und in 6,40 liegt m.E. jeweils eine Lücke vor, die ihren Grund in einem "saut du même au même" hat. Beider Wortlaut läßt sich mit höher Sicherheit erschließen.

In 6,85 liest man als konjekturalen Zusatz Worte aus dem Propheten Micha (7,2), die sich in allen drei Zeugen in Anschluß an Oseas 4,2 in 6,87 finden, wo ich sie in Athetese gesetzt habe.

In 7,16 scheint mir eine Frage unvollständig überliefert; ich habe sie durch ein ποιεῖ ὁ σωτήρ aufgefüllt.[32]

In 7,18 ist C der einzige Zeuge. Man liest in ihm statt eines τὸν νοσηρόν ein τὸ νοσηρόν. Es handelt sich hier somit zwar um eine konjekturale Ergänzung, doch wird man den zu heilenden Lesefehler kaum im "Archetypus" anzusiedeln haben.

In 8,1 kann die Zufügung des Artikels vor νόμος, angeregt durch den Kontext,[33] angezweifelt werden: Gemeint ist gewiß die Thora, d.h. nicht Gesetz schlechthin, nicht ein Gesetz im Unterschied zu anderen. In diesem Sinn würde christlicher Sprachgebrauch auch vor Θεός den Artikel fordern; m.E. aber wäre dies ein nicht mehr zu rechtfertigender Eingriff. Dann aber stellt sich selbstverständlich die Frage, ob nicht im christlichen

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[32] Vgl. dazu die Lesart ὁ σωτήρ von V in 5,109: oben S. 18.

[33] Vgl. auch die Parallelen in CPG 4735.

Kontext auch νόμος für Gottes Gesetz absolut gebraucht werden kann, ohne zu einem Mißverständnis zu führen.

In 9,33 scheint im "Archetypus" zumindest ein rückwärts weisendes Demonstrativpronomen wie τοῦτο ausgefallen zu sein.

In 9,40 fehlt ein Prädikat wie ἔχει.

Im Text vermutete Lücken des Archetypus, die nicht mittels *diuinatio* geschlossen wurden:

Eine Lücke, bei der ich von einer Konjektur absah und sie darum mit Asterisk kennzeichnete, liegt m.E. in 5,43 vor: Es geht um den Gegensatz von Wort und gedanklichem Inhalt, von rein äußerem Sprachzeichen einerseits und von auf Wahrheit bezogenem Denken anderseits. In der Überlieferung von M wurde das Problem gesehen, doch m.E. nicht gelöst. Man könnte natürlich vorschlagen, davon auszugehen, daß in M die Worte μετὰ ἀσφαλείας und μετὰ εὐκολίας einzig ihren ursprünglichen Ort vertauscht haben, z.B., weil sowohl ἀλλὰ τὰ νοήματα als auch μετὰ εὐκολίας in der Vorlage als zwei Verbesserungen *in margine* nebeneinander geschrieben standen und der Kopist von M (oder ein Vorgänger) nicht begriffen hat, daß es sich um zwei Varianten handelt, denen jeweils ein anderer Platz im Text zukommt. Aber auch unter dieser Voraussetzung, die m.E. plausibel ist, läßt sich nicht klären, ob μετὰ εὐκολίας auf den "Archetypus" zurückgeht und wegen des Gleichklangs im Auslaut von εὐκολίας und ἀσφαλείας zweimal unabhängig voneinander in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung ausgefallen ist, nämlich in C und in V, oder ob μετὰ εὐκολίας das Resultat der *diuinatio* eines Lesers oder Schreibers ist. Für letzteres spricht, ohne ein durchschlagendes Argument zu sein, die Tatsache, daß die negative Konnotation, die an dieser Stelle auf Grund des Gegensatzes zur ἀσφάλεια τῶν νοημάτων mit einer εὐκολία τῶν ῥημάτων verbunden ist, sich deutlich gegen die εὐκολία des Predigers in 1,4.23-24 bzw. seiner Lehre in 5,23-24 abhebt.

In 8,40 fehlt sicher ein Prädikat; W. Taylor hat deshalb statt des πῦρ καῖον ein πῦρ καίη geschrieben.

Auf Grund des Kontextes kann man vermuten, daß nach 5,101 πάθος eine längere durch ein Homoioteleuton bedingte Lücke vorliegt, sofern in C zwei Mal das auffällige αὐτὰ und nicht αὐτὸ wie in der lateralen Tradition steht. Der verlorengegangene Text hätte dann πορνείας ἐστὶ πάθος, κλοπῆς ἐστι πάθος gelautet.

In Athetese ist m.E. in 2,8 das Wörtchen γὰρ zu setzen; es würde an dieser Stelle gut passen, wenn es sich beim Kontext nicht um einen

fingierten Dialog, sondern um ein Soliloquium des Predigers handelte. So aber braucht das Kausale, das in der Antwort auf die Frage nach dem Warum liegt, auf der Ebene des lautlichen Zeichens gar nicht zu erscheinen, oder es wird, falls es ausgedrückt werden soll, mit einem ὅτι, ὅτε, ἐπεί, ἐπειδή oder einer verwandten Konjunktion wiedergegeben. Wahrscheinlich hat ein Kopist, der die dialogische Struktur nicht begriffen hat, hier ein γὰρ interpoliert, ein Wörtchen, bei dem man sehr oft in Textüberlieferungen, insbesondere von Predigten, den Eindruck gewinnt, daß es nachträglich hinzugefügt wurde.

Durch Unterstreichung eines Buchstaben bzw. mehrerer wird im edierten Text darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß an dieser Stelle eine konjekturale Änderung vorliegt,[34] wobei selbstverständlich von all jenen Fällen abgesehen wird, in denen es nur um eine Berichtigung der Orthographie geht; insbesondere Jotazismen und verwandte Erscheinungen[35] werden also nicht gekennzeichnet.[36] So ist in 6,97 durch Unterstreichung gekennzeichnet, daß der Archetyp hier im konsekutiv gebrauchten Infinitiv keinen Akkusativ (αὐτὸν τὸν ἰατρὸν), sondern einen Genitiv (αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἰατροῦ) wiedergab, der in der gemeinsamen Vorlage von M und V zu einem αὐτοῦ τοῦ πάθους verändert worden war.

In 4,36 scheint der "Archetypus" kein εἱστήκεσαν mit der für das Plusquamperfekt typischen Endung κεσαν überliefert zu haben, sondern eine äquivalente Form mit der Endung κησαν oder κεισαν.[37] In 5,8 ist der Akkusativ δεσμὰ bei einem Verb, das einen doppelten Akkusativ mit sich

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[34] Damit greife ich eine Anregung von P. Maas, *Textkritik*, Leipzig, ⁴1952, 15, auf, der solche Konjekturen des Herausgebers durch Kursivdruck kennzeichnen will. Da nun die Kursive hier wie allgemein den Zitaten vorbehalten ist, schien mir die Unterstreichung eine Alternative.

[35] Solche Varianten könnten, da sie in allen drei Zeugen auftreten, an sich auf den Archetyp ω zurückgehen: So liest man z.B. in 2,2-3 in C und M ein ἰχθυοπόλην und in V ein ἰχθυοπόλιν, in allen drei in 3,10 statt Μωϋσεῖ ein Μωϋσῆ, in 4,94 ἀνομαλίας, in 8,27 in C und M ein ἀκιλίδωτον, in V ein ἀκιλίδοτον, schließlich in 8,43 statt eines οὕτως ein οὗτος.

[36] So habe ich z.B. in 6,48 der durch das εἰ von C nahe gelegten Lesart ἢ vor einem Τί der lateralen Überlieferung den Vorzug gegeben und nicht unterstrichen.

[37] Vgl. 1,18 ἑστηκότα; 4,21.32.34 εἱστήκει. In 2,27 und 4,15 bietet C ein ἑστηκώς, während M und V das Wurzelperfekt ἑστώς wiedergeben. Alle drei Zeugen enthalten in 4,10 den Infinitiv ἑστάναι dieses athematischen Perfekts. Ob nun C oder M mit V in 2,27 und 4,15 den Vorzug verdienen, läßt sich auf Grund der Situation einer sog. offenen Rezension nicht entscheiden.

führen kann, sofern es ein "Anziehen, Bekleiden" und Analoges bedeutet, zu rechtfertigen.

In 3,59 scheint m.E. der Sprachgebrauch ein ἐκ und kein εἰς zu fordern, obwohl auch ein εἰς, sobald damit nicht mehr Richtung und Ziel einer Bewegung assoziiert wird, es also m.a.W. einem ἐν gleichwertig ist, durchaus begreiflich ist. Nun aber sind in der Unzialschrift εἰς und ἐκ leicht miteinander zu verwechseln, und man kann die Frage stellen, ob nicht im "Archetypus" ein ἐκ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πυθμένος zu einem εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν πυθμένα verlesen wurde.

Im Text durch ein kritisches Zeichen nicht gekennzeichnet ist die Vertauschung der Reihenfolge bei unmittelbar nebeneinander stehenden Worten. So überliefern alle Zeugen in 2,27 nicht die Wortfolge διδάσκαλος τίς, sondern τίς διδάσκαλος, und zwar lautet die Frage in M und V: "Σὸς δὲ τίς ὁ διδάσκαλος;", in C jedoch "Ὁ σὸς δὲ τίς διδάσκαλος;".[38]

Eine letzte Variante, die auf den Archetypus zurückweist, sofern sie in allen drei Zeugen auftritt, und wegen der zu C und besonders zu V genannten "verkehrten Akzente"[39] Erwähnung verdient, stellt δίδοντα als Proparoxytonon in 9,20 dar.

Überblickt man die genannten Lesarten, die in allen drei Handschriften als mehr oder weniger starke und deutliche Verderbnisse auftreten, dann kann dies, quantitativ gesehen, kein Zufall sein: Die ein oder andere der genannten Varianten mag mehr als einmal in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung entstanden sein und darum zufällig in dieser Liste gelandet sein; dies für alle anzunehmen, scheint nicht plausibel. M.a.W. obwohl C einerseits und M mit V anderseits vorläufig[40] auch dann, wenn M eine gewisse Präferenz verdient, für uns zwei grundsätzlich gleichwertige Textüberlieferungen sind, zeigt sich auf Grund der Häufigkeit kleinster gemeinsamer "Fehler", die keiner der Kopisten getilgt hat oder durch einen weniger erfolgreichen Eingriff verschwinden ließ, der gemeinsame "Archetypus" ω.

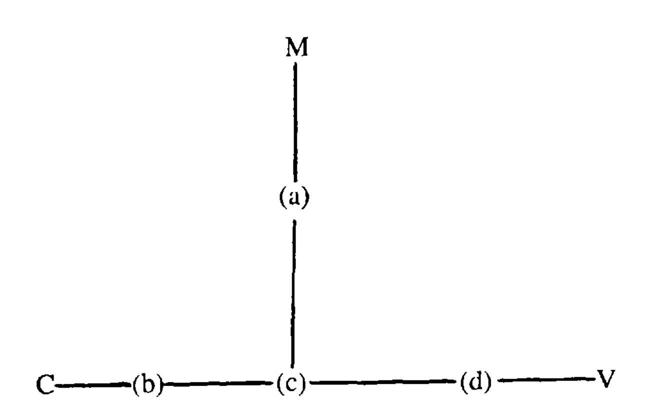
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[38] Die Frage, ob auch in 2,14 eine analoge Veränderung der Wortfolge vorliegt, ob nämlich ein Διὰ τοῦτο δὴ den Vorzug vor dem überlieferten Διὰ δὴ τοῦτο verdient, ist m.E. mit Nein zu beantworten. Vgl. CPG 4414, hom. 1.

[39] Vgl. S. 16.

[40] Vgl. oben S. 18-19.

Die strukturelle Relation[41] der drei Zeugen C, M und V kann man, obwohl es sich hier um den Fall einer sog. offenen Rezension handelt, auf die folgende Weise veranschaulichen:

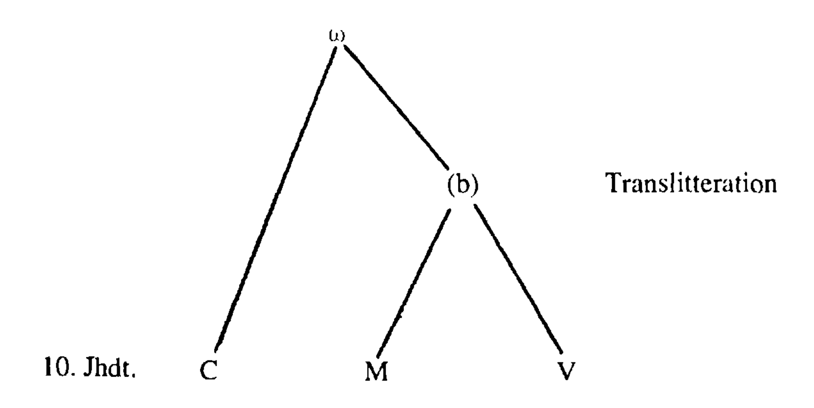


Die Frage nach dem "Archetypus" zielt auf die Bestimmung jenes Punktes, von dem aus sich die strukturelle Relation historisch als Nacheinander darstellt, m.a.W. auf den hin sie orientiert ist. Wenn man

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[41] Zur Unterscheidung zwischen Stammbaum und Struktur sowie zur Terminologie vgl. bes. A. Dees, *Over stambomen van handschriften*, in: Forum der Letteren 18 (1977) 63-78; ders., *Ecdotique et informatique*, in: Actes du XVIIIe Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes, Université de Trèves (Trier), 1986, publiés par D. Kremer, Tome VI, Tübingen, 1988, 18-26. A. Dees hat vor allem durch den Begriff der Quadrupel (viertal) den durch J. Froger verbesserten Ansatz von Dom Quentin methodisch praktikabel gemacht. Zur Definition der Quadrupel, deren Verständnis bei A. Dees der Intuition des Lesers überlassen ist, vgl. vom Verf., *Ordinateur et Stemmatologie. Une constellation contaminée dans une tradition grecque*, in: Distributions spatiales et temporelles, constellations des manuscrits, Études de variation linguistique offertes à Anthonij Dees, Textes présentés par P. van Reenen et K. van Reenen-Stein, Amsterdam — Philadelphia, 1988, 265-277; von dems., *Editionstechnik ohne "Trenn- und Bindefehler"*, in: JÖB 39 (1989) 51-52; Dom J. Forger, *La méthode de Dom Quentin, la méthode des distances et le problème de contamination*, in: La pratique des ordinateurs dans la critique des textes (Colloques Internationaux du C.N.R.S., 579), Paris, 1979, 13-22.

nun trotz offener Rezension hier einen "Archetypus" aufweisen kann,[42] dann ist dieser selbstverständlich einerseits mit keinem der drei Zeugen identisch, kann aber anderseits an sich als Orientierungspunkt für das Stemma noch an vier Punkten der Struktur situiert werden: Er kann entweder jener Punkt sein, in dem die Linien der veranschaulichten Struktur aufeinanderstoßen (c), oder einer jener Mittelpunkte auf den Linien zwischen diesem und den drei Zeugen (a, b, d). Nun soll sich aber der gesuchte "Archetypus" ω zum einen von jenem Modell, das M und V gemeinsam ist, unterscheiden, da dieses sich eindeutig von der Textgestalt von C abgrenzt; und zum anderen soll, wie oben gezeigt wurde, ein dreigliedriges Stemma ausgeschlossen sein. Wegen der zuletzt genannten Bedingung kann (c) nicht mit ω identisch sein; wegen der erst genannten ist aber (c) jener Punkt, der strukturell die M und V gemeinsame Vorlage darstellt. Dann aber fällt ω mit (b) zusammen. Es ergibt sich das folgende einfache Stemma:



[42] Zum unterschiedlichen Gebrauch dieses Terminus vgl. man z.B. die Bemerkungen von J. Irigoin, *Quelques réflexions sur le concept d'archétype*, in: Revue d'histoire des textes 7 (1977) 235-245.

CPG 4701 In illud: Itaque, si quis in Christo, noua creatura (II Cor. 5,17)

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ
εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὸ
Ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ καινὴ κτίσις·
τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονε τὰ πάντα καινά.

1. Πολλὴ μὲν γηπόνῳ προθυμία καταβαλεῖν τὰ σπέρματα, ἐπειδὰν τὴν ἄρουραν ἐκκεκαθαρμένην ἴδῃ καὶ μήτε ἀκανθῶν πλῆθος λυμαινόμενον τῇ βλάστῃ τῶν φυομένων, μήτε λίθον ἀντικρούοντα τῷ ἀρότρῳ· πλείων δὲ εὐκολία τῷ λέγοντι καταβαλεῖν τὸν λόγον,
5 ἐπειδὰν ἀκροατὴν παρεσκευασμένον θεάσηται. Ὁρῶ γὰρ τὴν ἄρουραν ἐκκεκαθαρμένην καὶ οὐδαμοῦ ἄκανθαν βλαστάνουσαν. Ἄκανθα δέ ἐστι τοῦ πλούτου ἡ φροντὶς ἡ ἀποπνίγουσα τὸν λόγον. Ταῦτα λέγω, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ οὐ πάρεισι πλούσιοι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδή, κἂν παρῶσι πλούσιοι, τὴν τῶν πενήτων φιλοσοφίαν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ
10 τῆς ἀκροάσεως ἐπιδείκνυνται· οὐ γὰρ τοῦ λέγοντος χρεία μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ συνετῶς ἀκούοντος· ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ ἐπιζητεῖ, σοφὸν διδάσκαλον καὶ συνετὸν ἀκροατήν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ πόνος ὁ ἡμέτερος περιττὸς ᾖ τῇ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ τῶν ἀκουόντων. Ἡ γὰρ φροντὶς οὐκ ἀφίησιν εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν ἐμπίπτειν τὰ λεγόμενα,
15 ἀλλ' ἀποσυλᾷ τὴν γνώμην τῶν ἀκουόντων.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἅπαντας ὁρῶ παρεσκευασμένους (τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀπόρρητα τῆς διανοίας οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι, ἑκάστου δὲ τὰ ὄμματα περιεργάζομαι) καὶ τὰ βλέφαρα ὡς κέρατα ἑστηκότα ὁρῶ καὶ τὸ ἀτρεμὲς τοῦ ὄμματος τὸ ἀσάλευτον τῆς διανοίας ἡμῖν ἐμφαῖνον
20 καὶ ἑκάστου τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπηλλαγμένην ἀπὸ τῶν βιωτικῶν φροντίδων, μόνον ἕκαστον τοῦτο σκοποῦντα, τοῦτο λογιζόμενον, ὅπως δέξηται τὰ λεγόμενα, ἐπὶ πλέον συντείνατε ἑαυτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν· ἁπλώσατε τὸν κόλπον τῆς ψυχῆς ὥστε μετ' εὐκολίας καταβληθῆναι τὰ σπέρματα. Διὰ γὰρ μακροῦ τοῦ χρόνου ἐπὶ τὴν
25 Παύλου τράπεζαν τὴν γλῶτταν ἀφεῖναι βούλομαι καὶ τὸν ἀγοραῖον ἐκεῖνον εἰς μέσον ἀγαγεῖν τῆς ἐκκλησίας· οὐ γὰρ παύσομαι οὕτως αὐτὸν καλῶν, τὸν ἰδιώτην, τὸν ἄσημον, τὸν ἀγενῆ, τὸν σκηνοποιόν. Ταῦτά μου τὰ πλεονεκτήματα, ταῦτά μου τὰ ἐγκώμια, ὅτι τοιούτους ἔχω διδασκάλους, οὐ βιωτικοῖς
30 πλεονεκτήμασιν, ἀλλὰ πνευματικοῖς κατορθώμασι λάμποντας.

2. Ἐὰν εἴπῃ μοι ὁ Ἕλλην· «Τίνα ἔχεις διδάσκαλον;», λέγω αὐτῷ· «Τὸν σκηνοποιόν.» «Καὶ τίνα ἄλλον;» — «Τὸν ἰχθυοπώλην.» — «Καὶ τίνα ἄλλον;» — «Τὸν τελώνην.» — «Καὶ τίνα ἄλλον;» — «Τὴν πόρνην.» — «Καὶ τίνα ἄλλον;» — «Τὸν
5 ληστήν.» — «Καὶ τίνα ἄλλον;» — «Τοὺς μάγους.» Καὶ οὐκ ἐπαισχύνομαι, ἀλλ' ἐγκαλλωπίζομαι.

«Ἐγκαλλωπίζῃ διδάσκαλον ἀγοραῖον ἔχων;» — «Καὶ πάνυ;» — «Διὰ τί;» — «Ἡ [γὰρ] εὐτέλεια τοῦ μαθητοῦ δείκνυσι τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ διδασκάλου καὶ δείκνυσι θεῖον ὂν τὸ κήρυγμα. Εἰ γὰρ
10 καὶ ἄνθρωποι αὐτὸ[ν] κατήγγειλάν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄνθρωποι αὐτὸ εὗρον· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἄνθρωποι αὐτὸ ἔσπειραν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄνθρωποι αὐτὸ ἐγέννησαν. Οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὄργανα, ὁ θεὸς τεχνίτης· οὗτοι κιθάρα, ἡ χεὶρ ἡ κραταιὰ ἐκείνη τὴν νευρὰν ἐκίνησεν.»

Διὰ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ προφήτης ἐκεῖνος, καίτοι γε βασιλεὺς ὢν
15 καὶ πορφυρίδα περιβεβλημένος καὶ διάδημα περικείμενος, οἰκουμένῃ διαλεγόμενος, καταλιπὼν τὴν φαντασίαν τὴν βιωτικήν, ἵνα μή τις νομίσῃ ὅτι ἐβασίλευσεν † κατὰ τὰ ῥήματα †, — ὁ Δαυὶδ λέγω, ἀρχόμενος ψαλμοῦ οὕτως ἔλεγεν· «*Ἐξηρεύξατο ἡ καρδία μου λόγον ἀγαθόν· λέγω ἐγὼ τὰ ἔργα μου τῷ βασιλεῖ. Ἡ γλῶσσά*
20 *μου κάλαμος γραμματέως.*» Διὰ τί καλαμὸν καλεῖς; «Ἵνα μάθῃς ὅτι οὐκ ἐμὰ τὰ γράμματα, ἀλλὰ τῆς κατεχούσης δεξιᾶς· ὁ γὰρ κάλαμος οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ γράφει, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἂν βούληται ἡ κατέχουσα χείρ. Καὶ *ἡ γλῶσσά μου κάλαμός* ἐστιν· κατέχει γὰρ αὐτὴν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.»

25 Ὅταν οὖν λέγῃ σοι ὁ Ἕλλην· «Τίς σου ὁ διδάσκαλος;», μὴ αἰσχύνου μηδὲ ἐρυθρία, ἀλλὰ λέγε· «Ὁ σκηνοποιὸς ὁ ἀγοραῖος, ὁ ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ἑστώς, ὁ δέρματα ῥάπτων. Ὁ σὸς δὲ διδάσκαλος τίς; Πλάτων, Πυθαγόρας· οὐκ ἀγοραῖος, ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφος.» Εἰ δὲ λέγω ἐγώ· «Ὁ σὸς διδάσκαλος τίς; Φιλόσοφος. Ὁ σὸς διδάσκαλος
30 εὐπατρίδης, ὁ σὸς διδάσκαλος πλούσιος, ὁ σὸς διδάσκαλος γλῶτταν ἔχων ἠκονημένην, ὑπὲρ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ῥέων, τιμῆς ἀπολαύων, περιφάνειαν ἔχων ‹ἐκ› προγόνων, πανταχοῦ τιμώμενος· ὁ ἐμὸς τἀναντία», οὐ φανερὰ ἡμῖν ἡ νίκη γίνεται; Πῶς; Ὅτι ὁ ἀγοραῖος τὸν φιλόσοφον ἐνίκησεν, ὁ πένης τὸν πλούσιον, ὁ
35 ἄγλωττος τὸν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ῥέοντα, ὁ μαστιγούμενος τὸν μηδὲν πάσχοντα. Ἀνώμαλος ἡ παράταξις, ἵνα λαμπρότερον τὸ τρόπαιον γένηται. Σολοικίζει ὁ ἐμός, ἀττικίζει ὁ σός· ὁ σολοικί

ζων τὸν ἀττικίζοντα ἐνίκησεν. Σολοικίζει τὴν γλῶτταν, ἀλλὰ φιλοσοφεῖ τῇ διανοίᾳ· οὐ χρείαν ἔχω ῥημάτων, ἀλλὰ δέομαι
40 νοημάτων.

Ὁ ἐμὸς τὸν σὸν ἐνίκησεν. Πῶς; Ὁ ἰδιώτης τὸν φιλόσοφον, ὁ ἄγροικος τὸν ῥήτορα. «Καὶ πόθεν,» φησίν, «δῆλον ὅτι ἐνίκησεν;» Ἀναίσχυντε, οὐχ ὁρᾷς τὰ πράγματα βοῶντα; Ποῦ Πλάτων; Οὐδαμοῦ. Ποῦ Παῦλος; Ἐν τοῖς ἁπάντων στόμασιν. Ποῦ Πλάτων;
45 Σεσίγηται καὶ λήθῃ παραδέδοται. Ποῦ δὲ Παῦλος; Τὴν βασιλίδα κατέλαβε Ῥώμην, ἧς οὐχὶ μόνον ζῶν ἐκράτει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσας περιγίνεται· ἀπέθανε τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ζῇ τὸ πνεῦμα· διεσπάσθη ὁ χάρτης, καὶ μένει τὰ γράμματα· *οὐ μέλανι ἐγέγραπτο, ἀλλὰ πνεύματι* ἐστήρικτο. Εὐκολ‹ώτερ›ον τὸν ἥλιον παραβῆναι ἢ τὰ
50 Παύλου ῥήματα. Τί γάρ φησιν ὁ χαρισάμενος αὐτῷ τὰ ῥήματα; *«Ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσιν.»* Εἰ ῥήματά ἐστι ψιλά, ἔλεγξον· εἰ δὲ πράγματά ἐστιν, προσκύνησον. *«Ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσιν.»* Εὐκολώτερον τὸν ἥλιον σβεσθῆναι
55 καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀφανισθῆναι ἢ τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ ἐμοῦ δεσπότου καταλυθῆναι.

Καὶ μαρτυρεῖ τούτοις τῶν πραγμάτων ἡ πεῖρα καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τὸ μῆκος καὶ τῶν πολεμούντων αἱ ἔφοδοι. Τὸ γὰρ δὴ θαυμαστὸν ὅτι οὐ μόνον οὐ κατελύθη, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ πολεμούμενος περιγίνε-
60 ται.

3. Πρόσεχε μετὰ ἀκριβείας ᾧ λέγω. Ἐφθέγξατο Παῦλος, ἐφθέγξατο Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἁλιεὺς καὶ εὐαγγελιστής, ὁ ῥίψας τὸ δίκτυον καὶ λαβὼν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ὁ ἀφεὶς τὸν κάλαμον τὸν ἁλιευτικὸν καὶ μεταχειρισάμενος τὸν λόγον τὸν διδασκαλικόν. Τί ἐφθέγξατο
5 καὶ τί εἶπεν ὁ ἁλιεύς; Ἴδωμεν εἰ ἁλιέως τὰ ῥήματα. Καὶ ἁλιέως, καὶ οὐχ ἁλιέως· ἁλιέως μέν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ στόμα ἐκεῖνο ἐφθέγξατο· οὐχ ἁλιέως δέ, ἐπειδὴ πνεύματος ἦν τὰ ῥήματα. Τί γάρ φησιν; *«Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος.»* Τί λέγεις, ὦ Ἰουδαῖε; Μέγα φρονεῖς ἐπὶ
10 Μωϋσεῖ, ὅτι τὴν θάλατταν ἔσχισεν καὶ τὸ πέλαγος διεῖλε καὶ ἔρραψεν καὶ τὸν ἀέρα μετέβαλεν καὶ πέτραν ἐξέτεμεν καὶ μάννα κατήνεγκεν καὶ πόλεις αὐτάνδρους καθεῖλεν καὶ πολέμους χωρὶς ὅπλων ἐνίκησεν; Διὰ τοῦτο μέγα φρονεῖς; Ἄκουσον, τί μὲν Μωϋσῆς εἶπεν, τί δὲ ὁ ἁλιεύς, ἵνα ἴδῃς τί πτωχεία παλαιᾶς καὶ

15 τί δαψίλεια χάριτος. Τί εἶπε Μωϋσῆς; «*Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.*» Τί δὲ ὁ ἁλιεύς; Οὐδαμοῦ τίθησι τὸ «ἐποίησεν», ἀλλὰ τί; «*Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν.*» Ἐκεῖνος ἀπὸ κτισμάτων ἄρχεται, καὶ οὗτος ἀπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ. Ὁρᾷς, πῶς ὑψηλότερον ἀναβαίνει Μωϋσέως;
20 Ἤκουσε Μωϋσέως λέγοντος ὅτι *τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός*· ἀφῆκε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀνέβη ἀνώτερον· ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ ἄγγελοι, καὶ παρέδραμεν· ἀρχάγγελοι, καὶ παρῆλθεν· τὰ χερουβίμ, καὶ οὐκ ἔστη ἐκεῖ. Ποῦ τρέχεις; «Ἕτερόν τι ἐπιζητῶ. Εἰ δὲ τὰ χερουβὶμ λάμπει, ἀλλ' ἔργα ἐστίν· εἰ δὲ τὰ σεραφὶμ ᾄδει, ἀλλὰ
25 σύνδουλά μού εἰσιν.» Τί ζητεῖς; Εἰ δὲ ἀρχαὶ καὶ κυριότητες, καὶ ταῦτα δοῦλα· καὶ ταῦτα δημιουργήματα. Εἰ δὲ ἐξουσίαι, καὶ ταῦτα ποιήματα. Ποῦ ἀπέρχῃ; «Αὐτὸν ζητῶ τὸν δημιουργόν, αὐτὸν τὸν ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί. Οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι, ἕως ‹ἂν› αὐτὸν εὕρω ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ εὑρεῖν δυνατόν. Μωϋσῆς περὶ οὐρανοῦ εἶπεν,
30 καὶ ἐπαύσατο· οὐ γὰρ ἔσχε τὸ πνεῦμα ὃ ἐγὼ ἔχω (*οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας εἰς φόβον, ἀλλ' ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας — εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως*)· μεῖζον δὲ ἐπιστεύθην ἐγώ. Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ δεσπότης μου ἄνωθεν κάτω κατέβη, ἵνα ἐγὼ κάτωθεν ἄνω ἀναβῶ.» Τί ζητεῖς; «Αὐτὸν τὸν δημιουργόν. Ὅταν
35 εὕρω, τότε ἵσταμαι.» Εὗρεν, καὶ τί λέγει; «*Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος.*» Οὐδαμοῦ τὸ «ἐποίησεν»· οὐδαμοῦ τὸ «ἐγένετο»· οὐ γὰρ περὶ δημιουργημάτων ἡ διδασκαλία. Ἰδοὺ ὁ λόγος. *Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος.*

Πόσοι τύραννοι, ἐξότε ἐφθέγξατο ὁ ἁλιεὺς τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο, πό-
40 σοι δήμιοι, πόσοι Ἕλληνες ἐπεχείρησαν αὐτὸ ἐξαλεῖψαι, καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν; Ἀλλ' ὅπου ἂν ἀπέλθῃς, ἀκούεις ὅτι *Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος*· κἂν ἐν χώρᾳ, κἂν ἐν πόλει, προέλαβεν *Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος*. Καὶ ἐν Περσίδι καὶ ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Μαυριτανῶν χώρᾳ λάμπει τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο ἡλίου φανερώτερον. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ
45 ἥλιος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ φαίνει, ἐν νυκτὶ δὲ κρύπτεται· τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ λαμπηδόνα ‹οὐκ› ἀφίησιν, καὶ τῇ ἑκάστου διανοίᾳ ἐγγέγραπται. Ἀπέθανεν ὁ γράψας, καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα λάμπει· τὸ σῶμα διελύθη τοῦ εἰπόντος, καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον ἀκμάζει. Ὅπου ἂν ἀπέλθῃς, προέλαβε τὸ ῥῆμα· *Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ*
50 *λόγος*· καὶ ἕκαστος, καὶ γυνὴ καὶ ἀνήρ, καὶ δοῦλος καὶ ἐλεύθερος, καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἰδιώτης, καὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἀρχόμενοι, μελετῶσιν αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐξαλεῖψαι δύναται τὴν

καλλίστην ταύτην ‹τὴν› κληρονομίαν, ἀλλὰ μένει διατηρῶν τὸν
πλοῦτον. *Ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ*
55 *μὴ παρέλθωσιν.*
Ῥῆμα οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ἐξαλεῖψαι ὁ διάβολος. Διὰ τί; Ὅτι οὐ ῥῆμα
ψιλόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῆμα θεοῦ. Μὴ τοίνυν αἰσχύνου, ὅταν ἀκούσῃς
«Ταῦτα ὁ ἁλιεὺς ἐφθέγξατο, ταῦτα ὁ σαγήνας ῥάπτων». Εἶδες,
πῶς εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν πυθμένα τῆς πενίας ἐκάθητο καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς
60 τὴν κορυφὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς;

4. Ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἑτέρων ἀρξάμενοι ἐφ' ἕτερα τὸν λόγον
ἀγάγωμεν τῇ ῥύμῃ τῶν λεγομένων, τὰ νοήματα ἀφέντες
ἐκκυλίεσθαι, φέρε δὴ χαλινῷ τῇ γνώμῃ χρησάμενοι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν
ἐπὶ τὴν προτέραν ὑπόσχεσιν ἐπαναγάγωμεν.
5 Τί οὖν φησιν ὁ σκηνοποιὸς ὁ ἀγοραῖος; Οὐ γὰρ παύσομαι
συνεχῶς ταῦτα εὐηχῶν τὰ ῥήματα διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἀπόνοιαν
καὶ τὴν ἀφιλόσοφον αὐτῶν γνώμην. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλοὶ κατὰ τὴν
ἀγοράν, ἐπειδὰν ὑβρίσωσιν, λέγουσιν· «Ἀγοραῖε», τί ἐστιν ἀγο-
ραῖος, εἰπέ μοι. Μὴ γὰρ ἔγκλημα τὸ εἶναι ἀγοραῖον; Μὴ γὰρ
10 ἔγκλημα τὸ ἑστάναι ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι; Ἔγκλημα τὸ
ἔνδον μένειν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἁρπάζειν. Μάθε, τί ὕβρις καὶ τί
ἐγκώμιον, καὶ μὴ καταγέλα ‹ἀγοραίου›. Ἀγοραῖον εἶναι οὐκ ἔστιν
ἔγκλημα, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἅρπαγα εἶναι, τὸ πλεονέκτην εἶναι. Τί μὲν
ὠφελεῖς, ὅτι κάθῃ ἐν θαλάμῳ, καὶ λύκος εἶ; Τί δὲ βλάπτει ὁ
15 πένης ὁ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἑστὼς καὶ βοῦν ἀρότην μιμούμενος; Ἀγοραῖος
εἶ; Χειροτέχνης εἶ; Οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἐγκλήματα· ἐγκώμια ταῦτά
ἐστιν, ὅτι ἀπὸ δικαίων πόνων τὴν τροφὴν συνάγει‹ς›, οὐκ ἀλλο-
τρίας περιεργαζόμενος οἰκίας. Οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν ἔγκλημα τὸ ἀγο-
ραῖον εἶναι, οὐδὲ τὸ χειροτέχνην εἶναι. Ἀλλὰ τί ἐστιν ἔγκλημα;
20 Τὸ ἀργὸν ζῆν — εἴθε μὲν οὖν ἀργὸν καὶ μὴ κακῶς ἐργαζόμενον.
Ἀγοραῖος ἦν ὁ Παῦλος, καὶ ἐπ' ἐργαστηρίου εἱστήκει. Καὶ
οὐκ ἦν πρὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοιοῦτος· μετὰ δὲ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον
μετεβάλετο. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκήρυττεν, καὶ δέρματα ἔρραπτεν·
ἐκήρυττε καὶ *ἔμενε παρὰ* Πρισκίλλῃ καὶ Ἀκύλᾳ *διὰ τὸ ὁμότεχνον*
25 *εἶναι· ἦσαν γὰρ σκηνοποιοὶ τὴν τέχνην.* Ὢ φιλοσοφία Παύλου, ὢ
φρόνημα ὑψηλὸν καὶ γνώμη ἀχείρωτος, ὢ διάνοια τῆς ἀψίδος τῆς
οὐρανίας ἁψαμένη, ὢ ψυχὴ πάντων ὑπερορῶσα τῶν ὁρωμένων, ὢ
γνώμη ἀράχνην νομίζουσα τοῦ κόσμου τὰς φαντασίας. Οὐκ
ἀπῆλθε πρὸς βασιλέας, οὐδὲ ἀπῆλθε πρὸς πλουσίους, οὐκ ἀπῆλθε

30 πρὸς εὐπόρους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σκηνοποιοὺς ἀπῆλθε *διὰ τὸ ὁμότεχνον* καὶ οὐκ ᾐσχύνετο ἐκκαλύπτων ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τοῦτο κατάδηλον εἰργάζετο. Ἐν ἀγορᾷ εἱστήκει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κηρύττων, νεκροὺς ἐγείρων, λεπροὺς καθαίρων, καὶ οὐκ ᾐσχύνετο τῷ τόπῳ, ἀλλ' ἐνεκαλλωπίζετο τῷ τρόπῳ. Καὶ εἱστήκει ἐν ἀγορᾷ,
35 καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐξεδίδου δέρματα, ὁ δὲ ἔλεγεν· «Ἀνάστησον τὸν νεκρόν.» Καὶ εἱστήκεσαν δύο γυναῖκες, ἡ μὲν λέγουσα· «Ποίησόν μοι τὸ δέρμα στρωματόδερμον», ἡ δὲ λέγουσα· «Ἀνάστησον τὸν υἱόν μου»· καὶ ἀμφοτέραις ἀπεκρίνατο, καὶ ἐκείνῳ κώλυμα οὐκ ἐγίνετο· ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ χεῖρες εἰργάζοντο, καὶ ἡ χάρις ἐνήργει.
40 Καὶ ἀμφοτέραις ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ σκηνοποιός, τῇ μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης, τῇ δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χάριτος παρέχων· «Σύ, τί βούλει;» — «Στρωματόδερμον.» — «Ἐγὼ ποιῶ· δέρματα γὰρ ῥάπτω. Σὺ δέ, τί βούλει;» — «Τὸν νεκρὸν ἐγερθῆναι.» — «Ἐγὼ ποιῶ· τὸν θεὸν παρακαλῶ.»

45 Μή τι ὄνειδος τέχνη; Οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς πλουσίαν οἰκίαν καὶ εὔπορον· νόμον γὰρ ἐπλήρου δεσποτικὸν λέγοντα· *Εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν πόλιν* ἢ οἰκίαν *εἰσέλθητε*, ἐρωτήσατε, *τίς ἐστιν ἄξιος ἐν αὐτῇ· κἀκεῖ μείνατε*. Καὶ ἄξιος τοῦ Παύλου ὁ σκηνοποιός; Καὶ πάνυ. Διὰ τί; Οὐκ ἐπειδὴ σκηνοποιὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πλούσιος ἦν κατὰ
50 τὴν φιλοπτωχείαν. Εἴπω σοι αὐτοῦ ἐγκώμιον διαδήματος βέλτιον, πορφυρίδος λαμπρότερον; *Ἀσπάσασθε Πρίσκιλλαν καὶ Ἀκύλαν*. Καὶ προτίθησι τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἵνα μάθῃς ὅτι πλείων παρὰ τῇ γυναικὶ ἡ ἀρετή· *Ἀσπάσασθε Πρίσκιλλαν καὶ Ἀκύλαν*, Ῥωμαίοις γράφων, *οἵτινες ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς μου τὸν ἑαυτῶν*
55 *τράχηλον ὑπέθηκαν*. Εἶδες ἐγκώμιον; Εἶδες μάρτυρας ζῶντας *οἵτινες ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς μου τὸν ἑαυτῶν τράχηλον ὑπέθηκαν*; Μαρτύριον ἀπηρτισμένον οὐ τῇ ἐκχύσει τοῦ αἵματος, ἀλλὰ τῇ προαιρέσει τῆς διανοίας. Μή μοι λέγε· «Οὐκ ἐσφάγησαν.» Εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ ἐσφάγησαν τῇ πείρᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐσφάγησαν τῇ γνώμῃ. Ὁ
60 δὲ θεὸς οὐ τέλος ἐπιζητεῖ, ἀλλὰ παρασκευήν. Ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Ἀβραὰμ τὸν υἱὸν ἔσφαξεν καίτοι μὴ σφάξας (καθαρὰ γὰρ ἦν ἡ μάχαιρα), καὶ λέγει· «*Οὐκ ἐφείσω τοῦ υἱοῦ σου* οὐκ ἐφείσω τῇ γνώμῃ, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφεισάμην τῇ πείρᾳ.»

Οἵτινες ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς μου τὸν ἑαυτῶν τράχηλον ὑπέθηκαν.
65 Αἵματι τὸν ἀπόστολον ὑπεδέξαντο. Συνήκατε, τί εἶπον; Οὐ γὰρ χοίρους καὶ ὄρνεις αὐτῷ ἔθυσαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἐξέχεαν. Ὢ φιλοξενίας ὑπερβολή. Ἄλλοι, ἐὰν διαδῶσι δέκα ὀβολούς,

σκυλῆναι οὐ καταξιοῦσιν· ἐκεῖνοι τὸ αἷμα ‹τὸ› ἑαυτῶν ἐξέχεαν
καὶ κατεφρόνησαν τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς. Ὁ φιλόξενος οὕτω φαίνε-
70 ται, οὐχ ὡς οἱ νῦν βλοσυρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ τὰς ὀφρῦς ἐπαίροντες,
ἐὰν δῶσι πένητι δέκα ὀβολούς, καὶ τούτους διὰ τοῦ οἰκέτου.
Οὗτοι δὲ οὐχί, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ καὶ οἰκέται.

Οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ἡ Σάρρα· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνη αὐτὴ ἐφύ-
ρασε τὰ ἄλευρα, οὐ κατὰ τὴν βλακείαν τῶν νῦν γυναικῶν αἳ
75 τοῖς χρυσίοις καὶ τοῖς ἱματίοις τοῖς σηρικοῖς μαλακωτέραν τὴν
φύσιν ἐργάζονται, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μυλωθρίδος ἔργα ἐπετέλει. Καὶ
λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ ἀνήρ· *«Σπεῦσον καὶ φύρασον τρία μέτρα
σεμιδάλεως.»* Καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν· «Ταῦτα ἀνεκτά. Ἀρτοποιόν με
ἔλαβες τὴν συγγενίδα; Οὐ προῖκα εἰσήνεγκα; Οὐκ ἐλευθέρα εἰμί;
80 Τὰ διακόνων ‹ἐ›μοὶ ἐπιτάττεις; Ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἦλθόν
σου εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν;» Οὐδὲν τούτων· ἀλλ' ἔσπευσε καὶ ἐφύρασεν·
γυνὴ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, οὐ νόμῳ βίου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρετῇ
κατορθωμάτων. «Κοινὴ γενέσθω,» φησίν, «ἡ φιλοξενία· κοινῇ καὶ
τὸν καρπὸν τρυγήσωμεν.» ‹Καὶ ὁ Ἀβραάμ·› «θησαυρός ἐστιν.
85 Ὁμοῦ μεταλάβωμεν· ἐγὼ τὸν μόσχον, σὺ τὰ ἄλευρα.» Ἔθυσε τὸν
μόσχον, καὶ ἔλαβε τὸν Ἰσαάκ· ἐφύρασε τὰ ἄλευρα, καὶ ἐγένετο
τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῆς ὡς τὰ ἄστρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἡ ψάμμος τῆς
θαλάσσης.

Ταῦτα λέγω τὸν ἀνθρώπινον τῦφον ταπεινῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν
90 τῶν πλουτούντων ἐξευτελίζων καὶ παραμυθούμενος τοὺς πένητας,
ἵνα μηδεὶς μήτε πενίᾳ βαπτίζηται μήτε πλούτῳ ἐπαίρηται.
Ταῦτά δέ ἐστιν ἀμφότερα ἀρετῆς κωλύματα. Ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς
κυβερνήτου τάξιν ἐπέχει, οὔτε ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος βαπτιζόμενος,
οὔτε ὑπὸ τῆς γαλήνης χαυνούμενος, ἀλλ' ἐν καιρῷ ἀνωμαλίας
95 τὴν ἴσην αὐτῷ φιλοσοφίαν διατηρῶν μηδέποτε τῇ διαφορᾷ σαλευό-
μενος καὶ τοῦτο ἢ ἐκεῖνο γινόμενος.

Ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Ἰὼβ οὔτε ἐν τῇ πενίᾳ ἐγένετο βλάσφημος, οὔτε
ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ ἐπηρμένος. Ἀλλ' ὅτε μὲν ἦν πλούσιος, τὴν θύραν
ἀνέῳξεν· ὅτε δὲ πένης ἐγένετο, τὰς πλευρὰς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ
100 ἤνοιξεν· τότε μὲν οὖν φιλόπτωχος, ὕστερον δὲ φιλόσοφος γενό-
μενος καὶ καταπατῶν τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων.

5. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοσαῦτα περὶ τοῦ σκηνοποιοῦ, φέρε καὶ τῶν
εἰρημένων ἔνια μεταχειρισώμεθα, ὀλίγα μὲν οὖν ῥήματα εἰς μέ-
σον ἄγοντες, πέλαγος δὲ ἀχανὲς νοημάτων ἀνοίγοντες. Τοιοῦτος

γὰρ ὁ θησαυρὸς τῶν γραφῶν. Οὐ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ῥημάτων, ἀλλὰ
5 τῇ δυνάμει τῶν νοημάτων τὴν εὐπορίαν ἡμῖν ἐνδείκνυνται.

Τί οὖν φησιν ὁ σκηνοποιός, τὸ στόμα τὸ ἁγιωσύνης ἐμπεπλησμένον, ἡ γλῶττα ἡ τῷ θανάτῳ φοβερά; Τί γράφει ἡ δεξιὰ ἐκείνη ἡ ἁλύσει καλλωπιζομένη καὶ δεσμὰ περιβεβλημένη καὶ νεκροὺς ἐγείρουσα; Τί γράφει; Τί λέγει ἡ γλῶττα; Τί γράφει
10 ἡ δεξιά; «Ἡμεῖς δέ, *εἰ καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν κατὰ σάρκα Χριστόν, ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκέτι γινώσκομεν. Ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ*» (πρόσ‹σ›χες· εἰς βάθος καταβαίνομεν) «*Ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις*» (Τὸ ζήτημα ὧδέ ἐστιν ὅλον περὶ ταύτην τὴν λέξιν) «*Ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονε τὰ*
15 *πάντα καινά· τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ.*»

Θησαυρὸς μὲν οὖν κεκρυμμένος· ἀλλ' ἀνορύττωμεν. Κατάβητε πρὸς τὸ βάθος. Οὐ γάρ ἐστι βυθὸς ζόφον ἔχων, ἀλλὰ βυθὸς φῶς βρύων. Εἰ καὶ ἀσαφὴς ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ πειράσομαι αὐτὸν εὔκολον ποιῆσαι καὶ ἰδιώτῃ καὶ πένητι καὶ οἰκέτῃ καὶ μαγείρῳ καὶ ναύτῃ
20 καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ ἐλευθέρῳ καὶ δούλῳ. Τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ κοινῇ πρόκειται πᾶσιν ἀσαφείᾳ συσκιαζόμενα, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ εὐκατάληπτα γινόμενα.

Εἰ δέ τίς ἐστι βραδύτερος, τῇ εὐκολίᾳ τῆς διδασκαλίας σαφεστέραν ποιήσομαι τὴν τράπεζαν. Μόνον μοι παράσχετε
25 διάνοιαν συντεταμένην, καὶ μηδεὶς μαλακιζέσθω. Πεῖραν ἔλαβον ὑμῶν τῆς ὑπακοῆς τῆς κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν. Διὸ καὶ πολλοῦ δυσκόλοις ἐπεχείρησα νοήμασιν, οὐ προσδοκήσας αὐτὰ εὔληπτα ἔσεσθαι· ἀπὸ τῆς σπουδῆς τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόασιν εἶδον τὰ δύσκολα ῥᾴδια γινόμενα. Νήφουσα ἔστω διάνοια, καὶ οὐδὲν δύσκο-
30 λον συντεταμένῃ γνώμῃ καὶ πάντα σαφῆ.

Ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καινὰ τὰ πάντα. Ταῦτα ἀναγινώσκοντες Ἕλληνες γελῶσι καὶ κωμῳδοῦσιν ἡμᾶς· «Τοιαῦτα,» φησίν, «Παῦλος λέγει; *Εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις*; Κομπάζεις, ὦ Παῦλε; Ταῦτα
35 κοινῶν φυσᾷς ἡμᾶς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν; Ἐπαίρεις ἡμῶν τὴν διάνοιαν; Κεναῖς ἐννοίαις τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν πληροῖς;»

Εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις. Μάθε πρῶτον· μὴ ἁπλῶς τε τύφλωττε. Εἰς βάραθρον ἐμβάλλεις σαυτόν. Μὴ γὰρ οἶδας, τί ἤκουσας; *Ψυχικὸς* γὰρ *ἄνθρωπος οὐ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος·*
40 *μωρία γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐστιν.* Μὴ γὰρ οἶδας τὸν θησαυρόν; Ὁ θησαυρὸς ἄνωθεν ἀκάνθας ἔχει καὶ λίθους, ἀλλ' ὅταν διασκαφῇ, κάτω μαρ

γαρῖται εὑρίσκονται. Μή μοι τὰ ῥήματα ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ τὰ νοήματα· μή μοι τὰ ῥήματα μετὰ *...*, ἀλλὰ τὰ νοήματα μετὰ ἀσφαλείας. Μάθε, τί ἐστιν *καινὴ κτίσις*· μάθε, τί ἐστιν *ἐν Χριστῷ*·
45 μάθε, καὶ κατάβηθι εἰς φῶς.

Ἐπεὶ καὶ παιδίον πολλάκις ὁρᾷ βασιλέα παριόντα καὶ γελᾷ· καὶ ὁρᾷ ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ οὐ μέλει αὐτῷ. Οὐ γὰρ τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ ψόγος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀτελοῦς τῆς ἡλικίας τὸ ἐλάττωμα.

Δεῦρο εἰσαγάγω σε εἰς τὰ ἄδυτα. Μὴ ἁπλῶς ἀπὸ τῶν προπυ-
50 λαίων θεώρει. Δεῦρο ἀνακαλύψω σοι πᾶν τὸ ἀπόρρητον τῶν μυστηρίων.

«Καὶ τί μοι,» φησίν, «ἔχεις εἰπεῖν; Οὐκ εἶπεν ὅ τι *καινὴ κτίσις* ἐστὶ παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς;» — «Πάνυ.»

«Δεῖξον οὖν μοι,» φησίν, «καινὴν κτίσιν. Δεῖξόν μοι ὅτι και-
55 νὸς οὐρανὸς ἐγένετο, ὅτι πρὸ μὲν τοῦ παραγενέσθαι τὸν Χριστὸν ἄλλος ἦν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἄλλος ἐγένετο, ὅτι θάλαττα ἄλλη, ὅτι σπέρματα ἄλλα, ὅτι φύσις ἄλλη, ὅτι καρπὸς ἄλλος, ὅτι ποταμοὶ ἄλλοι, ὅτι ἄνεμοι ἄλλοι. Ταῦτα γὰρ *πάντα ἀρχαῖα*· καὶ σὺ λέγεις· '*Καινὴ κτίσις*';»

60 «Ἀνάσχου. ‹Μέμηνας.› Ὅσῳ ἀντιλέγεις, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον βρύει τῆς ἀληθείας ἡ ὑπερβολή.»

«Μὴ μαίνομαι;» φησίν. «Μὴ ἀντιλέγω; Ἴδε, ἡσυχάζω. Ἡσύχασον. Ἐρωτήσω σε.»

«Ἐρώτησον.»

65 «Λέγει‹ς›, πρὸ τοῦ παραγενέσθαι τὸν Χριστὸν ἄλλος ἦν ὁ οὐρανός, μετὰ δὲ τὸ παραγενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἄλλος ἐγένετο; Καὶ πρὶν ἢ παραγενέσθαι αὐτὸν κατὰ σάρκα ὁ αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς ἦν, καὶ μετὰ τὸ παραγενέσθαι αὐτὸν ὁ αὐτὸς ἔμεινεν οὐρανός; Καὶ ἡ γῆ, καὶ ἡ θάλαττα, καὶ ὁ ἀὴρ καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι; Τί οὖν,» φησίν,
70 «κομπάζει Παῦλος λέγων· '*Εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονε καινὰ τὰ πάντα*'; Ἐγώ,» φησίν, «καινὸν οὐδὲν βλέπω.»

«Οὐ γὰρ ἔχεις ὀφθαλμούς, ἵνα ἴδῃς. Δεῦρο, ποιήσω σοι ὀφθαλμούς, καὶ ὁρᾷς.»

75 «Καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς ποιεῖς;»

«Πάνυ.» — «Καὶ δημιουργὸς εἶ;» — «Πάνυ.» — «Σὺ ἀπονενόησαι;» — «Οὐχί.»

«Οὐκοῦν· ποίησον ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ σώματος.»

«Οὔ, ἀλλὰ τὸ μεῖζον, τῆς διανοίας.»

80 «Καὶ ποιεῖς <ἐ>μοὶ ὀφθαλμούς;» — «Πάνυ.» — «Οὐ γὰρ ἔχω;»
— «Οὐχί.»
«Ἐπεὶ σὺ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχεις; Ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔχω; Πῶς; εἰπέ
μοι.»
«Ὅταν ἀπέλθῃς εἰς ναὸν καὶ ἴδῃς ἐκεῖ ξόανον γυμνόν, λίθον
85 ἄφωνον, καὶ εἴπῃς· "Οὗτος ὁ θεὸς ἐστιν", ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχεις; Μή
τι ὄφελος τῶν ἔξωθεν ὀφθαλμῶν, τῶν ἔνδοθεν πεπηρωμένων;
Ὁρᾷς ὅτι χρείαν ἔχεις, ἵνα ποιήσω σοι ὀφθαλμούς, ἵνα ἴδῃς τὸν
λίθον λίθον, ἵνα μὴ τὰ ἄμικτα μίξῃς, ἵνα μὴ τὰ διεστῶτα
συναγάγῃς; Ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχεις, ὅταν ἴδῃς ξύλον καὶ προσκυνήσῃς
90 — καὶ λαβὼν ἐγὼ αὐτὸ καύσω; Μὴ ἔχεις ὀφθαλμοὺς τὸ
καιόμενον θεὸν ὀνομάζων; Ὅταν τὰ πάθη θεοποιῇς; Μεθύει
ἄνθρωπος, καὶ περιφέρεται καὶ γίνεται ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπου ἄλογον ἀπὸ
τῆς μέθης· σὺ δὲ λέγεις· "Ἡ μέθη θεός", καὶ καλεῖς αὐτὸν
Διόνυσον. "Ἡ πορνεία θεός", καὶ καλεῖς αὐτὴν Ἀφροδίτην. "Ἡ
95 κλοπὴ θεός", καὶ καλεῖς αὐτὸν Ἑρμῆν. Ὅταν οὖν τὰ πάθη καὶ
ξύλα θεοποιῇς, πῶς ἔχεις ὀφθαλμούς; Τὰ ὁρώμενα οὐ βλέπεις, καὶ
τὰ μὴ ὁρώμενά σοι ἔχω πιστεῦσαι; Ὁρᾷς ὅτι χρεία σοι
ὀφθαλμῶν; Ὁ Διόνυσος λίθος ἐστὶ σαθρός, καὶ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ξύλον
ἐστίν. Οὐ πιστεύεις μου τοῖς λόγοις; Ταῖς χερσὶν πίστευσον καὶ
100 τῷ πελέκει· ὠθῶ αὐτό, καὶ ῥίπτω. Δός μοι πῦρ, καὶ καίω αὐτό.
Τοῦτο μέθης ἐστὶ πάθος· ὁ νόμος αὐτὸ κολάζει, καὶ σὺ αὐτὸ
θεοποιεῖς; Μὴ ἔχεις ὀφθαλμούς; Ὁρᾷς ὅτι χρεία, ἵνα ὀφθαλμούς
σοι ποιήσω διὰ τοῦ λόγου;

Ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι τοιοῦτοι ἦσαν· ὀφθαλμοὺς εἶχον, καὶ οὐκ
105 ἔβλεπον. Ὁ τυφλὸς οὐκ εἶχεν, καὶ ἔβλεπεν. Λέγει τῷ τυφλῷ ὁ
Χριστός· "*Πιστεύεις σὺ εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ;*", καὶ λέγει·
"*Πιστεύω*", *καὶ προσεκύνησεν*. Οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι βλέποντες ἐσταύρω-
σαν. Ὁ τυφλὸς προσκυνεῖ, καὶ ὁ βλέπων σταυροῖ. Διὰ τοῦτο
λέγει ὁ σωτήρ· "*Εἰς κρίμα ἐγὼ ἦλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον, ἵνα
110 οἱ μὴ βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ οἱ βλέποντες τυφλοὶ γένωνται.*"

Μήτι ἔχεις ὀφθαλμούς; Θέλεις οὖν· κατασκευάσω σοι ὀφθαλ-
μοὺς διὰ τοῦ λόγου, ὀφθαλμοὺς συνέσεως, ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀόρατα
βλέποντας. Τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν πίστει ὁρώντων ἡμῶν·
οὐ τὰ βλεπόμενα ὁρῶσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα. Κἂν μὲν θέλῃς
115 παρακολουθῆσαι, παρακολούθει· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλῃς, ἐγὼ τὸ ἐμὸν
ποιῶ· παιδεύω. Ποικίλος γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἐναντίους μεταβάλλων,

τοὺς οἰκείους διορθῶν, καὶ πολυπρόσωπος καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀπηρτισμένος.»

6. *Ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονε καινὰ τὰ πάντα.* Ὦ στόμα, ὦ λαμπηδών. Ἐγὼ γὰρ βλέπω τὸν θησαυρόν, πρὶν ἢ αὐτὸν ἀνακαλύψω. Βλέπω τὸ σκεῦος ὅλον τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, *ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις.* Ὦ
5 ὀφθαλμοί, οἷα βλέπουσιν. Πρόσσχες· σύντεινον σαυτόν· διανάστησον.

Κτίσις ἐν τῇ γραφῇ καλεῖται οὐ μόνον ἡ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγωγή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον μεταβολή. Εἴρηται μὲν συντόμως, δεῖ δὲ αὐτὸ ῥηθῆναι καὶ
10 σαφέστερον.

Λέγεται κτίζειν ὁ θεός, οὐχ ὅταν τὸ μὴ ὂν ἐργάσηται μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅταν καὶ τὸ ὂν μέν, διεστραμμένον δὲ ἢ ῥυπωθὲν διορθώσῃ καὶ καθάρῃ. Οἷόν τι λέγω· «Ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον», τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ μὴ ὂν ἐργάσασθαι· κτίζει καὶ ὅταν τὸν πονηρὸν
15 ἄνθρωπον καλὸν ἐργάσηται. Ὧδε πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον μεταβολή, ἐκεῖ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος παραγωγή· ὧδε τοῦ ὄντος, ἀπολομένου δέ, ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον μεταβολή. Καὶ ἵνα μάθῃς ὅτι κτίσις λέγεται οὐ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγωγή, ἀλλ' ὅταν τι καὶ διαστραφὲν διορθώσῃ καὶ καθάρῃ, ἄκουσον τοῦ Δαυῒδ λέγον-
20 τος (ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἦν αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ κτισθεῖσα, ῥυπωθεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς μοιχείας καὶ τοῦ φόνου· παρακαλεῖ οὖν τὸν θεὸν καὶ λέγει)· *«Καρδίαν καθαρὰν κτίσον ἐν ἐμοί, ὁ θεός.»* Πρὸ οὖν τούτου ἀκάρδιος ἦν; Πῶς οὖν τὸν Γολιὰθ κατήνεγκεν; Πῶς τῷ θεῷ εὐηρέστει; Οὐ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας τῆς καρδίας λέγει,
25 ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας. Ἰδοὺ τοίνυν κτίσις λέγεται οὐχὶ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγωγὴ τῆς οὐσίας, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς οὔσης, διεφθαρμένης δέ, εἰς τὸ βέλτιον μεταβολή.

Ὅταν ἴδῃς τινὰ ἀκόλαστον σώφρονα γενόμενον, εἰπέ· «Ἐκτίσθη αὐτοῦ ἡ διάνοια»· ὅταν ἴδῃς πόρνην σωφρονοῦσαν,
30 εἰπέ· «Ἐκτίσθη αὐτῆς ἡ διάνοια»· ὅταν ἴδῃς ἅρπαγα ἐλεήμονα γενόμενον, εἰπέ· «Ἐκτίσθη αὐτοῦ ἡ καρδία.» Ὁ γὰρ λύκος ἐγένετο πρόβατον καὶ ὁ ἱέραξ ἐγένετο περιστερά.

Δύο κτίσεις. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ λουτρὸν κτίσμα λέγεται, τὸ λουτρὸν τῆς παλιγγενεσίας. *Ἀποδυόμενοι,* γάρ φησιν, *τὸν πα-*
35 *λαιὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν φθειρόμενον κατὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν* τῆς σαρκὸς

αὐτοῦ, *ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον ἄνθρωπον τὸν* γενόμενον *κατ᾽*
εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν. Ὥστε κτίσις αὐτοῦ ἐστι τὸ
ποίημα· *‹αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν ποιήμα› κτισθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*
ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς.
40 Τὰ μὲν *‹ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς*, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ› ἔργοις φθαρτοῖς.
Τότε ἔλαβεν ὁ πατὴρ πηλόν, καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον· λαμβά-
νει ὁ υἱὸς ὕδωρ, καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτὸ οἶνον. Ἐκεῖ στοιχεῖον, καὶ ὧδε
στοιχεῖον. Ἐναλλαγὴ στοιχείου, καὶ καλλίων ἡ δημιουργία.
Ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις. Ὁρᾷς οὖν ὅ τί ἐστι
45 καινὴ κτίσις; Τί γάρ μοι ὄφελος, ἐὰν γένηται οὐρανὸς καινός;
Πρόσεχε μετὰ ἀκριβείας. Οὐκ ἐγένετο οὐρανὸς καινός, οὐδὲ
ἥλιος, οὐδὲ γῆ. Τί γάρ μοι ὄφελος, εἰ οὐρανὸς ἐγένετο καινός,
ἐγὼ δὲ ἔμελλον ἐν ἁμαρτίαις εἶναι; Τί με ὠφελεῖ ἢ βλάπτει με
ὁ οὐρανὸς μένων ὁ αὐτός, ὅταν ἐγὼ μένω ὁ αὐτός;
50 Ὁ οὐρανὸς οἶκός ἐστιν, ἐγὼ δὲ νοσηρός εἰμι. Ἐὰν οὖν ἴδῃς
ἰατρὸν εἰσελθόντα εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τοῦ μὲν νοσηροῦ μηδεμίαν
πρόνοιαν ποιούμενον, λευκαίνοντα δὲ τοίχους, χρυσοῦντα ὄροφον,
οὐ λέγεις· «Ἄνθρωπε, ἀνάστησον τὸν νοσοῦντα. Τί τὴν οἰκίαν
καλλωπίζεις;»; Καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον,
55 εἰς ὃν κατακειμένην εὗρε τὴν φύσιν μου νοσοῦσαν. Πρόσεχε·
πάλιν αὐτὸ ἐρῶ· Εἰσέρχεται ἰατρὸς εἰς οἶκον μέγαν, εὑρίσκει
νοσοῦντα ἄνθρωπον, πυρέττοντα, ἕλκη ἔχοντα, ἀφίησι τὸν
νοσοῦντα ἐγεῖραι, λευκαίνει τοίχους, χρυσοῖ τὸν ὄροφον, τὸ
ἔδαφος καλλωπίζει; Οὐχί. Τοῦ μὲν οἴκου οὐδένα ποιεῖται λόγον,
60 ὅλῃ δὲ κέχρηται τῇ τέχνῃ πρὸς τὸν νοσοῦντα. Ἐὰν ὁ οἰκοδε-
σπότης ὑγιάνῃ, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἕπεται.
Οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα. Εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ὁ Χριστός, σάρκα
ἀνέλαβε πανταχοῦ συμπεσοῦσαν· εἴσοδον δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν
οἰκονομίαν καλεῖ ἡ γραφή. Εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον τὸν
65 μέγαν ὃν αὐτὸς κατεσκεύασεν· εὗρεν νοσοῦσαν τὴν φύσιν τῶν
ἀνθρώπων, νοσοῦσαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ κλίνης κειμένην, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ κακίας
ἐρριμμένην, τὸ κοινὸν μέλος διεφθαρμένον, βωμοὺς ἀναπτομένους,
κνίσας τὸν ἀέρα μολυνούσας, τέκνα σφαζόμενα παρὰ γονέων, τὴν
φύσιν πατουμένην, τοὺς νόμους τῆς οὐσίας σαλευομένους, τὴν
70 συμπάθειαν ἀτιμαζομένην (*Ἔθυσαν υἱοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ θυγατέρας*
τοῖς δαιμονίοις), ἐκβακχευομένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀκολάστως
(τὸν μὲν πόρνον, τὸν δὲ μοιχόν, τὸν δὲ ἀνδροφόνον), τὴν γῆν
πᾶσαν ἀπολλυμένην, τὸν ἄνθρωπον κείμενον ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ τῆς

πονηρίας, τὸν διάβολον παραμένοντα, ἀνάπτοντα τὴν κάμινον,
75 ἐπιτρίβοντα τὰ ἕλκη, τοὺς ἰατροὺς ἀτονοῦντας (τοὺς προφήτας λέγω), κατηγοροῦντας, οὐ διορθωμένους, τοὺς ἰατροὺς παρακαθημένους, φάρμακα κατασκευάζοντας, οὐκ ὠφελοῦντας δέ, κατηγοροῦντας δὲ ἅπαντας. *Οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιος οὐδὲ εἷς, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ συνιών, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν.*

80 Ὁ ἰατρὸς ταῦτα. Ποία οὖν ἐλπίς, ὅταν ἰατρὸς κατηγορῇ τοῦ κάμνοντος; Ὁ μὲν ἔλεγεν· «*Ἵπποι θηλυμανεῖς ἐγένοντο· ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐχρεμέτιζεν.*» Ἄλλος· «*Ἐκάθισεν ὡς ἡ κορώνη ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ μόνη.*» Ἄλλος· «*Οἴμοι, ὅτι ἀπόλωλεν εὐλαβὴς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὁ κατορθῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις*
85 *οὐχ ὑπάρχει· ‹ἕκαστος τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐκθλίβουσιν ἐκθλιβῇ›.*» Ἄλλος· «*Ἀρὰ καὶ ψεῦδος καὶ κλοπὴ καὶ μοιχεία κέχυται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς [ἕκαστος τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐκθλίβουσιν ἐκθλιβῇ].*» Ἄλλος· «*Οὐαὶ ἔθνος ἁμαρτωλόν.*»

Ἐξέρχεται ὁ ἰατρὸς κλαίων. Ποίαν ἐλπίδα ἔχει ὁ νοσῶν, ὅταν
90 ἴδῃ τὸν ἰατρὸν κλαίοντα; Ποίαν ἐλπίδα, ὅταν ἴδῃς τὸν ἀπεγνωκότα; Τί ἔχεις χρηστὸν προσδοκῆσαι περὶ τοῦ νοσοῦντος; Καίτοι ἰατροὶ πολλάκις ἰδόντες τὴν τελευτήν, ὥστε μὴ λυπῆσαι τοὺς προσήκοντας, τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ νικῶσι τὸ πάθος καὶ φαιδρὸν ἐπιδείκνυνται τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς ἑαυτῶν ὑπολήψεως, ἵνα μὴ κατα-
95 βάλωσι τὰ φρονήματα τῶν νοσούντων. Ὅταν γὰρ ὁ νοσῶν ἴδῃ διαστρέφοντα τὴν ὄψιν τὸν ἰατρόν, τί ἔχει χρηστὸν ἐλπίσαι; Ὧδε δὲ οὕτως ἐνίκησε τὸ νόσημα ὡς αὐτ<u>ὸν</u> τ<u>ὸν</u> ἰατρ<u>ὸν</u> κλαίειν· «Τί ἔχω ποιῆσαι; Ἕλκη, σηπεδών, σκώληκες, μυρία κακά. *Οὐαὶ ἔθνος ἁμαρτωλόν.*» Ὁ δὲ ἄλλος καὶ θρήνους ὁλοκλήρους ἀνέγραψεν, ὁ
100 Ἱερεμίας.

7. Ὁ μὲν κλαίει, ὁ δὲ θρηνεῖ, ὁ δὲ παρακαλεῖ. Ὁ θεὸς ἄνωθεν· «*Ἐγκαταλέλοιπα τὸν οἶκόν μου.*» Ποία ἐλπίς, ὅταν ὁ θεὸς λέγῃ· «*Ἐγκαταλέλοιπα* τὰ σύμπαντα, *ἀφῆκα τὴν κληρονομίαν μου, ἔδωκα τὴν ἠγαπημένην ψυχήν μου εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθρῶν* μου»;
5 Ὁ Ἠλίας κάτωθεν· «*Τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου κατέσκαψαν, καὶ τοὺς προφήτας σου ἀπέκτειναν· κἀγὼ ὑπελείφθην μονώτατος, καὶ ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχήν μου.*» Ἡ δὲ ἔνθα Ἰουδαία ταῦτα, ὅπου νόμος, ὅπου ναός, ὅπου κιβωτός, ὅπου θυσία Ἰουδαϊκή.

Τί ἦν, ὅπου εἴδωλα, ὅπου κνῖσα καὶ καπνός, παράνομοι τελε-
10 ταί, ἀσέβειαι, ὅπου τὰ πάθη ἐθεοποιεῖτο, ὅπου κυνῶν φωνὴν

ἐμιμοῦντο, ὡς οἵτινες ἐπὶ τοῦ Διονύσου δέρμα αἰγῶν καὶ κυνῶν φωνὴν ἐμιμοῦντο, ἵνα πανταχόθεν τὴν εὐγένειαν ἀπολέσωσιν; Κύνας, χοίρους ἐποίησεν ὁ διάβολος, ἔχεις ἐποίησεν, ὄφεις εἰργάσατο, ἀσπίδας κατεσκεύασεν, λύκους. Ὁ νόμος ἀτονεῖ·
15 μάτην προφῆται κατηγοροῦσιν.

Τί οὖν, ἄθλιε, ‹ποιεῖ ὁ σωτήρ›; Εἰσελθὼν καὶ εὑρὼν τὴν οἰκουμένην οὕτω κακουμένην ἔμελλε τὸν οὐρανὸν καλλωπίζειν καὶ ἀφιέναι τὸ‹ν› νοσηρόν; Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐποίησεν τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἔδραμεν ἐπὶ τὸν νοσοῦντα δι' ὃν οὐρανός, δι' ὃν οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ καὶ
20 θάλαττα καὶ ἀὴρ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα.

Διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ οὐρανοῦ σχῆμα ἀνέλαβεν· οὐ γὰρ οὐρανὸν ἔμελλε θεραπεύειν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ νοσοῦντος τὸ συγγενὲς ἀνεκτήσατο· καὶ ἔρχεται ὡς αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ νοσῶν, οὐ νοσῶν αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίᾳ. *Ἁμαρτίαν* γὰρ *οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ*
25 *δόλος εὑρέθη ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ*, ἀλλ' ἦλθε συγγενὲς ἔχων τῆς ἐκείνου φύσεως σκεῦος. Οὐκ ἦλθε γυμνῇ τῇ θεότητι, ἵνα μὴ φύγῃ ὁ νοσῶν, ἵνα μὴ σοβήσῃ τὴν θήραν. Ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἰατρὸς πολλάκις εὐγενὴς ὢν καὶ περιφανής, ἐκ προγόνων ἔχων περιφάνειαν, καὶ σηρικὰ περιβεβλημένος ἱμάτια, ἐπειδὰν εἰσέλθῃ πρὸς πτωχὸν
30 νοσοῦντα δεόμενον χειρουργηθῆναι ἢ ἄλλο τι ἰατρευθῆναι, ἀποδύεται τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ ἀφίησι τὴν περιφάνειαν, καὶ λαμβάνει λέντιον καὶ διαζώννυσιν ἑαυτόν, μέλλων καίειν, μέλλων τέμνειν, καὶ οὐ ζητεῖ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀξίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν κηδεμονίαν τοῦ κάμνοντος, οὕτω καὶ ὁ δεσπότης τῶν ἀγγέλων, οὗ ἡ δόξα ἀνύποπτος, κατέβη
35 ὡς ἄνθρωπος, διέζωσεν ἑαυτὸν λέντιον, διέζωσεν ἑαυτὸν τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἡμετέραν· ἐγένετο πτωχὸς ὁ πλούσιος, οὐκ ἀπολέσας τὸν πλοῦτον, ἀλλὰ κρύψας τὸν πλοῦτον. *Γινώσκετε γάρ* φησι *τὴν χάριν τοῦ κυρίου, ὅτι δι' ἡμᾶς ἐπτώχευσε πλούσιος ὤν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς τῇ ἐκείνου πτωχείᾳ πλουτήσωμεν.* Εἶδες πτωχείαν πλούτου μητέρα;
40 Εἶδες πενίαν περιουσίας ὑπόθεσιν; Ὁ πλούσιος ἐγένετο πτωχός, ἵνα ἐγὼ ὁ πτωχὸς γένωμαι πλούσιος. Ὡς ἰατρὸς περιεζώσατο λέντιον. Ποῦ κατέβη; Λέντιον διεζώσατο· οὐκ ἤρκησεν αὐτῷ τῆς φύσεως ἡ περιβολή, ἀλλὰ καὶ σχῆμα δούλου ἀνέλαβεν, οὐ φύσιν δούλου μόνον.

45 Ἦλθε τοίνυν· νοσοῦσαν εὗρε τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἡμετέραν· ἐγένετο τοῦτο ὅπερ ἤμην ἐγώ, *ἁμαρτίας* μέντοι *χωρίς*. Ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν καλύβην εἰς ἣν κατεκείμην· εἶδε σκώληκας, εἶδε σηπεδόνας, εἶδε δυσωδίαν πολλήν, τὸν νόμον οὐ βοηθοῦντα, τοὺς προφήτας κατη-

γοροῦντας, τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐπικειμένην, τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ κάμνον-
50 τος ἄτακτον, οὐκ ἐγκρατεύεσθαι βουλόμενον, οὐδὲ ἀνεχόμενον τοῦ ἰατροῦ. *Οὐ φονεύσεις·* οὗτος ἐφόνευσεν. *Οὐ μοιχεύσεις·* *ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐχρεμέτιζεν. Οὐ κλέψεις· ἀρὰ καὶ ψεῦδος καὶ κλοπὴ καὶ μοιχεία κέχυται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.* Ἄλλα ἔλεγεν ὁ ἰατρός, ἄλλα ἐποίει ὁ νοσηρός. Τί ἵνα γένηται;
55 Ὁ ἰατρὸς ἐπέταττεν, ὁ νοσῶν οὐκ ἐπήκουσεν· τὸ νόσημα ηὐξάνετο· ὁ ἀνδραποδιστὴς διάβολος παρέμενεν καθάπερ δοῦλος δραπέτης.

«Τί θέλεις;» — «Ψυχροποσίαν.» — «Δίδωμι.»

«Τί θέλεις;» — «Κρέα.» — «Δίδωμι τὰ διαφθείροντά σου τὸν
60 στόμαχον· δίδωμι τὰ ἐναντία τῷ ἰατρῷ.»

Ὁ ἰατρὸς ἐκέλευεν, καὶ ἐξήρχετο· ὁ δραπέτης εἰσήρχετο κρυφᾷ, καὶ πάντα παρεῖχεν. «Πορνείαν θέλεις; Ψεῦδος θέλεις;», ἐκεῖνος ἔλεγεν. — «Ταῦτα βούλομαι· οὐκ ἐκεῖνα ἃ λέγει ὁ ἰατρός. Ταῦτα βούλομαι ἃ λέγεις σὺ τῷ σώματι τὰ αἴτια.»

8. Θεὸς κατηγορεῖ· ‹ὁ› νόμος κατηγορεῖ· προφῆται κατηγοροῦσιν· ἐκεῖνος ὁ δήμιος παρέμενεν, καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ κάμνοντος πρὸς τὸν βλάπτοντα, οὐ πρὸς τὸν ὠφελοῦντα. Ἀπόλωλεν τὸ γένος· διέφθαρτο πάντα. Ἦλθεν ὁ ἰατρὸς ὁ εὔπορος ἐν ἀπόροις,
5 ὁδὸν εὑρὼν ῥᾳδίαν καὶ εὔκολον καὶ σωτήριον.

«Ἐὰν εἴπω,» φησίν, «"Τὸ καὶ τὸ ποιήσατε", οὐ ποιοῦσιν. Πῶς τὰ τοῦ νόμου οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, καὶ τὰ τῆς χάριτος ἔχουσι δέξασθαι; Τὰ κάτω οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, καὶ τὰ ἄνω ἔχουσι δέξασθαι; Ἐὰν εἴπω νηστείαν, ἐὰν εἴπω σάκκου περιβολήν, ἐὰν εἴπω
10 ἀκτημοσύνην, ἐὰν εἴπω παρθενίαν, γάμον οὐκ οἴδασι σεμνόν — καὶ παρθενίαν ἔχω εἰπεῖν; Τὰ ἀλλότρια ἁρπάζουσιν, καὶ ἀκτημοσύνην αὐτοῖς ἔχω εἰπεῖν; Πορνεύουσι καὶ μοιχεύουσιν, καὶ σάκκου περιβολὴν ἔχω εἰπεῖν;

Τί οὖν; Γίνομαι ἄνθρωπος τέως ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἐμῇ, καὶ τῷ
15 ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ ἀπερριμμένῳ καταργῶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, τέως ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους δείκνυμι ὑγιαίνοντα ἄνθρωπον, δείκνυμι τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν καὶ οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ πτῶμα, δείκνυμι ἄνθρωπον *ἁμαρτίαν οὐ ποιήσαντα, οὐδὲ δόλον ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ,* ἵνα καὶ οὗτοι θεαταὶ ὄντες ἔχωσιν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας καὶ οἱ ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἀποφύγωσιν
20 καὶ ἴδωσιν ἄνθρωπον μὴ ἔχοντα ἁμαρτίαν.»

Αἰσχύνου, διάβολε. Τοῦτο σάρξ ἐστιν, τοῦτο σῶμά ἐστιν ὃ ἔχει ὁ δεσπότης μου. Διὰ τοῦτο περιήρχετο ἀεὶ λέγων· «*Εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ*». Οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, πῶς οὖν οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει; Πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν εἰσίν. Οὐ γάρ ἐστι φύσεως ἡ
25 ἁμαρτία, ἀλλὰ προαιρέσεως.

«Ἰδοὺ δίδωμι ἄνθρωπον ὑγιαίνοντα, σκεῦος ἐκκεκαθαρμένον καὶ ἀκηλίδωτον.» Καὶ στὰς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔλεγεν· «*Τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐλέγχει με περὶ ἁμαρτίας;*» Καὶ οὐδεὶς εὗρεν εἰπεῖν τι.

30 Τί οὖν νῦν; Εἰσέρχεται πρὸς τοὺς νοσοῦντας τέως λόγοις αὐτοὺς παρακαλῶν ὥσπερ ἰατρὸς διὰ τῶν φαρμάκων· «Οὐδὲν ἔχεις πονηρόν, ἐὰν νήφῃς· χαλεπὸν τὸ νόσημα, ἀλλὰ δύναται λυθῆναι.» Παρακαλεῖ αὐτούς· «*Δεῦτε πρός με πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι, κἀγὼ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς.*» Πεφορτισμένοι
35 ἦσαν οἱ νοσοῦντες· φορτία γάρ ἐστι νόσος, ἀταξία, πορνεία, κλοπή, ψεῦδος, ψευδομαρτυρία· οὐ γὰρ οὕτω φορτίον βαρὺ ὡς συνειδὸς πονηρόν.

Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ὁ νοσῶν φοβεῖται τὸν ἰατρόν, μάλιστα ὅταν χαλεπὸν ᾖ τὸ νόσημα, μήπου σιδήριον ὀξύνῃ, μήπου πῦρ καῖον
40 *...*, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν νοσούντων εἵλαντο ἐναποθανεῖν τοῖς νοσήμασιν ἢ ὑπομεῖναι τὴν ὀδύνην τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰατρείας, καὶ καρπώσασθαι τὴν ὑγείαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀδύνης. Ἵνα μηδεὶς φοβηθῇ τοῦτο ὅτι οὕτως ἦλθεν ἀπαιτεῖσαι ἡμᾶς εὐθύνας τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, κολάσαι ἡμᾶς ἔχει· καὶ τότε ἡμᾶς διορθοῦται. Ἵνα
45 μηδεὶς τοῦτο ἐννοήσας φύγῃ, «*Δεῦτε,*» φησίν, «*πρός με· οὐκ ἦλθον, ἵνα κρίνω τὸν κόσμον.* Οὐδὲν βαρύ· οὐκ ἔχω σιδήριον, οὐκ ἔχω πῦρ καῖον· οὐ καίω, οὐ τέμνω. Ἀνώδυνος ἡ ἰατρεία, χωρὶς πόνου ἡ θεραπεία. Εἰ δὲ οὐ πιστεύετε, βλέπετε τὴν πόρνην· εἰ οὐ πιστεύετε, βλέπετε τὸν λῃστήν· εἰ οὐ πιστεύετε, βλέπετε
50 τοὺς μάγους, βλέπετε τὸν τελώνην, τὴν Χαναναίαν. Ὑπόδειγμα ὑμῖν ἔδωκα ἐκ προοιμίων. Μὴ ἔκαυσα; Μὴ ἔτεμον; Οὐκ ἐδάκρυσε μόνον ἡ πόρνη, καὶ παρθένου ἐγένετο σεμνοτέρα; Οὐ προσεκύνησαν οἱ μάγοι, καὶ εὐαγγελισταὶ ἐγένοντο; Οὐκ ἦλθεν ἡ Χαναναία, καὶ τὴν ἰατρείαν ἔλαβε τῷ θυγατρίῳ; *Οὐκ ἦλθον, ἵνα κρίνω τὸν*
55 *κόσμον. Δεῦτε πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι.*

Λέγω ῥήματα, καὶ ποιῶ πράγματα. Δεσπότης εἰμί· οὔκ εἰμι δοῦλος ὑποκείμενος νόμῳ. Κατηγορεῖ σου ὁ νόμος, ἀλλὰ λύω τὴν

κατηγορίαν· αὐτὸν τὸν κατήγορον παύω. Πῶς; Ἔπαυσε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ χάρις. Κατηγοροῦσιν οἱ προφῆται, ἀλλὰ μείζονα δίδωμι.»

60 Ἐλθὼν τοίνυν καὶ εὑρὼν τὴν φύσιν κακῶς ἔχουσαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν πορνείᾳ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν μοιχείᾳ, κνῖσαν καὶ καπνὸν τὸν ἀέρα μολύνοντα τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, τί ποιεῖ; Ὁρῶν πυρέττον τὸ γένος τὸ ἡμέτερον λούει πρῶτον· λέγει· «Λοῦσαι, καὶ ἀπαλλάττου τοῦ νοσήματος.» Λούει λουτρῷ παλιγγενεσίας, καὶ ἀλείφει τῷ χρί-
65 σματι τοῦ μύρου· «Ἀλείφω σε, καὶ λούω καὶ μεταβάλλω σε.» Καὶ τοσαύτη ἡ ἰσχὺς τοῦ λουτροῦ; Τοσαύτη. Κατάβηθι κάτω· καταβαίνει κάτω καὶ ‹οὐ› μένει ὁ παλαιὸς ἄνθρωπος. Μὴ σιδήρου χρεία καὶ τομῆς καὶ ὀδύνης; Ἐν ἡδονῇ ἡ ὠφέλεια, μὴ ἐπίπονος ἡ ἰατρεία.

70 Καὶ τί ποιήσομεν, ἵνα σωθῶμεν; Μυρία εἰργασάμεθα κακά· πονηρὸν ἔχομεν συνειδός· ἀπολλύμεθα. «Βαπτίσθητε, καὶ σωθήσεσθε.» Λαβὼν χρίει, λούει, εἶτα τρέφει στερεὰν τροφήν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀθῷος ὁ νοσηρὸς ἐγένετο, τρέφει αὐτόν· καὶ τρέφει τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ποτίζει τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ. «Ἐμοῦ,» φησίν, «τοῦ
75 ἀναμαρτήτου. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐγένου σὺ ἀναμάρτητος ἀπὸ τοῦ λουτροῦ, λάβε σῶμα τοιοῦτον.»

9. Χρίει, λούει, τρέφει· τοῦτό ἐστι καινὴ κτίσις. Ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ μοιχὸς καὶ γένηται υἱὸς θεοῦ, οὐκ ἔστι καινὴ κτίσις; Ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ πόρνος καὶ γένηται δίκαιος, οὐκ ἔστι καινὴ κτίσις; Ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ ἅρπαξ καὶ ἀπαλλαγῇ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων,
5 οὐκ ἔστι καινὴ κτίσις;

Εἶδες ἐν τῇ χάριτι τὴν κτίσιν; Βλέπε καὶ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὴν κτίσιν. Πόσαι μιμάδες κατέλιπον τὰ θέατρα, ἀφῆκαν σηρικὰ ἱμάτια, κατεπάσαντο σποδόν, περιεβάλοντο σάκκους, καὶ νῦν πολιτεύονται ἐν Χριστῷ. Οὐκ ἔστι καινὴ κτίσις; Πάλιν πόρναι
10 ἔχουσαι ἐραστὰς κατεφρόνησαν ἐκείνων καὶ εἰσελθοῦσαι ἀπετάξαντο· *ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις.* Ὅταν οὖν ἴδῃς τὴν πόρνην οὐκέτι πόρνην, ἀλλὰ παρθένου σεμνοτέραν, εἰπέ· «Ἐκτίσθη αὕτη· μετεβλήθη αὐτῆς ἡ γνώμη, μετέστη ἡ διάνοια ἀπὸ τοῦ τρόπου.» Οὐκέτι αὕτη εἰς τὸ θέατρον, οὐκέτι ἄλλους βροχίζει,
15 ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ σῴζεται. Οὐκέτι ἄλλοις γίνεται σκάνδαλον, ἀλλὰ σωτηρία· βλέπουσι γὰρ πόρναι, καὶ σώφρονες γίνονται. Ὁρᾷς καινὴν κτίσιν; Ὅταν ἴδῃς τὸν Ἕλληνα τὸν ἁρπάζοντα, τὸν βωμοὺς λείχοντα, τὸν μαινόμενον κατὰ Χριστιανῶν, μυρίους

ἀποδύοντα ὀρφανούς, μυρίας γυμνοῦντα χήρας, Χριστιανὸν γενό-
20 μενον καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διδόντα πένησιν, καὶ εἰς παννυχίδας
παραγινόμενον, εἰπέ· «Ἐκτίσθη οὗτος· *ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ,*
καινὴ κτίσις.»

Ὅρα πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης καινὴν τὴν κτίσιν. Ὅταν ἴδῃς
μοναχοὺς ὄρη κατειληφότας, ἐσταυρωμένους, τὰς ἀνάγκας τῆς
25 φύσεως καταπατοῦντας, ἀγγέλους μιμουμένους τῇ ἀπαθείᾳ, *ὥστε*
εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις. Ἄπελθε εἰς τὴν Περσίδα, εἰ καὶ
μὴ τῷ σώματι, ἀλλὰ τῷ νῷ· μητέρας ἐγάμουν, νῦν δὲ παρθενίαν
ἀσκοῦσιν· *ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις.*

Μέχρι βασιλέων βλέπε τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν τὸ διάδημα ἐχόντων.
30 Πρὸ τούτου βασιλεῖς πάντα ἔπλησαν ἀσεβείας· νῦν δὲ βασιλεῖς
εἰς ἐκκλησίας ἀπαντῶσιν. Καίτοι πᾶσι φοβεροὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς, νῦν
δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία αὐτοῖς φοβερά. Τίς τολμᾷ βασιλεῖ εἰπεῖν· «Θές
σου τὸ διάδημα»; Ἡ δὲ ἐκκλησία αὐτῷ λέγει ‹τοῦτο›, καὶ ὑπα-
κούει καὶ εἰσέρχεται γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ (οὐδενὸς λέγοντος, ἀλλὰ
35 τοῦ λογισμοῦ παραινοῦντος) — γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ ἀκαλ-
λωπίστῳ· ῥίπτει διάδημα, καὶ λαμβάνει σταυρόν.

Εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν ὁ πτωχὸς καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς
ὁμοίως· οὐκ ἄλλως ὁ πτωχός, καὶ ἄλλως ὁ βασιλεύς· οὐδὲ λέγει ὁ
βασιλεύς· «Ἐμοὶ πλέον δός, καὶ τῷ πτωχῷ ἔλαττον», ἀλλὰ τὴν
40 αὐτὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην ‹ἔχει›, τὴν αὐτὴν εὐλάβειαν ὡς ὁ πτωχὸς
ἐγώ, *ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις.* Ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων
ἁπάντων εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ
κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

SIGLA CODICUM

C Cantabrigiensis gr. 192 (B.8.8), ff. 290v-298

M Mosquensis Musei Historici olim Bibliothecae Synodalis 128 (Vl. 159), ff. 168-175

V Venetus Marcianus gr. 569, ff. 113v-123

M2 manus eiusdem saeculi quae correxit aliquantulum in codice; probabile mihi uidetur multis in locis, ubi tantum ipsam correctionem notaui (scribens uel Mp.corr. uel Ma.corr.), manus illa discerni posse, si quis codice ipso et non taenia pelliculari uteretur

tantum interdum citantur:

h Oxoniensis Holkham gr. 44, ff. 129-139

m editio quam Bernardus de Montfaucon a Gualterio Taylor accepit et in lucem edidit (cf. PG 64,9-10) quamque repperis apud J.-P. Migne (PG 64, 25-34); lectiones uariantes hic commemoratas ex illo uolumine 64 hausi, cuius editionem J.-P. Migne curauit

sigla quae in textu occurrunt:

<...> addidi

[...] seclusi

†...† non intellexi

... litteram uel litteras commutaui, cf. p. 24

sigla insueta et rariora quae in apparatu occurrunt:

*	asteriscus; quoad illum conferas notam de ita dicta recensione aperta necnon de modo in lucem edendae duplicis traditionis textus.
	littera deleta
cf.	conferatur, conferantur
coni.	coniecit, coniecerunt
exc.	excepto codice cuius siglum sequitur uel exceptis codicibus quorum sigla sequuntur
l.	linea, lineam
ll.	lineae, lineas, lineis
uid.	uidetur, uidentur

C M V

Titulus: ῥητὸν – τὸ[2]] om. C || τὸ[2]] V || παρῆλθον C || τὰ – καινά] καινὰ τὰ πάντα M ||

1,3 λυμαινόμενον – βλάστη] λοιμένων (= λυμαῖνον h) τὴν βλάστην V || 4 πλεῖον C; πλείω MV || λέγοντι] μέλλοντι C || 5 παρασκευασμένον CV, forsan auctori tribuendum || 6 ἄκανθα βλαστάνουσα* C || 7 ἐστι] ἐστιν ἡ necnon ἡ[1] om.* C || 8 Ταῦτα] add. δὲ V || πάρεισι] πα.εισι οἱ* C || 8 9 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ – πλούσιοι] om. C || 10 ἐπιδείκνυνται] ἐπιδεικνύων Cm; ἐπιδείκνυται V || 11 γὰρ] om. M || 12 σοφὸν] συνετὸν M || 13 ᾖ] γένηται C || 16 παρασκευασμένους CV, forsan auctori tribuendum || 19 ἐμφαίνει MV || 20 τὴν] om. C || ἀπὸ] om.* C || 22 πλεῖον* MV; add. οὖν V || 22-23

τὴν διάνοιαν] τὸ συνειδός MV; add. παρακαλῶ V || 25-26 καὶ – ἐκκλησίας] om. C ||

2,1 ὁ] om. M || 1-2 λέγω αὐτῷ· Τὸν] λέγω· Αὐτὸν τὸν* C || 3 4 Καὶ² – πόρνην] transp. post 2,5 λῃστήν V || τίνα ἄλλον;²] τίνας ἄλλους; Τοὺς μάγους καὶ C || 5 Τοὺς μάγους] om. C, cf. 2,3-4 || 6 ἀλλ'] ἀλλὰ καὶ* C || 7 Ἐγκαλλωπίζει V || 8 Διὰ] praem. Καὶ M || Ἡ γὰρ] Εἰ γὰρ C quare et add. ἡ et postea in 2,9 loco καὶ scr. ἡ εὐτέλεια τοῦ διδασκάλου m; ὅτι ἡ V || 9 ὂν τὸ] ὄντα C; ὄντα τὸ Vh || 10 αὐτὸ¹] om. MV; αὐτὸν C || εὗρον] ηὗραν Cm; ηὗρον V || 11 αὐτὸ] αὐτὸν C || 12 ὁ] add. δὲ V || 13 ἡ¹] add. δὲ V || ἐκείνη] om. V || 14 δὴ] δὲ* C, uid. et h || καίτοι γε] καίγε MV || 15 πορφυρίδα] πορφύραν* C || 15 16 οἰκουμένη διαλεγόμενος] om. V || οἰκουμένῃ] καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην̇ (sic, scil. ν ultimum expunxit) C || 16 καταλείπων C || 16-17 ἵνα – ῥήματα] om. V || 16 ἵνα] add. δὲ C || 17 ἐβασίλευσεν – τὰ] βασιλικὰ C || κατὰ – ῥήματα] inter cruces posui; quid autem post (uel, etsi minus probabile, ante) ἐβασίλευσεν orator dixit, non liquet || 17-18 ὁ – οὕτως] om. C || 17 ὁ] τὸν V || 18 ψαλμοῦ] praem. τοῦ V || Ἐξερεύξατο C || 20 καλεῖ M || 22 βούλεται V || 23 μου] add. φησι V || 25 λέγῃ] λέγει CV || 26 σκηνοποιὸς – ἀγοραῖος] transp.* C || 27 ἑστώς] ἑστηκώς (loco ἑστηκώς*) C || Ὁ – δὲ] Σὸς δὲ MV || διδάσκαλος τίς] transp. C; τίς ὁ διδάσκαλος MV || 28 29 Εἰ – ἐγώ] om.* MV || 29 τίς – διδάσκαλος²] om. MV || 30 εὐπατρίδης] Εὐριπίδης MV || πλούσιος] εὐγενής MV, forsan post εὐπατρίδης addendum est ὁ σὸς διδάσκαλος εὐγενής || 31 γλῶσσαν V || ῥέων] cf. 2,35 || 32 ἐκ] cf. 7,28 || 33 τὰ ἐναντία* C || οὐ – γίνεται;] οὕτω – γίνεται.* C || ἡμῖν] ἡμῶν* MV; praem. οὖν V || ὁ] om. C || 36 παράταξις] πρᾶξις MV || 38 τὴν γλῶτταν] γλῶττα (‹τῇ› γλώττᾳ*) M; ἡ γλῶττα V || 39 τῇ διανοίᾳ] ἡ διάνοια MV || 41 φιλόσοφον] σοφὸν C || ὁ] om. M || 44-45 Παῦλος – δὲ] om. MV || 46 ἧς – μόνον] om.* MV || ἀλλὰ] om.* MV || 47 περιεγένετο C, cf. 2,59 60 || καὶ – πνεῦμα] ἵνα ζήσῃ πνεύματι C || 48 χάρτης] χαρακτὴρ MV || οὐ] add. γὰρ V || μέλανι] add. γὰρ C || 49 Εὔκολον codd. || παραβῆναι] παρελθεῖν V || τὰ] om. C || 51 παρελεύσεται* MV || 52 ψιλά] om. C; ψηλά scr. MV || 53 προσκύνησον] νῦν MV || παρελεύσεται* MV || 54 μου] scr. τοῦ et postea praem. αὐ V, quare αὐτοῦ scr. h || Εὐκολώτερον] Εὐκολώτερόν ἐστιν* MV || 59 οὐ κατελύθη] ἐκατελύθη C; scil. subintelligendum τὰ ῥήματα Παύλου, quam notionem figuraliter ipso nomine personae, scil. uoce Παῦλος utens reddere potes || καὶ] om.* MV || 59 60 πολεμούμενος περιγίνεται] πολεμουμένη ἔστη (scr. ἔστι V) MV, i.e. subjectum uid. ἡ ἐκκλησία quod minus concordat contextui; forsan autem scribendum πολεμούμενα (scil. τὰ Παύλου ῥήματα) ἔστη, sed cf. apparatus ad l. 59 ||

3,1 ᾧ λέγω] τῷ λόγῳ* MV || 2 ὁ¹] om. V || καὶ] add. ὁ C || 5 ἁλιέως] ἁλιεύω C || 7 ἐφθέγξατο] ἐφθέγγετο M || τὰ ῥήματα] ῥῆμα MV || 9 λέγει

C ‖ ὦ – φρονεῖς] ὁ Ἰουδαῖος· Μέγα φρονεῖ C; Ὁ Ἰουδαῖος μέγα φρονεῖ V; cf. 3,13 sqq. ‖ 10 θάλασσαν CV ‖ 11 καὶ[1] – μετέβαλεν] om. MV ‖ πέτρας ἔτεμεν MV, cf. et Ex. 33-34 ‖ 11-12 καὶ[3] – καθεῖλεν] om. MV ‖ 12 χωρὶς] χωρεῖς, et quidem inter χω et εῖς scr. fen. duarum fere litterarum C ‖ 14 Μωϋσῆς] praem. ὁ* M ‖ ἴδης τί] εἴδητε M; εἴδητε V ‖ πτωχείαν* MVh ‖ παλαιᾶς] add. διαθήκης m ‖ 15 τί] om. MV ‖ δαψηλία (sic) C; δαψιλείαν MV, scil. δαψίλειαν* ‖ Τί] add. δὲ C ‖ 18 καὶ*] om. MV ‖ 19 Ὅρα M ‖ 21 ἀφῆκε] ἀφῆκεν οὖν V ‖ 22 παρέδραμεν· ἀρχάγγελοι] παρέδραμον ἀρχάγγελοι V ‖ παρῆλθεν· τὰ] παρῆλθεν τὰ V ‖ χερουβείμ M ‖ 23 καὶ] om. M ‖ Εἰ δὲ] Ἴδε M ‖ χερουβεὶμ M ‖ 24 εἰ δὲ] ἴδε M ‖ σεραφεὶμ CM ‖ 25 σύνδουλοί* MV ‖ Εἰ δὲ] Ἴδε M ‖ 25-26 καὶ[2] – δοῦλα] ἀλλὰ M ‖ 26 Εἰ δὲ] Ἴδε M ‖ 27 ταῦτα] τὰ C ‖ 28 αὐτὸν[1]] add. ζητῶ* C ‖ ἂν] addidi ‖ 29 οὐρανοῦ] ἀνθρώπου Vh ‖ 30 ἔσχε] om. C; εἶχε m ‖ 31 ἐλάβετε[1]] ἔλαβεν τὸ C ‖ δουλείας – πνεῦμα[2]] om. V; mg. scr. λείπ(ει) h ‖ δουλείας] add. πάλιν M, cf. Rom. 8,15 ‖ ἐλάβετε[2]] ἔλαβε C ‖ 32 μεῖζον δὲ] μείζονα* C; μείζων δὲ scr. MV ‖ 34 ζητεῖς· Αὐτὸν] ζητεῖς αὐτὸν V ‖ 35 Ηὗρεν* C ‖ 36 τὸ[1] – οὐδαμοῦ] om. V ‖ οὐ] οὐδὲ* MV ‖ 37 δημιουργημάτων] δημιουργιῶν* MV ‖ Ἰδοὺ] Ἴδε MV ‖ ὁ] om. CM ‖ 39 ἐξότε] ἐξ ὅτου*, scr. ἐξότου M; ἐξ αὐτοῦ V ‖ ἐφθέγξαντο Vh ‖ ὁ ἁλιεὺς] τοῦ ἁλιέως Vh ‖ 39-40 πόσοι[1] – ἐξαλεῖψαι] om. C, quare ἀφανίσαι ἤθελον scr. m ‖ 40 αὐτὸ] om. V ‖ 41 ἀκούσης M ‖ ὅτι] om.* MV ‖ 42 χώρᾳ] praem. κἂν ἐν Περσίδι V, cf. l. 43 et apparatus ad ll. 42-44 ‖ 42-44 προέλαβεν – λάμπει] om. V ‖ 43 Καὶ] κἂν M ‖ ἐν[2]] om. M ‖ 44 φανερώτερον] φωτεινότερον* MV ‖ 45 ῥῆμα] add. τοῦτο V ‖ 46 ἑαυτοῦ λαμπηδόνα] λαμπηδόνα αὐτοῦ h ‖ οὐκ] om. codd. ‖ καὶ] om.* C ‖ 48 τὸν] om. MV ‖ 50 καὶ[1]] om.* MV ‖ ἕκαστος] add. οὖν V ‖ 52 διανοίᾳ] καρδίᾳ* C ‖ 54 παρελεύσεται h ‖ 56 Ῥῆμα] Τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο V ‖ ῥῆμα] add. ἦν* MV ‖ 58 Ταῦτα – ἐφθέγξατο] om. MV ‖ ῥαπτω (sic) V ‖ Εἶδες] Ἴδε Mh; quoad h notandum: ς propter ligaturam, quam repperis in V, lector sicut copista codicis h facile neglegere potuit; melius uid. hic Οἶδας ‖ 59 εἰς – πυθμένα] forsan legendum ἐκ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πυθμένος, cf. p. 25 ‖ πενίας] κακίας h ‖

4,1 ἀρξάμενος C ‖ ἐφ' ἕτερα] ἐφετέρα (sic) C; ἀφετέρα (sic) V ‖ ἐκκυλίεσθαι] ἐγκυλίεσθαι MV ‖ χαλινῷ] praem. καθάπερ* MV ‖ γνώμῃ] γλώττῃ C ‖ 4 ὑπόσχεσιν] add. τὸν λόγον MV ‖ ἀναγάγωμεν V ‖ 6 ταῦτα εὐηχῶν] ὑμῖν λαλῶν ταῦτα V ‖ ἀπόνοιαν] ἄνοιαν V; διάνοιαν* M; cf. 4,89; 5,76-77 necnon CPG 4735 ‖ 7 κατὰ] om.* MV ‖ 8 ἐπειδὰν ὑβρίσωσιν] χλευάζουσι* M; κακίζουσιν καὶ V; cf. 4,11 ‖ λέγωσιν C ‖ Ἀγορεῦ V ‖ 8-9 ἀγοραῖος] ἀγοραῖε (scr. ἀγορέε), τί ἐστιν ἀγοραῖος (scr. ἀγορέος); C; ἀγορεύς V ‖ 9-10 εἶναι – τὸ[1]] om. MV ‖ 11 μένειν καὶ] μένοντα C ‖ Μάθε] add. οὖν V ‖ 12 ἀγοραίου] om. codd. ‖ εἶναι] om. V ‖ 13 μὲν] με C; γὰρ V ‖ 14 ὠφελεῖς] ὤφελος (scil. ὄφελος) V ‖ λάμψῳ] add.

σύ M || δὲ] δέ με C || 15 ὁ ἐν] om. C (ἐν scr. m) || ἑστὼς] ἑστηκὼς* C || ἀρότην] καὶ ἀροτῆρα C || 16 εἶ;[1] om.* MV; add. καὶ h || εἶ;[2] om.* MV || ἐγλήματα] ἔγκλημα M || ἀλλ' ἐγκώμια V || 17 συνάγεις] συνάγει codd.; συνάγεις coni. m || 19 οὐδὲ] οὐδέ ἐστιν ἔγκλημα* MV || 20 ἀργὸν[1]] ἀργῶς* C || μὲν οὖν] om. MV || ἀργὸν[2]] add. ζῆν V || 21 ἐπ' ἐργαστηρίῳ ἕστηκεν MV || 23 μετεβάλλετο CMm || 23-24 καὶ[2] – ἐκήρυττε] om. V || 26 διανοίας M || 27 τῆς οὐρανίας] τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* C || ἀπτομένης MV; ἀπτομένη* h || 28 γνώμη] post hoc nomen lacunam suspicauit m || νομίζουσα] ἐνόμιζεν Cm || κόσμου] βίου C || 29-30 οὐκ – πρὸς[1]] om.* MV || 31 αἰσχύνετο V || ἐγκαλύπτων V || 32 τοῦτο] αὐτὸ* MV || 33 καθαίρων] καθαρίζων* MV || αἰσχύνετο V || 34 ἀλλὰ* C; ἀλλ' εἰ h || ἐγκαλλωπίζετο V || 35 ὁ[2] – ἔλεγεν] οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον* C || 36 ἐστήκησαν (sic) C; εἱστήκεισαν MVm || 37 στρωματόδερμον] στρῶμα* C, cf. l. 42 || λέγουσα] λέγει V || 37-38 'Ανάστησόν μου τὸν υἱόν M || 38 καὶ[2]] om. M || ἐκείνῳ] τοῦτο (scil. subintelligendum τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα αὐτοῦ uel scribendum τούτῳ*) C; ἡ τέχνη V || κώλυμα] add. ἐκείνου C || 39 ἐγένετο V || 40-41 τὰ[1.2]] τὸ* C || 41 παρέχων] παρέχει καὶ λέγει V || Σύ] Σοί φησι M || 42 Στρωματόδερμον – Ἐγὼ] Στρῶμα (scr. στρόμα) τὸ δέρμα ἐγὼ C || γὰρ] om. M || δέ] om. C || 43 νεκρὸν – Ἐγὼ] νεκρόν σου ἐγερθῆναι ἐγὼ C || θεὸν] add. γὰρ C || 45 Μή τι] Μήτε* C || ἀπῆλθεν] add. οὖν V || 46 λέγοντα] praem. τὸν* V || δ' ἂν] om. M || 47 ἢ – εἰσέλθητε] εἰσέλθητε ἢ οἰκίαν transp. V || 47-48 ἐν – μείνατε] om.* MV || 48 Καὶ[1]] om. M || ἄξιος] add. γὰρ* C; add. ἔστη nec scr. punctum interrogationis M; transp. post σκηνοποιός V || Παύλου] ἀποστόλου* MV || 49 τί; Οὐκ] τί οὔ; m || ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ – ἦν] om. C || 50 διαδήματι V, non scr. h || 51 Πρισκίλλαν Cm || καὶ 'Ακύλαν] om. MV || 52 πλείω Mm || 53 Πρισκίλλαν Cm || 54 ψυχῆς μου] ἐμῆς ψυχῆς* C || ἑαυτῶν] om. M || 56 ψυχῆς μου] ἐμῆς ψυχῆς* C || 58 λέγε] add. ὅτι* MV || 58-59 Εἰ – ἐσφάγησαν[1]] om. M || Εἰ – ἀλλ' ἐσφάγησαν] οὐκ ἐσφάγησαν coni. V || 60 τέλος] scil. μαρτυρίου; praem. τὸ V || παρασκευήν] praem. πρόθεσιν καὶ V || 61 υἱὸν] scr. s.l. V || 62 λέγει] scil. ὁ θεός, cf. l. 60 || σου] add. τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ δι' ἐμέ* C || 67-68 ἐξέχεεν C, non scr. m || 66-67 Ὦ – ἐξέχεαν] transp. post l. 73 Σάρρα MV || 67 ἐὰν] εἰ M || ἐὰν διαδῶσι] εἰς διάδωσιν V; εἰς διάδοσιν h || διαδῶσι] δώσωσιν C || 68 ἐκεῖνοι] κἀκεῖνοι V || τὸ[2]] om. C || ἐξέχεον M || 69 κατεφρόνησαν – ζωῆς] καταφρονοῦνται M; οὐ κατοφρύνονται V, cf. l. 70 || 70 τὰς] praem. καὶ* C || 71 δώσουσιν C; δώσωσι m || τούτους] τοῦτο* MV || 72 οἰκέται] add. ἐγίνοντο* C || 73 ὁ] om. MV || 'Αβραὰμ] add. καὶ 'Ισαὰκ MV || Σάρρα] cf. apparatus quoad ll. 67-68 || αὐτὴ] om. C || 74 αἳ] καὶ C; ἢ m || 75 χρυσοῖς* C || ἱματίοις – σηρικοῖς] σηρικοῖς ἱματίοις V || τοῖς[3]] praem. καὶ M || 76 ἐργάζεται C || ἐπιτελεῖ C || 78 εἶπεν – ἀνεκτά] εἶπεν ταῦτα MV || 79 συγγενίδα] εὐγενίδα MV || 80 ἐμοὶ] μοι codd. || 81 τούτων] add. οὐκ εἶπεν* C; add. εἶπεν V || 82 βίου μόνον] βιούμενον C; recte scr. m || 83 φησίν] scil. Sara || 84 Καὶ ὁ

Ἀβραάμ] om. codd.; cunctanter addidi, quia orator uoce sua uiua potest exprimere sermones alternos nullis uerbis utens || Θησαυρός] primum add. φησίν, sed postea expunxit C, attamen scr. m; cf. apparatus ad lectiones praecedentes || 85 Ἔθυσε] Καὶ ἔθυσεν V || τὸν²] om. C || 87 καὶ] add. ὡς* C || ψάμμος] ἄμμος* C || 89 Ταῦτα] add. δὲ V || καὶ] add. πάντων C || 91 πενίᾳ] praem. ἐν C; πενίαν V || βαπτίζεται CV, forsan archetypus || πλούτῳ] praem. ἐν C || ἐπαίρεται CV, taenia pelliculari utens legere non potui an etiam M; forsan archetypus || 95 μηδέποτε] μηδέπω* C || τῇ] om. M || 98 τῷ] om.* MV || τὴν] praem. τοῖς πᾶσιν V || 99 ἠνέῳξεν* C || 99-100 ὅτε – ἤνοιξεν] om. MV || 100 τότε] πότε M; praem. καὶ V || οὖν] om. MV || 100-101 γινόμενος CV, attamen non h ||

5,1 καὶ] scr. s.l. V || 2 ἔνια] την ἐννοια (sic) V; τὴν ἔννοιαν h || μεταχειρισόμεθα CM; μεταχειρισάμενοι V || οὖν] om. MV || 3 ἀνοίγοντες] praem. ἡμῖν* C || 4 τῷ πλῆθος (sic) V || 5 ἡμῖν] ὑμῖν C || ἐνδείκνυνται] scil. αἱ γραφαί; ἐπιδείκνυται V; ἐπιδείκνυνται h || 6 τὸ²] τῆς C || 7 γράφει] γάρ φησιν V || 9 Τί¹] praem. Τί γράφει ἡ δεξιά; (i.e. transp., cf. l. 9-10) V || Τί²] Καὶ τί* MV || 9-10 Τί³ – δεξιά] om. M; transp. ante Τί¹ V || 10 ἐγνώκαμεν] γινώσκομεν MV || 11 Χριστῷ] add. καινὴ κτίσις* C || πρόσεχε* C; πρόσχες M; προσέχετε V || 12-14 Τὸ – κτίσις] om. C || 14 παρῆον* C || 14-15 τὰ πάντα] om. V || 16 μὲν οὖν] om. MV || ἀνορυττόμενος M; ἀνορύττομεν V || Κατάβητε] καὶ τὰ βάθη C; καταβῆναι V || 17 τὸ] scr. s.l. C || βυθός¹] βάθος V || ζόφον] ζοφῶδές τι V || 19 καὶ¹] om. V || 20 κοινῇ] κοινὰ MV || 22 εὐκατάληπτα] C a.corr., in mg. add. μ quare εὐκατάλημπτα C p.corr. || γιγνόμενα C || 23 βραδύτερος] βραδύτης C || 24 ποιήσωμαι V || 25 μηδεὶς] μηδὲν Cm || μαλακίζεσθε m || Πεῖραν] add. γὰρ* C || 26 πολλοῦ] πολλάκις C; πολλοῖς V || 27 οὐ] praem. καὶ MV, quare om. punctum post ἔσεσθαι M || 28 ἀπὸ] add. δὲ* C; add. γοῦν V || εἶδον τὰ] ἴδον τὰ (sic) C quare scr. ἰδὼν τὰ m; εἰδόντα M; εἶδον πολλάκις τὰ V || 29 γενόμενα* C || Νήφουσά ἐστιν ἡ* C || 31 εἴ τις] om. C || 32 ἰδοὺ – πάντα] om. C || ἀναγινώσκοντες] γινώσκοντες V || 34-35 Ταῦτα κοινῶν] Τὰ ἐκείνων m || 35 κοινῶν] κεινῶν V; add. λέγω C || φύσας Chm; φυσῶν M || Ἐπῆρες C || 36 Κεναῖς ἐννοίαις] Καινῆς ἐννοίας* C || 37-38 πρῶτον – τύφλωττε] πρῶτον μὴ ἁπλῶς τετυφλῶσθαι* C || 39 γὰρ] om. M || 40 Ὁ] om. M a.corr. V; intercalauit M (forsan M²) || 41-42 διασκαφῇ κάτω, μαργαρῖται M || 42-44 νοήματα – ἀσφαλείας] νοήματα πρόσεχε V || 43 μετὰ¹ – ἀσφαλείας] μετὰ ἀσφαλείας C; μετὰ ἀσφαλείας, ἀλλὰ τὰ νοήματα μετὰ εὐκολίας M, et quidem *uel* transp. *uel* (quod probabilius est) ἀλλὰ – μετὰ² add., ut aliquid omissum sanaret || 44 Μάθε – μάθε] Μάνθανε – μάνθανε* C || ἐστιν] om. C || 45 μάθε – κατάβηθι] μάθετε – κατάβητε (sed accentum non scr.) M || 47 ὁ¹] om.* C || 49 Δεῦρο] add. οὖν V || 50 τὸ] om. V || 55 οὐρανὸς] praem. ὁ V || 57 ὅτι³] ἀλλ' ὅτι M || 58 ὅτι – ἄλλοι²] om. MV || Ταῦτα – πάντα]

Πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα transp. * MV || 58 59 λέγεις] add. ὅτι* C || 60 Μέμηνας] om. codd.; μὴ μαίνου m; addidi propter Μὴ μαίνομαι; in l. 62 || τοσοῦτον* C || 61 ὑπερβολή] ὑπεροχή V || 63 Ἐρωτήσω] Ἐρωτῶ* MV || σε] add. οὖν ἐγώ V || 65 Λέγεις] Λέγει CM; Οὐ λέγει Παῦλος V; loco Λέγεις potes et scribere Λέγε nisi quaestionem sequentem uelis introducere ex ore oratoris. Mihi enim uidetur eum ita non uerbo Λέγει, sed Ἐρωτᾷ usum fuisse || πρὸ – Χριστὸν] πρ(ὸ τοῦ παρα)νέσθαι (sic) M, et quidem, quod intra hamulos scripsi, uid. correxisse M² || πρὸ τοῦ] πρὶν ἤ* C || τὸν Χριστὸν] τῷ Χριστῷ uid. C^a.corr. || ὁ] om. V || 66 αὐτὸν] om. C || Καὶ] Ἀλλὰ καὶ V || 67 αὐτὸν] om. MV || ἦν] om.* MV || 68 ἔμενεν V || 68-69 puncta interrogationis[1.2] om. codd. || ἡ[1.2] om.* C || 69 θάλασσα MV || Τί] Καὶ τί V || 70 Παῦλος] praem. ὁ* M || 71 παρῆλθον M || τὰ πάντα καινά transp. M || 74 καὶ] ἵνα V || 76 Πάνυ[1.2]] Καὶ πάνυ M || 78-79 Οὐκοῦν – Οὔ] Οὐκοῦν οὐ ποιήσω σοι ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ σώματος V || 78 Οὐκοῦν ποίησον CM || 78-79 σώματος. Οὔ] σώματος οὔ·, et quidem οὔ intercalauit nisi fallor M²; cf. Photii Amphilochia qu. 167,8 || 79 Οὔ] om. C || 80 ἐμοί] μοι codd. || 82 ἔχεις] add. Ναί M || Ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ] Κἀγὼ V || Πῶς] add. ἔχεις V || 84 Ὅταν] add. γὰρ V || 85 Οὗτος] Οὕτως M || ὁ] om. V || θεός ἐστιν codd., quia Οὗτος tamquam subiectum interpretati sunt, scil. Οὗτος ὁ λίθος; attamen orator uult dicere hunc deum, quem uidis, existere, i.e. subiectum mihi uid. esse Οὗτος ὁ θεός || Μή] praem. Ὅταν τὸν λίθον θεὸν καλεῖς, πῶς ἔχεις ὀφθαλμούς; C, quae interrogatio, etsi est homoioteleuton, nisi fallor nihil aliud est nisi glossa; nam qui illam scripsit, legens Οὗτος subintellexit λίθος || 86 ἔνδοθεν] add. ὄντων V || πεπειρωμένον (sic) V || 87-88 ἵνα² – μίξῃς] om. m || 88 λίθον¹] add. ὡς* C || τὰ¹] om. M || 89 συνάγῃς (scr. συνάγεις) V || προσκυνήσεις V || 90 ἐγὼ] om. MV || 91 Ὅταν – θεοποιῇς] subintelligendum Μὴ ἔχεις ὀφαλμούς, ὅταν κτλ. || θεοποιεῖς CVm; θεοποιήσῃς M || Μεθύει] Οἷον, μεθύει* MV || 93 σὺ] praem. καὶ V || δὲ] om. CV, scr. m || 93-94 καὶ – θεός] om. MV; scr. in mg. λείπ(ει) ἴσ(ως) h || 94-95 καὶ – θεός] om. C || 94 Ἤ] Ὅτι ἡ V || 95 τὰ] om. M || θεοποιεῖς CV || 98 σαθρόν V || ἡ] om. MV || 99 τοὺς λόγους V, sed non h; om. M || Ταῖς χερσὶν] om. C || καὶ] om. CM, forsan omittendum || 100 πελέκει] πελυκι (sic) M || αὐτό¹] αὐτῷ V || αὐτό²] om. C || 101 Τοῦτο – πάθος] Καὶ ἡ μέθη καὶ ἡ πορνεία πάθος ἐστίν V || μέθης] μέθη ἐστίν, πάθος ἐστίν M || αὐτὸ[1.2]] αὐτὰ* C, quare post πάθος forsan addendum est: πορνείας ἐστὶ πάθος, κλοπῆς ἐστι πάθος || 103 σοι] transp. post l. 102 χρεία MV || 105 Ὁ – ἔβλεπεν] om. M || 106 καὶ] om. M || 107 προσεκύνησεν] add. αὐτῷ ὁ μὴ βλέπων V || 109 ὁ σωτήρ] om. CM, necessarium uid., etsi forsan nihil aliud est nisi coniectura || 110 βλέψωσιν C || 111-112 Θέλεις – ὀφθαλμοὺς] om. MV || 112 ὀφθαλμοὺς συνέσεως] bis scr. C || 113 οἱ] om. M || 114 Κἂν] Ἀλλὰ κἂν M || 114-115 θέλῃς[1.2]] θελήσῃς C; θέλεις V || 116 παιδεύω] add. καὶ

διορθῶ V ‖ ἐναντίους] om. M; τοὺς ἀπίστους V ‖ μεταβάλλων] παιδεύων καὶ V ‖ 117 πανταχόθεν] πάντοθεν* C ‖

6,2 τὰ πάντα καινά V ‖ ὥστε – κτίσις] om. C ‖ 5 Πρόσσχες] Πρόσχες M sicut et codd. Bibliothecae Amphilochiorumque Photii; Πρός με C; Πρόσεχε V ‖ διανάστηθι* C ‖ 7 οὐ] praem. fen. trium fere litterarum M ‖ ἡ] intercalauit M, forsan M²; om. V ‖ 7-8 εἰς – ὄντος] om. V ‖ 8 εἶναι – βελτίον] εἶναι quod autem deinde expunxit et supra l. scr. βελτίον h ‖ ἐκ] om. * C ‖ 9 Εἴρηται] praem. Πρόσεχετε V; Λέγεται m ‖ 11 ἐργάζηται V ‖ 12 ἀλλὰ ὅταν V ‖ μέν, διεστραμμένον δὲ] ἐνδιεστραμμένον C ‖ 12-13 διορθῶσαι – καθαραι (sic) V; scr. primum et h, sed postea corr. διορθώση – καθάρη h ‖ 13 ἄνθρωπον] οὐρανόν M ‖ 14 τοῦτέστι M^a.corr.^, deinde intercalauit o-mikron ‖ κτίζει] om. C; add. δὲ πάλιν V ‖ τὸν] om. V ‖ 15 ἄνθρωπον] om. h ‖ ἐργάζηται h ‖ 15-16 μεταβολῆς uid. M ‖ 16 ἀπολλομένου (sic) Mh; ἀπολλυμένου m ‖ 18 μόνον] add. ἡ* C ‖ παραγωγή] παραγάγει (sic) V ‖ 19 καὶ¹] praem. ῥυπωθὲν m, uid. non necessarium, forsan tamen recte ‖ διορθώση – καθάρη] subintelligendum ὁ θεός ‖ 21 ῥυπωθεῖσα] praem. ἦν δὲ* C ‖ δὲ] om. C ‖ 22 καὶ] uid. omisisse M ‖ 23 Πρὸ οὖν] Οὐ πρὸ οὖν* M; Οὐ πρώην V ‖ οὖν²] γ' οὖν V ‖ 24 Πῶς] add. δὲ C ‖ 25 κτίσις] praem. ἡ m ‖ 26 οὐχὶ] add. ἡ* C, atque l. 27 ἐκ praemittendum ἡ*; οὐχ ἡ h ‖ 27 ἐκ] καὶ C; scr. s.l. ἡ* M ‖ δέ] om. M ‖ μεταβολή] διαβολή C, sed non repperis in m ‖ 28 Ὅταν] add. οὖν V ‖ ἀκόλαστον] om. M ‖ 29 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῷ C ‖ 30 διάνοια] καρδία* MV ‖ 30-31 γενόμενον ἐλεήμονα transp. V ‖ 32 καὶ] om.* C ‖ 33 Δύο κτίσεις] Διὰ τοῦτο κτίσις C ‖ τὸ²] om. V ‖ 34 λουτρὸν] om.* C ‖ 35-36 τὸν – αὐτοῦ] om. MV ‖ 36 ἐνδυόμενοι δὲ* C; praem. καὶ V ‖ γινόμενον V, forsan ἀναγεννώμενον sicut apud Photium ‖ 37 38 αὐτοῦ – ποίημα] om. codd. ‖ 38 ἐν] praem. γὰρ C ‖ 39 ἐπὶ – ἀγαθοῖς] om. m ‖ 39-40 ἐπὶ – φθαρτοῖς] om. V ‖ 40 Τὰ] Πρῶτα m ‖ ἐπὶ¹ – ἐπὶ²] om. codd. ‖ 41 Τότε] Τοδὲ (sic) M; οἶον V ‖ 42 αὐτὸ οἶνον] αὐτὸν νέον MV ‖ Ἐκεῖ] Κἀκεῖ ἔχει* C ‖ καὶ²] om. M ‖ 43 καλλίων] βελτίων* C ‖ 44-45 Ὁρᾷς – κτίσις] om. V ‖ 45 οὐρανὸς] praem. ὁ M; ἄνθρωπος Vh, scr. in mg. οὐρανὸς ἴσ(ως) h ‖ καινός] om. C ‖ 46 μετ' ἀκριβείας m ‖ 47 ἥλιος] add. καινός* C ‖ γῆ.] γῆ; M ‖ οὐρανὸς] praem. ὁ V ‖ 48 με¹] μοι* MV ‖ ἢ] εἰ C; Τί* γὰρ MV, quare Τί* ‖ 49 ὁ αὐτός¹] om. CM, forsan coni. V ‖ μένω] praem. μὴ Cm; μείνω V ‖ ὁ αὐτός²] αὐτὸς κακῶς ἔχων V ‖ 50 Ὁ] om. M ‖ νοσερός* MV ‖ 51 εἰσελθόντα – οἰκίαν] εἰς οἰκίαν εἰσελθόντα· κάμνοντα· (sic) Vh, κάμνοντος corr. s.l. h ‖ νοσεροῦ* MV ‖ 52 λευκαίνει (scr. λευκαίνη) C; praecedit ras. trium litterarum m ‖ τοίχους] praem. τοὺς* C ‖ ὄροφον] praem. τὸν* C ‖ 55 ηὗρεν* C ‖ 55-56 Πρόσεχε – ἐρῶ] Πρόσεχε πάλιν ὃ (ᾧ m) λέγω* C ‖ 56 ἰατρὸς] praem. ὁ M ‖ 57 ἀφίησι] praem. μὴ h ‖ 58 ἐγεῖραι] καὶ ἐγείρεται καὶ C ‖ τοίχους] praem. τοὺς* C ‖ 59 Τοῦ] Ἀλλὰ τοῦ* C ‖ ποιήσηται MV ‖ 60 κέχρηται τῇ τέχνῃ] σπουδῇ κέχρηται* C ‖

61 ὑγιαίνῃ* C ‖ 63 ἀνέλαβε – συμπεσοῦσαν] scandalum fuit copistis codicum C et V, quare scr. ἀνέλαβεν, πανταχοῦ δὲ πάρεστιν ἀεί C et scr. ἀνέλαβεν· πανταχοῦ συμπεσοῦσαν εὗρεν τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν V ‖ εἴσοδον δὲ] νόησον MV ‖ 64 καλεῖ] ·καλὴ (scr. καλλὴ) M; ἦν καλῇ (sic) V, ἣν καλεῖ interpretatus est in mg. h ‖ 65 ηὗρεν* C ‖ 65-66 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου M ‖ 66 νοσοῦσαν] om. V ‖ 67 ἐρρημενον (sic) V, ἐρριμμένον h$^{a.corr.}$ ‖ 68 κνίσας] κνήσαν* C; κνησας (sic) V ‖ μολύνουσαν* C ‖ σφαττόμενα* C ‖ 68-69 τὴν – πατουμένην] om. M ‖ 69 τοὺς – σαλευομένους] om. V ‖ 70 συμπάθειαν] σύμπασαν MV, necnon add. φύσιν V ‖ 71 ἀκολάστους V ‖ 73 πᾶσαν] ἅπασαν* C ‖ τὸν – κείμενον] τῶν ἀνθρώπων κειμένων* C ‖ 75 ἐπιτρίβοντα] ἐμπιπλῶντα* C ‖ 76 διορθουμένους* MV ‖ 78 δὲ om. MV ‖ 78-79 οὐκ – συνιῶν] om. V ‖ συνιῶν] 79 συνιῶν codd., συνίων lectio communis ‖ ἐκζητῶν] ζητῶν M ‖ 80 Ὁ – ταῦτα] om. V ‖ ὅταν – κατηγορῇ] ὅτε – κατηγορεῖ* C ‖ 82 ἐχρημάτιζεν C ‖ 83 Ἐκάθισεν – Ἄλλος] om. V ‖ ὡς – μόνη] ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ὡς ἡ κορώνη transp.* C ‖ Οἴμμοι V ‖ ὅτι] om. MV ‖ 84 ἀπὸ] ἐπὶ* MV, cf. apparatus ad l. 87 ‖ 85 ἕκαστος – ἐκθλιβῇ] transp. codd. post l. 87 γῆς ‖ 86 κέχυται] ἐκκέχυται (sic) M; ἐκκέχυται* V ‖ 87 ἕκαστος – ἐκθλιβῇ] codd., et quidem ἐκθλιβῇ om. MV; praem. + καὶ ὁ κατορθῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὐχ ὑπάρχει+ἄλλος+ (sic) V, cf. textus 6,84-85, quare suspicor copista archetypi hic iterum scripsisse uerba Michaei prophetae, et quidem propter ἀπὸ/ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (6,84.86); transposui textum post l. 85 ὑπάρχει ‖ 87 ἕκαστος] add. γὰρ m ‖ 88 ἁμαρτωλῶν CVm ‖ 89 Ποίαν] add. δὲ* C; add. οὖν V ‖ νοσῶν] νοσερός* MV ‖ 90 ἴδῃ V, ‖ 90-91 Ποίαν – ἀνεγνωκότα] om.* MV ‖ 90 ἐλπίδα] add. ἔχεις m ‖ 91 νοσοῦντος] κάμνοντος* MV ‖ 92 ἰατροὶ] praem. ἡ (sic) V, οἱ* scr. h ‖ ἰδόντες] εἰδότες C; εἰδόντες scr. V ‖ τελευτήν] τελευταίαν* C ‖ 92-93 ὥστε – προσήκοντας] om. MV, et quidem post τελευτήν habet aut fenestram aut rasuram quattuor fere litterarum M ‖ 94 ἐπιδείκνυντες M ‖ τῆς – ὑπολήψεως] τὸ ἑαυτῶν* MV ‖ 96 διαστρέφοντα] στρέφοντα V ‖ τὸν ἰατρὸν] τοῦ ἰατροῦ MV, attamen non h ‖ 97 οὕτως] οὗτος (scil. ὁ ἰατρός) V: ille copista Ὧδε non “hic”, sed “hoc modo” interpretatus est ‖ αὐτὸν τὸν ἰατρὸν] αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἰατροῦ C; αὐτοῦ τοῦ πάθους MV; correxi ‖ 98 Οὐαὶ] Ὦ* MV ‖ 99 ἁμαρτωλῶν V ‖ ἀνέγραψεν] ἔγραψεν C ‖

7,1 Ὁ[1]] Καὶ ὁ V ‖ κλαίει] πενθεῖ* C ‖ 2 Ἐγκατέλιπον* MV ‖ Ποία] add. οὖν V ‖ ἐλπίς] add. λοιπόν* C ‖ 3 λέγει codd. exc. h ‖ Ἐγκατέλιπον* MV ‖ 4 μου ψυχὴν* transp. MV ‖ ἐχθρῶν] praem. τῶν* MV ‖ 5 Τὰ] Κύριε, τὰ* C ‖ 6 ὑπελείφθη C$^{a.corr.}$ ‖ 7 Ἡ – Ἰουδαία] Εἰ δὲ Ἰουδαῖος M; Εἰ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι Vh; Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ m ‖ ὅπου νόμος] om. V ‖ 9 ὅπου[2]] om. M ‖ κνήσα* (scr. κνησα) C ‖ καὶ] om. M ‖ παράνομοι] παρανομία· M; παρανομία καὶ* V ‖ 10 ἀσέβειαι] om. MV; ἀσεβείαι scr. C ‖ ἐθεοποιοῦντο V ‖ 11 ὡς] om. C ‖ Διονύσου] add. ὠργιάζοντο m ‖

δέρματα V; δέμα $M^{a.corr.}$ || 12 ἐμιμοῦντο] om. C || πανταχόθεν] παντόθεν* C || 13 Κύνας] add. καὶ V || 14 κατεσκεύασεν] κατεσ(κευλεσ)εν $M^{p.corr.}$, et quidem quod inter hamulos scripsi, uid. scripsisse M^2 || λύκους] λευκούς m || Ὁ – ἀτονεῖ] om. MV || 15 μάτην] om. C || 16 ποιεῖ – σωτήρ] om. codd.; conieci || 17 οὕτω] αὐτοῦ MV || 18-19 τὸν νοσηρὸν – ἐπὶ] om. MV || 18 τὸν] τὸ C || 19 δι' ὅν[1]] add. καὶ C; add. ὁ V || γῇ] praem. ἡ MV || 20 θάλαττα] praem. ἡ M || πάντα] om. MV || 21 οὐδὲ οὐρανοῦ] ἀνθρώπου M || 22 ἀλλὰ – ἄνθρωπον] ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον C || Διὰ] Διάτοι V || 24 ἁμαρτίᾳ] om. C; ἁμαρτίαν V || 25 ἀλλ' ἦλθε] ἀλλὰ MV || 28 περιφανής, ἐκ] ἐπιφανής C || 30 ἰατρευθῆναι] om.* C || 32 μέλλων καίειν] om. MV || 34 οὕτως C || ἀγγέλων] add. ἐποίησεν* C || ἀνύποπτος] ἀνερμήνευτος* C || 41 γένωμαι] γενῶ C || 42 λέντιον – κατέβη] om. M || Ποῦ – διεζώσατο] om. V || διεζώσατο] περιεζώσατο C || οὐκ] οὐ $C^{a.corr.}$ || 43 αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν C || ἡ περιβολή] ἡ ἡυπερβολή (sic) V, ἡ ὑπερβολή h || 44 ἀνέλαβεν] ἔλαβεν MV || 45 ηὗρεν* M || τὴν[1]] scr. in mg. C || 46 ἤμην] ἤμι (sic) C; εἰμὶ m || 48 βοηθήσαντα MV || 50 βουλόμενον] subintelligendum τὸν κάμνοντα; βουλομένην MV || ἀνεχομένην h || 50-51 τῶν ἰατρῶν* C || 52 ἐπὶ] πρὸς C || αὐτοῦ] om. C || ἐχρημέτιζεν (sic) C || 53 ἀρὰ] ἄρα (sic) C || καὶ[2]] om. MV || μοιχεία – κλοπὴ transp. C || συγκέχυται V || 54 ἄλλα] praem. καὶ* C || νοσερός* MV || ἵνα] om. C || 55 Ὁ – ἐπέταττεν] om. MV, cf. l. 61 || νοσῶν] νοσηρὸς C || οὐκ ἐπήκουσεν] οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν C || 61 ἐκέλευεν] ἐπέταττεν* C , cf. l. 55; ἀλλὰ (ἄλλα scr. h) ἐκέλευσεν Vh || ὁ – εἰσήρχετο] om. MV || 62 καὶ] add. ὁ διάβολος V || 63-64 οὐκ – βούλομαι] om. MV || 64 ἃ] ὃ V || σὺ λέγεις transp.* C || τῷ – αἴτια] Τὰ σώματα ἄθλια ἀπώλλυτο C; καὶ τὸ (scr. τῷ) σῶμα ταῦτα αἰτεῖ V ||

8,1 κατηγορεῖ[1]] κατηγόρει V, accentus forsan scr. manus secunda || ὁ] om. codd.; addidi || νόμος κατηγορεῖ] om. C || 3 'Απώλλυτο Cm || 6 φησίν] add. αὐτοῖς* (scil. εἶπω) MV || οὐ ποιοῦσιν] om. MV || 1-2 Πῶς τὰ] Πῶς· Τὰ CM, qui copistae illo puncto persaepe loco puncti interrogationis usi sunt || 11 παρθενίαν] περὶ παρθενίας C || 12 περὶ ἀκτημοσύνης C || 14 Γένωμαι (scr. Γένομαι) C || ἄνθρωπος] ἄνθρωπος· MV || 14-15 τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ] om.* C || 15 καταργῶ] διαλέγομαι· καταργῶ C || 16-17 δείκνυμι[2] – ἄνθρωπον[2]] om. MV || 17 τὸ αὐτὸ] τῷ αὐτῷ C || 18 δόλος et post αὐτοῦ add. εὑρεθήσεται V || 19 ἔχουσιν V, non scr. h || σωτηρίας] om. MV || οἱ ἐπιβουλεύοντες] οὐκ ἐπιβουλεύονται MV || ἀποφύγωσιν] ἀπόφασιν M; om. V || 20 ἴδωσιν] ἔνι* MV || μὴ ἔχοντα] μὴ ἔχειν* MV; οὐκ ἔχοντα uid. melius || 22 Αἰσχύνη M; Οὐκ αἰσχύνη* interrogauit V || τοῦτο] om.* MV || 22 περιήρχετο] scil. ὁ διάβολος || 23 θεοῦ. Οὗτος] θεοῦ οὗτος codd. exc. h || ὁ] om. MV || οὖν] om. C || 24 ἡ] om. C || 27 καὶ] om. MV || τῶν 'Ιουδαίων] om. C || 28 ἐλέγξει* MV || 29 ηὗρεν* CV || τι] om. M || 30 Τί – νῦν;] om. V || νῦν; Εἰσέρχεται] νῦν εἰσέρχεται M, et

quidem non repperis hic punctum interrogationis || Εἰσέρχεται] add. τοίνυν V || τέως] τέως· CMm || 31 παρακαλεῖ MV || 32 νήφης] συμφρονῇς C || 33 Παρακαλεῖ] add. οὖν V || αὐτούς] add. καὶ λέγει V || πρός με] om. MV || 35 νοσοῦντες] νοσηροί* C || φορτία] φορτίον M || ἐστι] ἡ MV || νόσος] add. τῆς ἁμαρτίας V || ἀταξία] add. πονηρία V || 36 φορτίον] praem. τὸ M || 39 σιδήριον] σίδηρον M || ὀξύνῃ] ὀξύ MV || καῖον] καίῃ coni. m, melius uid. addere uerbum aliquod sicut ex. gr. λαμβάνῃ || 40 εἵλοντο (scr. ἥλοντο) V || 41 ἢ] subintelligendum μᾶλλον || ἀπὸ] ὑπὸ h || 42 ὑγίειαν M || Ἵνα] add. οὖν V || 43 τοῦτο] om. M || οὕτως] οὗτος codd. || ἀπαιτεῖσαι] φησίν· Ἀπαιτεῖ* C || τῶν] om. MV || 44 ἁμαρτημάτων] add. ἀπαιτεῖ ἡμᾶς τῶν πλημμελημάτων* C || ἡμᾶς[2]] om. MV || 46 κόσμον] add. ἀλλ' ἵνα σώσω τὸν κόσμον* C, cf. apparatus quoad l. 55 || βαρύ] add. οὐδὲν ἐπαχθές V || σιδήριον] σίδηρον* MV || 47 καῖον] om. V || 47 οὐ[1]] εἰ οὐ M || 48 πόνων h || δὲ] om. C || 48 49 εἰ – πιστεύετε[1]] om. C || 48 εἰ] add. δὲ* V || 49 εἰ – πιστεύετε[2]] om. CV || 50 βλέπετε] om.* C || 52 παρθένων* C, at cf. 9,12 || 53 Οὐκ ἦλθεν] Οὐ προσῆλθεν V || 54 τοῦ θυγατρίου C; τὸ (scr. τῷ V) θυγάτριον Vh || 55 κόσμον] add. ἀλλ' ἵνα σώσω* C, cf. apparatus quoad l. 46 || 56 Λέγω] Ταῦτα λέγω τὰ C || καὶ – πράγματα] om. C || οὐκ] praem. οὐ χρείαν ἔχω C || 59 δίδωμι] add. τὴν ἐλευθερίαν* C || 60 φύσιν] add. ἡμῶν V || 61 κνῖσαν] κνήσαν* (scr. κνησαν) C; κνίσσᾳ h || καπνῷ h || 62 μολύνοντας h; μολύναντα M; μολύναντας V || τί] add. οὖν V || πυρέττοντα C || 63 λούει· πρῶτον λέγει C || Λοῦσαι] Λούσω M; λούσου V || ἀπαλλάσσου C; ἀπαλλάττω M || 64 λουτρῷ] λουτρὸν V || 64-65 ἀλείφει τῷ – «Ἀλείφω] ἀλείφει· «Καὶ τῷ – ἀλείφω* C || 66 Τοσαύτη] praem. Ναί V || Κατάβηθι κάτω] om. V || 67 καὶ – μένει] om. MV || οὐ μένει] μαίνει C; coni. m || ἄνθρωπος] add. καὶ γίνεται νέος V || 68 καὶ[1]] μὴ* C || 69 ἰατρεία.] ἰατρεία; CV || 70 ποιήσωμεν CV || κακά] om. M || 71 πονηρὸν] praem. καὶ* MV || ἀπολλύμεθα] ἀπωλόμεθα (scr. ἀπολώμεθα) C; om. V || 71-72 Βαπτίσθητε – Λαβὼν] Λέγει βαπτίζεσθαι καὶ σώζεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ λαβὼν C || Λαβὼν] add. οὖν V || 72 στερεᾷ τροφῇ MV || 72-73 Ἐπειδὴ – αὐτόν] om. V || 73 ἀθῷος ὁ] om.* M || νοσερὸς* M || αὐτόν] om.* M || 74 τὸ ἑαυτοῦ[1.2]] αὐτοῦ MV || 75 σὺ] σοὶ C, non scr. m || 76 λάβε] λαβὼν C ||

9,1-2 Ὅταν – κτίσις] om. C || 3-4 Ὅταν – κτίσις] om. V || 3 γένηται] γίνεται C || 4-7 (ἁμαρ)τημάτων – κτίσιν] scr. exc. litteris quae posui intra hamulos M[2] || 7 Πόσαι] Πῶς αἱ M || μιμάδες] πόρναι C || κατέλειπαν C || 8 κατεπάσοντο M || σποδόν] σποδὸν καὶ V || περιεβάλλοντο CM || 9-11 Πάλιν – κτίσις] om. C || 10 εἰσελθοῦσαι] εἰσῆλθον καὶ V || 12 οὐκέτι] μηκέτι C || 13 αὔτη] αὐτῆς ἡ γνώμη C || γνώμη] καρδία C || 14-16 Οὐκέτι – γίνονται] om. V || 14 Οὐκέτι] praem. Οὐᾶ M || αὕτη] αὐτὴ C || 15 αὐτὴ] αὔτη (sic) M || Οὐκέτι ἄλλοις] Ἀλλὰ οὐκέτι ἄλλο M || 16 πόρναι] οἱ πόρνοι* C || 17 κτίσιν] praem. τὴν* C || Ἕλληνα – ἁρπάζοντα] ἅρπαγα

τὸν Ἕλληνα C || 19 χήρας] add. γυναῖκας V || 20 διδόντα] δίδοντα CM; διαδιδόντα V || καὶ[2]] om. M || 21 παραγενόμενον M || οὗτος] ὁ αὐτός C || 25 καταπατήσαντας MV || μιμουμένους] γενομένους V || ἀπαθείᾳ] κακοπαθείᾳ MV || 26 Ἄπελθε] Κάτελθε V || τὴν] om. C || 26-27 καὶ μὴ] μὴ καὶ C || 27 νῷ] νοΐ* C || 29 κτῆσιν] κτίσιν Mm; κλῆσιν V || τὸ διάδημα] τὰ διδάγματα (sic) C, τὰ διαδήματα autem m || 30 βασιλεῖς[1]] add. ἀνομίας* MV || ἔπλησαν] ἐνεπληροῦν M; ἐνέπλησαν* V || ἀσεβείας] om.* MV || 31 ἐκκλησίαν C || οἱ] om. MV || 32 εἰπεῖν βασιλεῖ C || 33 τοῦτο] om. codd.; addidi || 33-34 ὑπακούει] ὑ intercalauit, et quidem uid. M[2] || 34 εἰσέρχεται] ἔρχεται C || 34-35 οὐδενὸς – κεφαλῇ] om. V || 35 παραινοῦντος] αἰνοῦντος M || 37 ὁ[1]] om. MV || 39 ὁ] om. M || ἀλλὰ] praem. οὐχί* MV || 40 ἔχει] om. codd.; addidi || εὐλάβειαν] add. ἔχων m || 41 ἐγώ] καὶ ἐγώ* C; καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς V || 41-42 Ὑπὲρ – θεῷ] om. MV || 42 αὐτῷ] add. πρέπει M || 42-43 καὶ – κράτος] om. C || 43 κράτος] add. νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ M; add. σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποι (sic) manus secunda V, quod etiam scr. necnon add. (ζωοποι)ῷ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι h || αἰῶνας] add. τῶν αἰώνων M ||

Apparatus ad codicem 277 ex Photii Bibliotheca (522 a 24 – 523 a 3) necnon eiusdem Amphilochiorum quaestionem 167.

Sigla:

B	Consensus codicum A et M Photii Bibliothecae
A	Codex Marcianus gr. 450, saec. 11
M	Codex Marcianus gr. 451, saec. 12
Q	Amphilochia

Titulus:

1 Τοῦ αὐτοῦ] Ἐκ τοῦ B; om. Q || 2 τὸ[2]] om. BQ || 3 Ὥστε] om. BQ || 4 τὰ – καινά] καινὰ τὰ πάντα transp. BQ ||

5,69 102 Τί θεοποιεῖς:

69 Τί] praem. Ὅτι φασὶν οἱ Ἑλληνισταὶ καὶ τὸ Ἰουδαΐζον BQ || οὖν, φησίν] om. BQ || 70 Εἴ – κτίσις] transp. post l. 71 πάντα BQ || 71 Ἐγώ] Ἐγὼ γάρ BQ || 73 ἴδῃς] add. ταῦτα BQ || Δεῦρο] add. καὶ BQ || 75 Καὶ] add. σὺ BQ || ὀφθαλμοὺς ποιεῖς] transp. BQ || 76 Πάνυ[1]] Ναί BQ || Πάνυ[2]] Καὶ πάνυ BQ || 80 ἐμοὶ] μοι BQ || Πάνυ] Μάλιστα BQ || 82 Ἐπεὶ[1] – ὀφθαλμοὺς] Σὺ δὲ BQ || 85 θεός ἐστιν scr. BQ || ὀφθαλμοὺς] praem. ἆρα BQ || 85-86 Μή τι ὄφελος] Μὴ γὰρ ὄφελός τι BQ || 86 ἔνδοθεν] ἔνδον AQ || 88-89 ἵνα[1] – συναγάγῃς] ὥστε τὸν λίθον σε ἰδεῖν λίθον καὶ τὸ ξύλον

ξύλον BQ || 90 καὶ] ὅταν M || ἐγὼ αὐτὸ] transp. A || Μὴ] Ἆρα BQ || 91 θεοποιῇς] θεοποιεῖς Q, et add. ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχεις BQ || 92 ἄνθρωπος] praem. ὁ BQ || περιφέρεται] add. καὶ καταγελᾶται BQ || ἀνθρώπου] praem. τοῦ Q || 92-93 ἄλογον – μέθης] ἄλογος BQ || 93-94 καὶ – Διόνυσον] ὁ Διόνυσος BQ || 94 Τὴν[1] – Ἀφροδίτην] om. BQ || 95 καὶ[1] – Ἑρμῆν] ὁ Ἑρμῆς BQ || 95-97 Ὅταν – πιστεῦσαι] om. BQ || 98-101 Ὁ – πάθος] om. BQ || 101 αὐτὸ[1]] τὰ πάθη BQ || αὐτὸ[2]] ταῦτα BQ || 102 θεοποιεῖς] θεοποιῶν οὐκ αἰσθάνῃ BQ ||

6,5-55 Πρόσσχες – νοσοῦσαν:
5 Πρόσσχες] Εἰ βούλει δέ, πρόσχες (sic) BQ || 5-6 σύντεινον – διανάστησον] ὅπως γέγονε πάντα καινά BQ || 7 καλεῖται] λέγεται BQ, et add. καὶ AQ || 9-13 Εἴρηται – λέγω] om. BQ || 13 ἄνθρωπον] οὐρανόν BQ || 14 τοῦτό] om. B || ἐστι – ὄν] ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος BQ || 15 ἐργάσηται] ἀπεργάσηται BQ || Ὧδε] Ἐνταῦθα τὸ κτίζειν BQ || ἐπὶ] praem. ἐστὶν BQ || 16-19 ἐκεῖ – καθάρῃ] καὶ BQ || 20 κτισθεῖσα] ἐκτισμένη BQ || 21 ῥυπωθεῖσα] ἐρρυπώθη BQ || ὑπὸ – φόνου] τῇ μοιχείᾳ καὶ τῷ φόνῳ καὶ πρὸς φθορὰν κατεφέρετο BQ || οὖν] om. BQ || 23-24 Πρὸ – εὐηρέστει] οὐχ ὅτι πρότερον οὐκ εἶχεν (εἶχε B) καρδίαν BQ || 24 Οὐ] οὐδὲ BQ || 25 τῆς] add. κοσμούσης αὐτὴν BQ || 26 οὐχὶ] οὐ μόνον BQ, add. ἡ Q || 26-27 τῆς – δέ] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τῆς οὐσίας διαφθαρείσης BQ || 28-30 Ὅταν – διάνοια] Οὕτω κτίζεται σώφρων ἡ πόρνη BQ || 30-31 ὅταν – καρδία] οὕτως ἐλεήμων ὁ ἅρπαξ BQ || 31-32 Ὁ – περιστερά] οὕτω μεταβάλλεται εἰς πρόβατον ὁ λύκος καὶ ὁ ἱέραξ εἰς περιστεράν BQ || 34 λουτρὸν] add. λέγω BQ || Ἀποδυόμενοι] Ἀποδυσάμενοι BQ || 35-36 τὸν – αὐτοῦ] om. BQ || 36 ἐνδυσάμενοι] add. δὲ Q || ἄνθρωπον] om. BQ || γενόμενον] ἀναγεννώμενον BQ || 37-44 Ὥστε – κτίσις] om. BQ || 44 ὅ τί ἐστι] ὅ τι ἐστὶ (ἐστὶν Q) scr. BQ || 46-49 καινός – αὐτός[2]] καινὸς καὶ γῆ καινή, ἐγὼ δὲ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις πεπαλαίωμαι BQ || 50 νοσηρός εἰμι] ὁ διαιτώμενος ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ νοσῶν BQ || 50-51 οὖν – εἰσελθόντα] ἰατρὸς BQ || 51 οἰκίαν] add. τοῦ ἀρρωστοῦντος εἰσέλθοι BQ || νοσηροῦ] om. BQ || μηδεμίαν] οὐδεμίαν BQ || 52 ποιούμενον] λάβοι BQ || λευκαίνοντα] λευκαίνῃ BQ || τοίχους] praem. τοὺς BQ || χρυσοῦντα] καὶ χρυσογραφῇ τὸν BQ || 53 οὐ λέγεις] οὐκ ἂν εἶπες αὐτῷ BQ || 54 καλλωπίζεις] add. βοήθησον τῷ κειμένῳ BQ || 55 εἰς ὃν] ἐν ᾧ BQ || νοσοῦσαν] add. καὶ πρὸς τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτῆς ἅπαντα δέχεται τὸν ἀγῶνα, καὶ ἀνακαινίζει καὶ ἀνορθοῖ τὴν φύσιν. Τί οὖν τὸν ἰατρὸν μέμφῃ, ὅτι μὴ ταῦτα ἐποίει (ποιεῖ M), τὸν Χριστὸν δὲ πάλιν ὑπὸ μῶμον ποιεῖς, ὅτι ταῦτα ποιεῖ; Οὕτω παρῆλθε (παρῆλθεν Q) τὰ ἀρχαῖα, οὕτω γέγονε τὰ πάντα καινά, οὕτω καινὴ (καινὴ] καὶ ἡ B) κτίσις. Καὶ μυρία ἄν τις τοιαῦτα ἐπισυνάψῃ. BQ ||

APPARATUS BIBLICUS

Tit. 2-3 II Cor. 5,17 ||

1,3-4 Cf. Matth. 13,7-8 || 25.28 Cf. Act. 18,3 necnon 20,34; I Cor. 4,12; I Thess. 2,9 ||

2,2 Cf. 1,25.28 || 2-3 Cf. Matth. 4,12 || 3 Cf. Marc. 2,14; Luc. 5,27 || 4 Cf. Matth. 26,6-13 par. || 4-5 Cf. Matth. 27,38 cum Luc. 23,40-43 || 5 Cf. Matth. 2,1-7 || 18-20 Ps. 44,2 || 23 cf. ibid. || 26-27 Cf. 1,25.28 || 48-49 Cf. II Cor. 3,3 cum II Ioh. 12 || 51-52.53-54 Matth. 24,35, quoad lectionem uariantem cf. Marc. 13,31; Luc. 21,33 ||

3,3-4 Cf. 2,2-3: Matth. 4,12 || 8-9 Ioh. 1,1 || 10 Cf. Ex. 14 || 11 Ex. 14,21 || Cf. Ex. 17,1-7 || 11-12 Cf. Ex. 16 || πόλεις locum non repperi || 12-13 Cf. Ex. 17,11-12 || 15-16 Gen. 1,1 || 17-18 Ioh. 1,1 || 20 Cf. Gen. 1,1 || 30-32 Rom. 8,15 || 35-36.37-38.41-42.42-43.49 Ioh. 1,1 ||

4,5 Cf. 1,25.28 || 14 Cf. Marc. 8,36; Luc. 9,25 || 24-25 Act. 18,3 || 46-48 Matth. 10,11 || 51.53 Rom. 16,3 lectio uarians || 54-55 Rom. 16,4 || 60-61 Cf. Gen. 22 || 62 Gen. 22,12.16 || 64 Rom. 16,4 || 73-74 Cf. Gen. 18,6 || 77-78 Gen. 18,6 || 83 φιλοξενία cf. Gen. 18 || 87-88 Cf. Gen. 22,17 || 98 Cf. Iob 31,32.34 || 99 Cf. Iob 40,18 ? ||

5,8 Cf. Eph. 6,20; II Tim. 1,16 || Cf. Phil. 1,7.13.14.17; Col. 4,18; II Tim. 2,9; Phm. 10.13 || 9 Act. 20,9-12 καὶ ἤρθη νεκρός || 10-15 II Cor. 5,16-18 || 31-32 II Cor. 5,17 || 34-37 Ibid. || 39-40 I Cor. 2,14 || 44.52.58-59 Cf. II Cor. 5,17 || 70-71 II Cor. 5,17 || 86 Cf. Matth. 5,29; 18,9; Marc. 9,47 || 106-107 Ioh. 9,35.38 || 109-110 Ioh. 9,39 ||

6,1-2 II Cor. 5,17 || 4 Ibid. || 22 Ps. 50,10 || 34 Cf. Tit. 3,5 || 34-35 Col. 3,9 || 35-37 Cf. Eph. 4,22.24 || 36-37 Col. 3,10 || 38-39 Eph. 2,10 || 41 Cf. Gen. 2 || 41-42 Cf. Ioh. 2,1-11 || 44 II Cor. 5,17 || 44-49 Cf. Matth. 16,26 par.; Ioh. 10,26 || 70-71 Ps. 105,37 || 78-79 Rom. 3,10; cf. Ps. 13,1-3; 52,2-4 || 81-82 Ier. 5,8 || 83 Ier. 3,2 || 83-85 Mich. 7,1-2 || 86-87 Hoseas 4,2 || 86-87 Mich. 7,2 || 88 Is. 1,4 || 98-99 Is. 1,4 || 99-100 Cf. Lamentationes siue Threni ||

7,2.3-4 Ier. 12,7 || 5-7 III Reg. 19,10 || 24-25 I Petr. 2,22; cf. Is. 53,9 || 31-32 Cf. Ioh. 13,4.5 || 35 Cf. ibid. || 36 Cf. II Cor. 8,9 || 37-39 II Cor. 8,9 || 42 Cf. 7,31-32 || 43-44 Cf. Phil. 2,7 || 46 Cf. Hebr. 4,15 || 51 Ex. 20,15 || Ex. 20,13 || 51-52 Ier. 5,8 || 52 Ex. 20,14 || 53 Hoseas 4,2 ||

8,17-18 I Petr. 2,22; cf. Is. 53,9 ‖ 22-23 Matth. 4,3 par. ‖ 28-29 Ioh. 8,46 ‖ 33-34 Matth. 11,28 ‖ 45 Idem ‖ 45-46 Ioh. 12,47 ‖ 48 Cf. Matth. 26,6-13 par. ‖ 49 Cf. Matth. 27,38 cum Luc. 23,40-43 ‖ 49-50 Cf. Matth. 2,1-7 ‖ 50 Cf. 2,3: Marc. 2,14; Luc. 5,27; praesertim Luc. 18,10-14 ‖ Cf. Matth. 15,21-28 ‖ 50-51 Cf. Ioh. 13,15 ‖ 51-52 Cf. Matth. 26,6-13 par. ‖ 52-53 Cf. Matth. 2,1-7 ‖ 53-54 Cf. Matth. 15,21-28 ‖ 54-55 Ioh. 12,47 ‖ 55 Matth. 11,28 ‖ 64 Cf. Tit. 3,5 ‖

9,11.21-22.25-26.28.41 II Cor. 5,17 ‖

EXKURS: ZU PHOTIUS EXZERPT AUS CPG 4701.

Photius überliefert im Codex 277 der Bibliothek und in den Amphilochia zwei längere Exzerpte aus CPG 4701: 5,69-102 und 6,5-55,[43] die er aber, wie das nur einmal auftretende Ὅτι in 5,69 zeigt, als einen einzigen Aussageblock auffaßt. Diesen leitet er mit einer eigenständig formulierten Situationsangabe ein: "Die Hellenisten bringen auch das (folgende) judaistische Argument vor", womit er zu verstehen gibt, daß er (1) nicht nur unter ὁ Ἕλλην in 2,1 und 2,25, sondern auch unter dem entsprechenden Plural (in 3,40 und) in 5,32 nicht primär den Heiden, sondern den Menschen des hellenistischen Kulturkreises sah, sofern dieser sich als Vertreter des Ἑλληνισμός versteht, und daß er (2) den Vokativ ὦ Ἰουδαῖε in 3,9 und damit die im 3. Abschnitt eröffnete Polemik primär nicht als eine Relativierung der Autorität des Moses aufgefaßt hat, sondern als die Abwehr einer zumindest seit dem Sieg des ὁμοούσιος von Nikaia (325) der reichskirchlichen Orthodoxie nicht mehr akzeptablen Form des Monotheismus, kurz und polemisch in der Tradition Ἰουδαϊσμός genannt. Doch ging es dort, wo Photius mit seinem Exzerpt einsetzt, nicht mehr um ein Ausspielen von Joh. 1,1 gegen Gen. 1,1. Denn in 4,1 sah der Prediger offensichtlich keine Möglichkeit mehr, wie er diesen Faden weiterspinnen konnte: Er griff auf zuvor Gesagtes, nämlich auf das Thema "Paulus, der Zeltmacher", zurück, was er in aller Kürze auch mit der Formel εἰς τὸ προκείμενον ἐπανέλθωμεν hätte tun können. Dies führt ihn im 5. Abschnitt zu 2 Kor. 5,17: "Ist somit jemand in Christus, so ist er ein neues Geschöpf".[44] Wieso erweist sich für die

[43] Vgl. zum folgenden den Apparat auf S. 57-58.

[44] Daß bei Photius Ὥστε im Titel fehlt, liegt wahrscheinlich daran, daß sein

Christen etwas als neue Schöpfung? Es ist doch alles in dieser Welt beim Alten geblieben! Dieses Argument[45] der in 5,32 genannten Ἕλληνες ist weder Ἰουδαϊσμός noch Ἑλληνισμός, sondern Standpunkt eines jeden, der die sakramentale Erneuerung und Heilung des Menschen in Christus (6,1-7,64; 9,1-36) nicht "sieht", m.a.W. Standpunkt eines jeden Nichtchristen, und einzig insofern "jüdisch", als Juden wider Christen mit dem Ausbleiben des "messianischen Reiches" argumentieren konnten, nämlich mit dem Hinweis, daß sich in der Welt mit der Ankunft Christi nichts verändert hat, was das Auge sehen kann. Und auch in dem *argumentum ad hominem*, das 5,84 beginnt, ist der angegriffene Standpunkt nicht wirklich jener des Ἑλληνισμός, sondern der eines jeden "gläubigen Polytheisten". Photius einleitende Situationsangabe orientiert sich, wie es scheint, an den ersten drei Abschnitten, nicht am exzerpierten Text und verrät somit einen eher flüchtigen Leser.

Der zweite Teil des Exzerpts betrifft den in der Predigt vorgetragenen zweifachen biblischen Schöpfungsbegriff: Schöpferischer Akt Gottes ist nicht nur die *creatio ex nihilo*, sondern auch die "ethische Erneuerung", die Wende von sündiger Existenz zu sittlich guter Lebensführung (ἐπὶ τὸ βελτίον μεταβολή).[46] Daß dies die einzig sinnvolle Perspektive ist, um von καινὴ κτίσις zu sprechen, vermittelt der Prediger durch eine rhetorische Frage (6,48-49), welche die Erinnerung an biblische Formulierungen[47] weckt: Was nützt es dem Menschen, wenn Himmel und Erde erneuert wären, der Mensch aber der Sünde verhaftet und so im Unheil bliebe? Dies und das darauf folgende paradoxe Paradigma vom Arzt, der einen Kranken besucht, sich aber nicht um diesen, sondern um dessen Haus, um das Weisseln von Wänden und Decke kümmert (6,50-

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Exzerpt mit einer Stelle einsetzt, in der dieses Consecutivum nicht gebraucht wird (5,70). Die Umstellung des Textes von 2 Kor. 5,17 bei Photius fällt auf, ergibt aber keine einsichtigere Argumentationsstruktur. Wenn man anders interpunktiert, nämlich (ὥστε,) εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ καινὴ κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν κτλ. wird der Satz (auf den ersten Blick) tautologisch und im Munde eines Gegners höchst ironisch. Die Einschränkung "auf den ersten Blick" ist notwendig; denn im Rahmen religiöser Rede kann er eine eschatologische, soteriologische, sogar ontologische Auslegung erfahren, in welcher der Inhalt der Bedingung nicht mit dem identisch ist, was der ganze Satz aussagt.

[45] Vgl. 5,34-36.52 ff.

[46] 6,13-15: ὁ θεὸς ... κτίζει καὶ ὅταν τὸν πονηρὸν ἄνθρωπον καλὸν ἐργάσηται.

[47] Vgl. den *apparatus biblicus* a.a.O.

59), hält Photius in aller Kürze fest.

Es ist deutlich, daß Photius stilistisch glättend eingreift. Ein dreimaliges Πάνυ in 5,76.80 fordert ihn spontan zur Variation heraus. Zweimal hintereinander liest man in der Predigt in 5,80-81 ein ὀφθαλμοὺς und ein Ἐπεὶ, nicht aber bei Photius. In 5,87-88 stößt man sich am viermaligen ἵνα, Photius dagegen vermeidet dies, indem er eine gut laufende Periode schafft und fortläßt, was nichts Neues aussagt. In 6,20-21 schreibt er statt des Ausdrucks der Umgangssprachedie "ἦν ... ἡ καρδία ... κτισθεῖσα, ῥυπωθεῖσα δὲ" die im guten Sprachgebrauch akzeptable Formulierung: "ἦν ... ἡ καρδία ... ἐκτισμένη, ἐρρυπώθη δὲ". Analoges gilt für das durchaus demonstrativ verstandene αὐτὸ2 in 5,101, welches Photius durch eine Form von οὗτος ersetzt, ferner für die Negation οὐδεμίαν statt μηδεμίαν in 6,51 und für das ἐν ᾧ statt εἰς ὃ in 6,55. Schließlich klingt das τὸ μὴ ὂν ἐργάσασθαι in 6,14 sicher nicht präzis; Photius führt die "normale Formel" ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἐργασασθαι ein.

An einer Stelle verfehlt jedoch sein leicht redigierender Eingriff den Sinn der Aussage: In 6,25-27 ersetzt er den scharfen Gegensatz von οὐχὶ – ἀλλὰ durch ein "Sowohl — als auch", ohne aber das Ἰδοὺ τοίνυν aufzugeben. Der Prediger wollte sagen, daß die sittliche Erneuerung, die ἀρίστη πολιτεία, "Schöpfung" genannt wird: "Sieh, Schöpfung wird somit nicht ein In-die-Existenz-Setzen des Seienden aus dem Nichtseienden genannt, sondern eine Wende aus dem existierenden, jedoch verdorbenen Seienden zum sittlich Besseren." Nach Photius aber sagt der Text, daß nicht nur die *creatio ex nihilo*, sondern auch die sittliche Erneuerung Schöpfung genannt wird.

An nicht wenigen Stellen rafft Photius den Text, so daß man zurecht von einem Exzerpt sprechen kann. Er erlaubt sich Freiheiten, die zeigen, daß er nicht am Wortlaut als solchem, sondern am Argument interessiert war. Sollte ihn beim Schreiben seiner σχεδάρια schon jene pastorale und pädagogische Intention geleitet haben, die später in den Amphilochia zum Tragen kam? Hängt damit vielleicht zusammen, daß Photius in 5,94 das Beispiel der Aphrodite wegläßt? Es handelt sich in seinem Text nicht wie beim *Cantabrigiensis* (C) um einen Lesefehler, der durch ein Homoioteleuton veranlaßt war; nebenbei bemerkt, in der Seitenüberlieferung des *Mosquensis* (M) und des *Marcianus* (V) liegt hier ein analoger Lesefehler vor, wodurch der Hinweis auf Dionysos verschwand. Warum hat Photius Aphrodite ausgelassen?

Auf die *constitutio textus* der Homilie bleibt das Zeugnis des Photius

ohne Auswirkung, auch dort, wo sein Text einen sinnvollen Überschuß gegenüber der direkten Überlieferung bietet.[48] An einer Stelle, nämlich in 6,36, könnte man im Ausgang von Photius eine Korruptele des Archetypus der direkten Überlieferung vermuten: Wahrscheinlich verdient ἀναγεννώμενον gegenüber γενόμενον den Vorzug. Im allgemeinen scheint der *Codex Marcianus gr. 450* (A) im Vergleich zum *Codex Marcianus gr. 451* (M), wenn man R. Henry folgt, den ursprünglicheren Text der Bibliothek zu überliefern. In 5,86 fällt aber auf, daß M gegen A und gegen die Amphilochia (Q) das in der direkten Überlieferung bezeugte ἔνδοθεν und nicht ἔνδον wiedergibt.[49]

Eine auffällige Übereinstimmung besteht an einer Stelle zwischen dem Text des Photius und jenem des *Codex Mosquensis olim Bibl. Synodalis 128 (Vlad. 159)*: Beide überliefern in 6,13 statt ἄνθρωπον ein οὐρανόν. M.E. handelt es sich um zwei voneinander unabhängige redaktionelle Eingriffe, die der Kontext nahelegte.[50] Mit dem *Codex Cantabrigiensis Collegii S. Trinitatis* kommt Photius zwei Mal im Artikel ἡ in 6,26 und 6,27 bzw. τοὺς und τὸν in 6,52 überein. Dabei ist anzumerken, daß Photius auch in 5,92 vor ἄνθρωπος bzw. ἀνθρώπου jeweils den Artikel setzt.[51]

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam Karl-Heinz Uthemann
im April 1991

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[48] In 5,91 ist der Zusatz ὀφθαλμοὺς im Zusammenhang nicht notwendig, wenn auch, stilistisch gesehen, sicher besser; Analoges gilt fur 6,15 Ἐνταῦθα τὸ κτίζειν. Die Worte καὶ καταγελᾶται nach περιφέρεται (5,92) verdeutlichen die Aussage; ob Photius sie aber in seiner Vorlage vorfand oder nicht, läßt sich nicht entscheiden; letzteres scheint mir aber wahrscheinlicher. Analoges gilt für die Zusätze καὶ πρὸς φθορὰν κατεφέρετο in 6,25, κοσμούσης αὐτὴν in 6,21, ὁ διαιτώμενος ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ in 6,50, τοῦ ἀρρωστοῦντος in 6,51 und βοήθησον τῷ κειμένῳ in 6,54.

[49] Auch in 6,7 stimmt M gegen A und Q in einer *lectio melior* mit der direkten Bezeugung überein.

[50] Daß der *Mosquensis* und Photius im Titel in der Umstellung der Worte τὰ πάντα καινά zu καινὰ τὰ πάντα übereinstimmen, ist m.E. bei Photius durch den Beginn seines Exzerpts bedingt, wo es bei ihm und in der direkten Überlieferung mit Ausnahme des *Mosquensis* καινὰ τὰ πάντα heißt.

[51] Zur Konjektur ἐμοὶ in 5,80 ist zu bedenken, daß auch Photius ein unbetontes μοι überliefert. — Im Dezember 1992 habe ich in Paris einen weiteren Textzeugen entdeckt, den *Codex Parisinus gr. 700*, ff. 264v–274v. Ich hoffe, in Kürze einen Bericht vorlegen zu können.

Miguel Arranz S.J.

Les formulaires de confession dans la tradition byzantine

Les sacrements de la restauration de l'ancien euchologe constantinopolitain

II-3

(2e partie)**

PARTIE II:

CONFESSION MONASTIQUE

Les ordres ou formulaires que nous présentons ici comme rites de "confession monastique" ou de "confession d'après les kanonaria", peuvent à peine s'appeler rites; en effet les manuscrits ne les appellent ni τάξεις ni ἀκολουθίαι car ils se trouvent à l'intérieur des κανονάρια qui règlent la discipline pénitentielle; le rite de confession peut se trouver soit à la fin du kanonarion, presque en appendice au traité canonique, comme dans le Protokanonarion ou Kanonarion Primitif, soit au début, dans le Deuterokanonarion ou Kanonarion Dérivé (cf. M. Arranz, "I penitenziali bizantini . . .").

Un "kanonarion" par définition est une collection de canons, ou normes selon lesquelles on impose la congrue pénitence pour un certain péché; souvent on appelle aussi "kanon" la pénitence imposée. Certains mss appelleront cette seconde "commandement" (ἐντολή, "zapovjed'" en slave).

Le kanonarion original, ce que E. Herman appelle le "Kanonarion Primitif", et que nous avons appelé "Protokanonarion", pourrait avoir été rédigé au VIII ou IX siècle; sa paternité est explicitement indiquée dans le titre du document édité par Morin: "de Jean, moine et diacre, disciple de S. Basile, fils d'obéissance". D'autres mss l'attribuent au patriarche Jean le

** Cf. 1e partie: OCP-92: 423-459; cf. ibidem bibliographie et sigles. Cf. etiam: M. Arranz, *I penitenziali bizantini*: I parte: il Protokanonarion o "Kanonarion Primitivo" di Giovanni monaco e diacono (secolo IX), secondo le edizioni di Morin, Pitra e Khakhanov. II parte: il Deuterokanonarion o "Secondo Kanonarion" di Basilio monaco (secolo XII), secondo le edizioni di Morin, Suvorov, Almazov e Dmitrievsky e secondo gli eucologi della Cattedrale di Otranto e del Monastero del SS. Salvatore di Messina. Edizione "ad instar manuscripti", Roma 1992.

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Jeûneur, mort deux siècles plus tôt, mais cette attribution semble peu probable;[42] cela semble même exclu dans l'introduction du document, lorsque l'auteur fait l'histoire de la pénitence et veut justifier les innovations personnellement adoptées.

Le "Kanonarion Dérivé", ou "Deuterokanonarion", et qui ne semble être qu'un remaniement du XII siècle du Protokanonarion, est lui aussi attribué parfois au patriarche Jean; et ici l'attribution est encore moins croyable. Son vrai auteur semble être un moine de nom Basile.

Dans le Protokanonarion, la confession, qui pouvait avoir lieu hors de l'église, se faisait, comme nous avons déjà anticipé, à un δεχόμενος, *ἀνα* δεχόμενος ou *ἀνάδοχος* (probablement un moine non prêtre); rappelons que l'auteur du Protokanonarion, qui parle de sa grande expérience dans le ministère des confessions, ne se professe que diacre dans le titre de l'ouvrage.

Le rite proposé est d'une grande sobriété: il ne comporte qu'un psaume avant la confession et une prière après celle-ci, qui n'est en général qu'une simple formule de souhait du pardon divin, de type K4); il ne s'agit pas d'une vraie prière et encore moins d'une absolution.

La confession ne semble pas toujours spontanée, et en tout cas elle est complétée par des questions du confesseur, qui doit montrer une attitude affable et encourageante et appliquer les pénitences avec modération et condescendance.

Les rites de confession monastique avaient été qualifiés par A. Raes comme "formulaires orientaux" (RAE 366). Il avait proposé une série de conclusions assez judicieuses que nous présentons ici en guise d'introduction à la description de quelques uns de ces formulaires:

1) Les mss, malgré leur diversité, prescrivent visiblement un même rituel, composé de quatre éléments principaux:

a) un psaume (plutôt court), le trisagion, quelques prostrations;
b) l'aveu sous forme de réponses aux questions du prêtre;
c) une seule prière qui annonce le pardon;
d) l'imposition d'une pénitence.

2) Le rite comporte une série de gestes: se prosterner, se relever, s'asseoir, ce qui laisse entrevoir que: primo, l'interrogatoire sur les péchés

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[42] Contre cette attribution sont, par exemple, Grummel (GRU 110) et Beneshevich (BEN 81, 87, 111); cf. OCP-92: 426, note 5; cf. M. Arranz, *I penitenziali bizantini . . .*, introduzione: data e autore del Protokanonarion.

est très poussé; secundo, le choix de la pénitence et l'instruction sur la manière de l'exécuter prennent un certain temps.

3) Il s'agit d'une confession privée et individuelle.

4) Les prières et les formules sont brèves et peu nombreuses, mais la confession est longue; l'examen minutieux de toute la vie du pénitent et la manière de poser les questions suggèrent la confession de quelqu'un qui se convertit, ou peut-être de quelqu'un qui, quittant le monde, fait une confession générale avant de se faire moine. En tout cas, il est peu probable qu'un confesseur ait pu de cette façon entendre un nombre considérable de pénitents en un seul jour, et que le pénitent qui se présente ait la pratique de la confession fréquente.

5) Le terme technique pour désigner le confesseur: ὁ ἀναδεχόμενος, signifie que celui qui reçoit le pénitent, prend ses affaires sur soi, se substitue à lui. La prière qui suit la confession demande à Dieu "qu'il prenne sur soi (ἀναδέξεται) tous les péchés avoués".

6) La formule de rémission revêt la forme d'un souhait ou d'une promesse: elle est adressée directement au pénitent et seulement indirectement à Dieu, comme l'ancienne formule latine d'absolution: "Misereatur tui omnipotens et misericors Deus . . . "

7) La pénitence est donnée après la prière; les Byzantins ne prescrivent pas la pénitence en vue d'une satisfaction, mais comme une préparation absolument nécessaire à la communion, qui était différée jusqu'après l'accomplissement de la pénitence; celle-ci avait pour but d'enlever les passions mauvaises de l'âme et du coeur.

A): CONFESSION EN APPENDICE AU PROTOKANONARION SANS QUESTIONNAIRE:

"ms du Vatican" =MOR: 101-117 et KHA: 3-93[43]

Coislin 364 =PIT: 436-438 (cf. KHA: 3-93: notes)

cf. Tiflis géorg. 96 (X s.) (et alia mss) =KHA: 1-96

cf. Mosk. Dukh. Akad. sl. 54: f. 65-79 (XV-XVI) =KHA: 5-95

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[43] Nous n'avons pas réussi à identifier le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Vaticane, dont Morin affirme s'être servi. Pour tous ces textes cf. M. Arranz, *I penitenziali bizantini* . . . , I parte.

NB: Le Protokanonarion de Jean moine et diacre comprend cinq parties:

A) une introduction de caractère historique et personnel;

B) un long traité méthodique (que nous avons divisé en 7 chapitres) sur les péchés et sur les pénitences correspondantes;

C) un bref rite de confession sans questionnaire fixe;

D) un bref épilogue de récapitulation;

E) quelques supplements probablement d'autres auteurs.

NB: Cf. autres textes abrégés du Protokanonarion: München 498: f. 211-217v (MUN/2) =SUV: 402-414,[44] Rumjantsev sl. 230 =SUV: 415-434: "Ustjuzhskaja kormchaja".

CONF-2A: 1): VERSION GRECQUE ET SLAVE:

"ms du Vatican" =MOR: 115b-e: KHA: 73, 75, 77[45]
Coislin 364 =PIT: 436-438 (cf. KHA: notes)
Mosk. Dukh. Akad. sl. 54 (cf. KHA)
(cf. MUN/2: f. 217-217v =SUV: 410-411; RUM =SUV: 433-434)
=type B: prières et psaumes=

<Après le traité des péchés et des pénitences:>

A-3): "Mais tout d'abord" il faut que celui qui reçoit la confession de quelqu'un dans l'église ou dans un autre lieu à l'écart qu'il ait soin de lui rappeler et de l'exhorter avec un regard encourageant et d'un coeur joyeux, comme s'il était en train de l'inviter à un festin, comment il est obligé de lui dire tous ses péchés, grands et petits.[46]

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[44] Le Deuterokanonarion München 498 (XII-XIII s.) contient: (cf. M. Arranz, *I penitenziali bizantini* . . .) 1) MUN/1: ff. 209-211 =SUV: 398-401: prilozhenie 1: texte du Deuterokanonarion; 2) MUN/2: ff. 211-217v =SUV: 402-411: prilozhenie 2: parties III-VII du Protokanonarion, (cf. SUV: 415-434: prilozhenie 4); 3) MUN/3: ff. 217v-219v? =SUV: 411-414: prilozhenie 3: parties I-II du Protokanonarion, dites "canons des Pères".

[45] Cf. dans KHA les trois textes parallèles: géorgien (avec traduction russe), grec et paléoslave. Ce dernier semble dépendre d'un original très proche des textes grecs de MOR et de PIT; le texte géorgien, pour ce qui est du rite de la confession, présente des variantes si importantes, que nous avons préféré le décrire à part, cf. infra CONF-2A: 2.

[46] A-3): Πρὸ πάντων δὲ τούτων ὀφείλει ὁ ἐξομολόγησιν δεχόμενός τινος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἢ ἄλλῳ τινι κρυπτῷ τόπῳ, προσηνεῖ ὄμματι (ὀνόματι MOR), χαροποιῷ καρδίᾳ, ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀρίστῳ λαμπρῷ καλῶν αὐτὸν· νουθετεῖν <καὶ> παρακαλεῖν πάντων τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῶν τε μεγάλων καὶ τῶν μικρῶν ἑαυτὸν ὑπεύθηνον ἐνώπιον ἐκείνου εἶναι λέγειν. Ce début caractérise le Protokanonarion.

Et après (il faut) dire:
Ps 69, trisagion,

A-4): Et prier un peu ensemble.

C-1): Si c'est un homme (le pénitent) découvre sa tête.

E-6): Ils ne (doivent) point s'asseoir avant que le pénitent
n'ait fini de répondre en détail
sur tout et sur combien (de personnes et de fois).
Et lorsque celui-ci aura fini de parler
et l'autre d'écouter et de demander
et de porter un jugement sur les choses entendues,
lorsque (le pénitent) aura fini,
l'autre (doit) demander s'il n'y a pas quelque chose d'autre,
sans rien omettre qui n'ait été répondu ou demandé,
et de ce qu'il n'a pas dit par oubli ou par honte.

G-1): Et alors (il doit) le faire se prosterner par terre
et rester étendu sans se relever.
Et étant celui-ci étendu,
(le confesseur) prie ceci et commence à dire:[47]

[K4: 2]: *(Que) Dieu, qui pour nous s'est fait homme*
(cf. OCP-92: 26).

H-1): Et alors (le confesseur) relève (le pénitent)
et l'embrasse comme à sa propre âme,
et si possible place la main de celui-ci sur son propre cou,
lui disant:

[K83: 1]: Dorénavant, frère, toutes ces choses soient sur moi,

H-2): surtout s'il le voit plongé dans une tristesse insupportable.[48]

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[47] Εἶθ' οὕτω τὸν Ξθ' ψαλμὸν λέγειν μετὰ τοῦ τρισαγίου. A-4): Καὶ συνεύχεσθαι αὐτῷ μικρόν. C-1): Ἀποσκεπάζειν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐὰν ἀνήρ ἐστιν. E-6): Καὶ μὴ τὸ σύνολον ἀμφοτέρους καθίσαι ἕως ἂν πληρώσῃ πάντα ὁ ἐξομολογούμενος ἀνακρινόμενος δηλαδὴ λεπτομερῶς περὶ πάντων καὶ πόσων καὶ πόσα. Καὶ ὅταν συντελέσῃ ἐκεῖνος μὲν λέγων, οὗτος δὲ ἀκούων καὶ ἐρευνῶν καὶ ἀνακρίνων τὰ ἀκοούμενα. ὅτε τοίνυν ἀποπληρώσας ἐκεῖνος εἰπεῖν μὴ ἔχειν ἄλλοτι, καὶ οὗτος μὴ ἀφίων ὃ οὐκ ἀνέκρινεν ἢ οὐκ ἠρώτησε· καὶ εἰς ἃ αὐτὸς ἢ διὰ λήθην ἢ διὰ αἰσχύνην οὐκ εἶπε. G-1): Τότε ῥίπτειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν· κεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀνίστασθαι. Καὶ ἐπεύχεται αὐτῷ τοιάδε καὶ ἐκείνου αὐτοῦ κατακειμένου ἄρχεται λέγων οὕτως.

L-3): Et après ceci il s'asseyent ensemble
et il lui demande d'un visage rayonnant
laquelle des trois pénitences désire-t-il prendre,[49]

L-4): lui faisant d'abord avoir une totale assurance
et en lui prescrivant surtout:

[K85: 2]:
1 Frère, tu as le commandement du Seigneur notre Dieu
2 que si dorénavant il t'arrivait de faire quelque chose de mauvais,
3 tu me confesses tout avec diligence dans l'allégresse de ton âme
4 n'importe où je serais.

Et c'est tout sur cette question.[50]

<Suit un petit appendice de comment il ne faut pas prier à genoux les jours de fête et l'épilogue du Protokanonarion (MOR: 115e-117 KHA: 74-96).>

CONF-2A: 2): VERSION GEORGIENNE:
Tiflis géo. 96 (etc) =KHA: 72, 74, 76[51]
=type B: prières et psaumes=

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[48] H-1): Καὶ τότε ἀνιστᾷ αὐτὸν, καταφιλεῖ ὡς οἰκείαν ψυχήν· εἰ δυνατὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τιθέναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τράχηλον· λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι· [K83: 1]: Ἔστωσαν ταῦτα πάντα ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀδελφὲ ἐπ' ἐμέ. H-2): Καὶ μάλιστα εἰ ὁρᾷ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ἀφορήτου λύπης βαπτιζόμενον.

[49] L-3): Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καθέζεται μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπερωτᾷ αὐτὸν φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ ποῖον ἄρα ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν βούλοιτο λαβεῖν ἐπιτίμιον.

[50] L-4): Ἐν πρώτοις δὲ εὐέλπιν αὐτὸν ποιῶν κατὰ πάντα· καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιτιμᾷν αὐτὸν πρὸ πάντων ὅτι· [K85: 2]: Ἐντολὴν ἔχεις ἀδελφὲ ἀπὸ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ἵνα εἴτι ἂν ἀπὸ νῦν συμβῇ σοι πονηρὸν ποιῆσαι, ἵνα ἅπαντά μοι ἐν χαρᾷ ψυχῆς σου εὐπροθύμως ἐξομολογῇ ὅπου ἂν εἰμί. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦτο. Nous nous servons des parenthèses angulaires <> pour indiquer un titre ou un résumé, quand nous voulons éviter de traduire en entier un texte prolixe et compliqué, surtout s'il nous semble peu important pour notre étude. Mais cf. M. Arranz, *I penitenziali bizantini* . . . , I parte.

[51] Cette traduction, due semble-t-il à St. Euthyme, fameux traducteur géorgien du X siècle, permet de fixer la date ante quam du Protokanonarion. Le texte géorgien présente quelques amplifications, sensibles surtout dans le rite de la confession, par rapport au texte publié par Morin; si ces amplifications ne sont pas l'oeuvre du traducteur mais se trouvaient déjà dans le texte grec dont il s'est servi, celui-ci doit être considéré comme postérieur au texte de Morin.

<Après le traité des péchés et des pénitences:>

cf. A-3): Celui qui reçoit la confession d'un pécheur
doit le conduire à l'église ou dans sa cellule,
et conversant paisiblement,
avec un visage jovial et d'un coeur joyeux,
comme s'il l'invitait à un banquet ou recevait un bon ami;
avant tout il doit prier et dire:
Pitié de moi, le trisagion et le Notre Père,

cf. B-1): Et le pénitent, s'agenouillant vers l'Orient,
et se prosternant par terre (dit):

[K91: 4]:
1 Je confesse à toi,
2 Seigneur et Dieu du ciel et de la terre,
3 tout ce qui est caché dans mon coeur.[52]

cf. E-6): Et il le fait se relever;
le (père) spirituel s'assied et, selon le cas,
il fait asseoir un peu plus bas le pénitent
ou le fait se tenir debout, et l'interroge gentiment
sur tous ses péchés en détail.
Et quand le pécheur aura tout manifesté,
alors le (père) spirituel lui fait espérer le pardon

et lui dit:
[K85: 3]:
1 Je te fais savoir, mon fils,
2 et surtout je te donne comme pénitence
3 que dorénavant tu me fasses connaître avec simplicité
et confiance tout péché qui t'arrivera.

Et lorsque le pécheur aura fini la confession
de tous ses péchés, le (père) spirituel se lève et dit:
trisagion et Notre Père,
le pénitent se met à genoux
et le (père) spirituel dit sur lui cette prière:

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[52] Cette formule, avec quelques petites variantes, apparaissait déjà dans le rite presbytérale, cf. note 36, OCP-92: 456.

[K4: 2]: *(Que) Notre Dieu, bon et philanthrope, qui pour nous s'est fait homme incarné* (cf. texte géorgien et OCP-92: 26).

cf. H-1): Et après il le fait se relever,
le salue comme fils spirituel,

cf. H-2): et s'il le voit assombri par une lourde tristesse,
il le console avec des paroles suaves
et met la main (du pénitent) sur son propre cou,
et il lui dit:

[K83: 2]:
1 Qu'ils soient sur moi, fils, tous ces péchés à toi
2 et je répondrai d'eux à Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ,
3 et tu seras propre de tout
4 à condition que tu t'en repentes et obéisses
5 et dorénavant avec crainte et repentance tu amendes ta vie devant le Seigneur.

cf. L-3): Et ils s'asseyent de nouveau
et il lui donne la pénitence:
l'exclusion de la communion, comme dit plus haut,
en proportion à ses péchés.

Quant à la prière et au jeûne, il lui demande
laquelle des trois pénitences peut-il accomplir,
selon les indications plus haut données,
et il lui donne celle qu'il veut.
Car la pénitence pour les péchés consiste
dans l'exclusion de la sainte communion,
et le péché le plus grave est de communier indignement,
et pour cela le (père) spirituel doit l'interroger
s'il a reçu les saints mystères en état de péché:
et pour ceci on doit imposer une plus grande pénitence.
Le jeûne, les prières et les prostrations par terre
seront donnés par le (père) spirituel
en proportion avec les forces et l'application de chacun.[53]

NB: Suit le même appendice de comment il ne faut pas prier à genoux les jours de fête et l'épilogue du Protokanonarion (cf. supra).

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[53] Ce morceau se trouve dans le Deuterokanonarion dans la partie canonique qui suit la confession et non à l'intérieur du rite même de la confession.

CONF-2A: 3): Paris 1152: f. 23-28 (XIII) =ALM: 12-15
=type A: seules prières=

Kanonarion très indulgent
exposant en détail tous (les péchés)
et leurs pénitences correspondantes
pour la communion, le jeûne et la prière.[54]

<Suivent les deux premiers paragraphes du Protokanonarion contenant l'énumération des sept péchés charnels et du meurtre.>[55]

[K4: 2]: *(Que) Dieu notre sauveur, qui pour nous s'est fait homme*
(cf. OCP-92: 26).

[K2: 1]: *Seigneur notre Dieu, qui à Pierre et à la pécheresse*
(cf. OCP-91: 98).

Prière du moine Grégoire:
Reçois mon fils spirituel le complet pardon.

[K4: 5]: *(Que) Le Seigneur Dieu, qui a pardonné à David*[56]
(cf. OCP-92: 32).

<Catalogue de pénitences en guise de questionnaire:>
20 pénitences (ἐπιτίμια) des saints apôtres,
48 canons des saints pères.[57]

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[54] Κανονάριον διαγορεῦον περὶ πάντων <ἁμαρτημάτων> λεπτομερῶς καὶ τούτοις προσφόρων ἐπιτιμίων· περὶ τῆς ἁγίας κοινωνίας. βρωμάτων τε καὶ πομάτων, καὶ εὐχῶν· λίαν συμπαθές. Cf. MUN/3: ff. 217v-ss =SUV: 411-414: Κανόνες τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων.

[55] Ἄρχομαι δὲ . . . τὰς ποσότητας καὶ ποιότητας καὶ διάφορα εἴδη τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων . . . (cf. Protokanonarion: cap. I: KAN: Z1-1 =MOR: 105b, KHA: 19, MUN/3: f. 217 =SUV: 411). Ἔστιν οὖν σαρκικὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἑπτὰ ἢ καὶ ὀκτώ . . . ἅτινά ἐστι· μαλακία, . . . ἑκούσιος καὶ ἀκούσιος φόνος. (cf. KAN: Z1-3: MOR: 105c, KHA: 21, MUN/3: f. 218 =SUV: 412, etc). Ἐν πρώτοις δὲ τίθεται εὐχή.

[56] Εὐχὴ Γρηγορίου μοναχοῦ· Δέχου τελείαν συγχώρησιν τέκνον ἡμῶν πνευματικόν· [K4: 5]: Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ συγχωρήσας διὰ Νάθαν τοῦ θεράποντος . . .

[57] ALM-ISP: 3/1: 13-14.

Conf-2a: 4): Dionysiou 489: f. 111 (XV s.) =DMI: 642 (cité par Raes)
=type B: prières et psaumes=

T-6): De comment se confesser.[58]

cf. A-4): <Le confesseur prend le pénitent et le fait se placer devant le sanctuaire . . . etc>[59]

Ps 50 ou 69, trisagion,
Κύριε ἐλέησον (40 fois)

B-5): 40 prostrations.

cf. C-2): Et lui fait découvrir la tête . . .

cf. A-1, G-1, G-2): et se prosterner devant le sanctuaire,

E-8): aux genoux du confesseur,

E-9): et il lui fait dire:

[K91: 4:]:
1 Je confesse à toi, Père,
2 Seigneur du ciel et de la terre,
3 tout ce qui est caché dans mon coeur.[60]

Le confesseur:
Prions le Seigneur.
[K1: 4]: *Maître Dieu, qui appelles les justes* (cf. OCP-91: 118).

[K82: 4]: Voici que par volonté de Dieu qui veut que tous soient sauvés
tu as fait recours . . .[61]

Le pénitent répond:
[K91: 8]: Père, j'ai péché contre le ciel et devant toi ceci
et ceci (chaque péché qu'il a commis).[62]

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[58] T-6): Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι.

[59] cf. A-4): Λαμβάνειν δὲ τόν ἐξομολογούμενον ὁ τοῦτον καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀναδεχόμενος ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἁγίου Θυσιαστηρίου καὶ ἱστᾶν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔστιν ἐκκλησία . . .

[60] E-8): . . . Ἐν τοῖς γόνασι τοῦ ἀναδόχου. E-9): Ποιεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τοῦτο· [K91: 4]: Ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι Πάτερ Κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς πάντα τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας μου.

[61] [K82: 4]: Ἰδοῦ θελήματι τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ πάντας θέλοντος σωθῆναι προέδραμες . . . (cf. DMI: 637, 643, 850; BOD).

Et le confesseur dit à chaque péché:
[K4: 1a]: *Que Dieu te pardonne, mon fils*[63] (cf. OCP-92: 24).

F-9): Et après avoir tout confessé,
(le confesseur) le fait de nouveau se courber
à terre devant le sanctuaire

et (le confesseur) prie ainsi:[64]

Paix à tous.
Prions le Seigneur.
[K4: 3]: (*Que*) *Dieu qui a pardonné par Nathan* (cf. OCP-92: 28).

Prions le Seigneur.
[K1: 3a]: *Seigneur Dieu de notre salut, miséricordieux* (cf. OCP-91: 114).
Et il le relève et chante: Ps 55
Prions le Seigneur.
[K1: 7]: *Maître, Seigneur, Dieu le seul sans péché, riche* (cf. OCP-91: 128).

M-1): Après la prière il le salue et fait le congé.[65]

B): CONFESSION EN TETE AU DEUTEROKANONARION AVEC QUESTIONNAIRE:[66]

München 498: f. 209-211 =SUV: 398-401 (MUN/1)
Bodleian Auct. E. 5. 13: f. 238v-246v (JAC-MES: 354-356) (BOD)
Panteleimon 153 (1420) =ALM-ISP: 3/1: 1-4 (PAN)
Karakallou 287 (1493) =ALM-KAN: 158 (KAR)

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62 Καὶ ὁ ἐξομολογούμενος ἀποκρίνεται λέγων· [K91: 8]: Πάτερ ἥμαρτον εἰς τὸν ουρανὸν καὶ ἐνώπιον σοῦ τόδε τόδε· Ἑκάστην ἁμαρτίαν ἣν ἔπραξε.

63 Καὶ ὁ ἀνάδοχος εἰς ἑκάστην ἁμαρτίαν ἀποκρίνεται· [K4: 1a]: Ὁ Θεὸς συγχωρήσει σοι τέκνον.

64 F-9): Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξομολογήσασθαι ἅπαντα κλίνει αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἔπροσθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ ἐπεύχεται οὕτως·

65 M-1): Καὶ μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἀσπάζεται αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπολύει.

66 Dans cette II partie nous nous limitons aux rituels vraiment monastiques, réservant pour la III partie ceux où le ministère d'un prêtre est requis, même si quelques uns, comme par ex. Ottoboni 344 (MOR-AKO) conservent la structure des rituels monastiques. Tous ces documents, non antérieurs au XII s., sont des rédactions, assez semblables entre elles, de ce que nous avons qualifié comme le Deuterokanonarion (cf. M. Arranz, *I penitenziali bizantini* . . . , II parte).

Sinodaln. (Mosk.) 455 (1477) =DMI-B16: 101-106 (PRI)
cf. Rumjantsev sl. 230: f. 77v-82v =SUV: 415-418 (RUM)

NB: Le Deuterokanonarion de Basile moine comprend:
A) une brève introduction, plus ou mois longue selon les différentes rédactions;
B) un rite de confession avec questionnaire incorporé;

NB: les questionnaires peuvent se classifier ainsi:

[K10]: les questions suivent l'ordre du Protokanonarion:
7 questions (parfois dédoublés) sur les péchés charnels,
précédées par une question préliminaire sur les circonstances de la perte de la virginité,
1 huitième question sur l'homicide;
[K11]: [K10] est suivi d'un supplément sur d'autres péchés;
[K12]: questionnaire hybride où les deux premiers sont mélangés.

C) a) deux traités de normes pratiques pour imposer la pénitence, librement inspirés au Protokanonarion;
b) différents supplements, dépendant en général du Protokanonarion.

CONF-2B: 1A): (II) Bodleian Auct. E. 5. 13: f. 238v-246v (a. 1131)
(cf. JAC-MES 354; cf. OCP-92: 447, note 17)
cf. Panteleimon 153: f. 160-164 (PAN) (XV s.) =ALM: 1-4
=type B: prières et psaumes=

T-4): "Différentes différences" et dispositions
de ceux qui confessent les péchés cachés
et de ceux qui les reçoivent.

N-1): (PAN ajoute: de composition du moine Jean,
appelé "fils d'obéissance".[67]

<Admonitions à l'intention du confesseur et du pénitent.>[68]

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[67] T-4): Διάφοροι διαφοραὶ καὶ διαθέσεις τῶν ἐξομολογουμένων κρύφια ἁμαρτήματα καὶ τῶν τούτους ἀναδεχομένων. PAN: T-5): Διάφοροι διαφοραὶ καὶ διαθέσεις τῶν ἐξομολογουμένων κρύφια ἁμαρτήματα πατράσι πνευματικοῖς. PAN: N-1): Συγγραφεῖσαι παρὰ Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ οὗ ἡ ἐπωνυμία τέκνον τῆς ὑπακοῆς.

T-6): Comment il faut se confesser.

A-4): <Le confesseur reçoit le pénitent devant le sanctuaire ou dans un autre endroit convenable hors de l'église>.[69]

cf. B-4): Ils prient ensemble en disant:
Ps 50 (ou 69 ajoute PAN), trisagion,
Κύριε ἐλέησον (40 fois).

B-5): et (ils font) 40 prostrations.[70]

C-2): (Le pénitent) découvre sa tête
même s'il porte la couronne si c'est un homme,
mais non si c'est une femme;
si c'est un moine il met son capuchon, (cf. C-1),

G-1): <le pénitent se prosterne devant le sanctuaire et dit:>

[K91: 4]: Je confesse à toi, Seigneur du ciel et de la terre . . .[71]

E-7): <Le pénitent se place devant l'entrée du sanctuaire
et le confesseur se met près de lui de l'autre côté,
à l'intérieur du sanctuaire.>

F-6): Et il l'interroge avec jovialité et sérénité,
surtout s'il le voit dominé et abattu par une tristesse insupportable.

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68 Ὅτι δεῖ τὸν ἐξομολογούμενον . . . Ὅτι δεῖ τὸν δεχόμενον . . . Cf. ALM-ISP 3-1: 1.

69 T-6): Πῶς δεῖ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι. A-4): Λαμβάνειν χρὴ τὸν ἐξομολογούμενον ὁ τοῦτον καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀναδεχόμενος ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θυσιατηρίου καὶ ἱστᾶν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔστιν ἐκκλησία· εἰς καθαρὸν τόπον καὶ ἀνακεχωρημένον ἥσυχον. Cf. le jeu des mots du texte grec difficilement traduisible en français autour du mot “receveur” ou “preneur” qui est l'appellation donnée au confesseur: car il reçoit le pénitent en prenant sur soi le poids des péchés de celui-ci.

70 B-4): Καὶ συνεύχεσθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ λέγων· τὸν Ν' ψαλμόν καὶ τὸ τρισάγιον καὶ τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον Μ'. B-5): Καὶ μετανοίας Μ'.

71 C-2): Καὶ ἀποσκεκεπάζει αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν εἰ ἔστιν αὐτὸς ὁ τὸ διάδημα φορῶν ἐὰν ἔστιν ἀνήρ· εἰ δὲ γυνή· οὔ. Εἰ δὲ ἔστιν ἀββᾶς· ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ βάλλει τὸ ἑαυτοῦ κουκούλλιον. Καὶ ῥίπτει αὐτὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θησιαστηρίου καὶ λέγ<ει> / 239 / αὐτον κάτω κείμενον τόν λόγον τοῦτον· (καὶ ποιεῖν αὐτὸν κείμενον κάτω λέγειν· PAN): [K91: 4]: Ἐξομολογοῦμαι σοι, Κύριε (ὁ Θεός ad PAN) τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, πάντα τὰ ἐν (τῷ ad PAN) κρυπτῷ τῆς καρδίας μου.

Et il l'interroge ainsi:[72]

[K10: 12]:

1) De quelle manière (monsieur, frère, soeur, fils, madame)
   as-tu perdu la virginité? [. . .]
   Et quand il aura répondu "Ainsi et ainsi",
   il l'interroge . . . [. . .]

12) Et sur les meurtres et les vols et le parjure.
   Et quand ils auront tout bien recherché et dit ce qu'il faut:
   un ou deux ou la moitié ou en entier:[73]

G-2): Alors (le confesseur) fait se prosterner (le pénitent)
devant le sanctuaire, et pendant que celui-ci est étendu
(le confesseur) dit: (cf. A-1)
a) BOD: les prières déjà indiquées.[74]
b) PAN: une seule prière propre à lui:

[K2: 4]: *Dieu notre sauveur, qui pour nous et pour notre salut*
(cf. OCP-91: 140).

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[72] E-7): Καὶ ἱστᾶν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς εἰσόδου τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ αὐτὸν ἐγγὺς ἵστασθαι εἰς τὸ ἕτερον μέρος. F-6): Καὶ ἐπερωτᾷ αὐτὸν ἐν πάσῃ ἱλαρότητι καὶ ἡμερότητι καὶ μάλιστα ἂν ὁρᾷ αὐτὸν κάτω που ὑπὸ τῆς ἀφορήτου λύπης κυριευόμενον καὶ καταπονούμενον. Καὶ ἐπεροτᾶν αὐτὸν οὕτως.

[73] [K10: 12]: Πῶς σου κύρι, ἢ ἀδελφέ, ἢ ἀδελφὴ, ἢ τέκνον, ἢ κυρὰ, ἐν πρώτοις ἐφθάρη ἡ παρθενία; διὰ πορνείας, ἢ διὰ νομικῆς γυναικὸς, ἢ διὰ μαλακίας, ἢ τινος πράγματος παρὰ φύσιν; Καὶ ὅταν εἴπῃ· Οὕτως ἢ οὕτως, ἐρωτᾷ αὐτόν· [. . .] (cf. ALM-ISP: 3-1: 1) Καὶ περὶ φόνων καὶ κλεψεῶν καὶ ἀρνήσεως λογαρίου. Καὶ ὅταν ταῦτα καλῶς ἐρευνήσωσιν καὶ εἴπωσιν τινὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν· ἢ ἕνα ἢ δύο ἢ τὰ ἥμισυ ἢ καὶ τὰ ὅλα. Après la première question préliminaire, les questions 2-11 s'étendent sur les péchés de la chair en suivant le schéma du Protokanonarion; la dernière question est sur le meurtre, le vol et le parjure, qui se trouvent en appendice (cf. le texte du questionnaire en entier: M. Arranz, *I penitenziali bizantini* . . . , II parte).

[74] G-2): Τότε ῥίπτει τὸν ἐξομολογούμενον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ κειμένου αὐτοῦ ἐπεύχεται τὰς προγεγραμμένας εὐχάς. Le même euchologe du monastère du Saint-Sauveur (Bodl. Auct. E. 5-13: ff. 108-109v + ff. 223-229) prévoyait un autre rite de confession presbytérale sans questionnaire (cf. CONF-I: 4 dans OCP-92: 447), où l'on prescrivait trois prières avant la confession [K2: 1]: *Seigneur notre Dieu, qui à Pierre et à la pécheresse*, [K1: 1b]: *O Dieu notre Sauveur, qui par Nathan*, [K1: 4]: *Maître Dieu, qui appelles les justes*; et autres trois encore après la confession: [K4: 1a]: *Que le Seigneur te pardonne* [K1: 3a]: *Seigneur, Dieu de notre salut, le miséricordieux*, [K3: 1]: *Seigneur Jésus-Christ <> agneau et berger*. Ce sont certainement ces deux dernières que le texte présent a en vue; mais cela supposerait que la confession était tout de même faite à un prêtre, puisque ces prières sont presbytérales.

L-5): (Le confesseur) relève le pénitent, le fait se couvrir et lui demande quelle pénitence peut-il observer.[75]

<Suit un traité des pénitences>.[76]

Conf-2b: 1b): München 498: f. 209-211 (XII s.) =SUV: 398-401 (MUN/1)
=type B: prières et psaumes=

T-7): Didascalie des Pères sur ceux qui doivent se confesser
N-2): (de) Basile, le fils d'obéissance:[77]
<Admonition: le confesseur doit tenir compte
plus de la divine miséricorde
que du nombre et de l'espèce des péchés;
il se montrera doux et condescendant envers le pénitent,
qui de sa part doit être convaincu
que le confesseur (ἀνάδοχος) est prêt à prendre sur lui
le poids et la responsabilité de la confession.>[78]

cf. T-6): Comment il faut se confesser:

cf. A-4): <Le confesseur reçoit le pénitent devant
le sanctuaire ou dans un autre endroit convenable
en dehors de l'église.>

cf. B-4): et les deux prient ensemble:>

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[75] L-5): Καὶ ἐγείρει αὐτὸν καὶ σκεπάζει καὶ ἐρωτᾷ αὐτὸν τί ἰσχύει φυλάξαι ἐντολήν.

[76] Οὐ γὰρ ὃ θέλει ὁ ἐπιτιμῶν ὀφείλει διδόναι τὸ ἐπιτίμιον, οὐδὲ ὃ πρέπει, ἀλλ' ὃ φυλάξαι προαιρεῖται ὁ ἐπιτιμούμενος [. . .] ALM-ISP omet toute cette partie. Il s'agit du premier chapitre du Deuterokanonarion sur les pénitences. (cf. M. Arranz, *I penitenziali bizantini* . . . , II parte).

[77] T-7): Διδασκαλία πατέρων περὶ τῶν ὀφειλόντων ἐξαγγεῖλαι τὰ ἴδια ἁμαρτήματα. N-2): (καὶ περὶ) Βασιλείου τοῦ τέκνου τῆς ὑπακοῆς. Puisque les rédactions les plus anciennes du Deuterokanonarion n'indiquent pas d'auteur, tandis que les plus récentes l'attribuent au patriarche Jean, nous pensons que cette attribution de MUN (reprise encore une fois au début du traité des pénitence) à un moine de nom Basile est celle qui a le plus de chances d'être authentique.

[78] Δεῖ τὸν δεχόμενον τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν μὴ εἰς ὄγκον, μηδὲ εἰς πλῆθος βλέπειν ἁμαρτημάτων, μηδὲ εἰ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἢ παρὰ φύσιν εἰσὶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, ἀλλ' εἰς μόνην ἀφορᾶν τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐσπλαγχνίαν· καὶ πᾶσαν ἱλαρότητα καὶ χρηστολογίαν ἔχειν τότε πρὸς τὸν ἐξομολογούμενον. Καὶ τὸν ἐξομολογούμενον δὲ πεπεισμένον εἶναι ὅτι ὥσπερ ὁ νιπτὴρ τὸν ῥύπον ἀναδέχεται τοῦ νιπτομένου, οὕτως καὶ τὸν ἀνάδοχον χρὴ σαφῶς εἰδέναι ὅτι παρομοίως εἰς τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν τὰ τοῦ ἐξαγορεύοντος βαστάζει βάρη.

Ps 50 et Ps 69, le trisagion,
Κύριε ἐλέησον (40 fois).

B-5): et (ils font) 40 prostrations.[79]

C-2): (Le pénitent) découvre sa tête
même s'il porte la couronne si c'est un homme,
mais non si c'est une femme;
si c'est un moine il met son capuchon (cf. D-2),

G-1): <le pénitent se prosterne devant le sanctuaire et il dit:>

[K91: 4]:
1 Je confesse à toi,
2 Seigneur et Dieu du ciel et de la terre,
3 tout ce qui est caché dans mon coeur.[80]

<Et dit ceci, le confesseur relève le pénitent
E-7): qui se place devant l'entrée du sanctuaire
et le confesseur se met près de lui de l'autre côté
(à l'intérieur du sanctuaire).>

cf. F-6): Et avec grande jovialité,

D-3): si cela est possible (le confesseur) l'embrasse
et prend les mains du pénitent

cf. F-6): surtout s'il le voit dominé et abattu par une insupportable
tristesse et honte.[81]

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[79] T-6): Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι. Cf. KT-20): Λαμβάνειν χρὴ τὸν ἐξομολογούμενον ὁ τοῦτον καὶ τὰ τούτου ἀναδεχόμενος ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἁγίου θησιαστηρίου καὶ ἱστᾶν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔστιν ἐκκλησία· εἰς καθαρὸν ἤγουν ἥσυχον καὶ ἀνακεχωρημένον τόπον. Cf. B-4): Καὶ συνεύχεσθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Ν' ψαλμὸν καὶ τὸν Ξθ', εἶθ' οὕτως τὸ τρισάγιον, Κύριε ἐλέησον Μ'. B-5): Καὶ μετανοίας Μ'.

[80] Καὶ μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῆς εὐχῆς ταύτης· C-2): Ἀποσκεπάζειν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν (εἰ ἔχει εἶναι ὁ τὸ διάδημα φορῶν) εἰ ἔστιν ἀνήρ – εἰ δὲ γυνή· <οὔ> –, εἰ δέ ἐστι ἀββᾶς· ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ βάλλειν κουκούλλιον. G-1): Καὶ ῥίπτειν αὐτὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἁγίου θησιαστηρίου καὶ ποιεῖν αὐτὸν κείμενον κάτω λέγειν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον· [K91: 4]: Ἐξομολογοῦμαι σοι, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, πάντα ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ τῆς καρδίας μου.

[81] E-7): Καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀνιστᾶν αὐτὸν καὶ ἱστᾶν ἐν μέρει τῆς εἰσόδου τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ πλησίον ἱστᾶν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ

Et il l'interroge d'une voix douce et gaie:

[K10: 16]:

1) De quelle manière, seigneur . . . as-tu perdu la virginité? [. . .]
16) Et après tout cela il l'interroge sur les meurtres, les vols
et les parjures. Et quand tu l'auras bien interrogé sur tout
et le pénitent aura répondu [. . .][82]

G-2): <Le pénitent tombe devant le sanctuaire
et (le confesseur) récite la prière suivante:>[83]

[K4: 3]: (*Que*) *Dieu qui a pardonné par Nathan* (cf. OCP-92: 28).

cf. L-5): Le confesseur relève le pénitent
et lui fait couvrir sa tête.

L-6): Et s'asseyant les deux,

cf. L-5): il lui demande quelle pénitence peut-il observer.[84]

<Suit le traité des pénitences du Deuterokanonarion.>

CONF-2B: 3): Rite de confession du "Logos du patriarche Jean":
MOR: 91-97 (PG 88, 1920-32) (cf. HER: OCP-53, 71):
=type A: seules prières=

T-8): Sermon du moine Jean Nisteutîs,
patriarche de Constantinople,
à celui qui va se confesser à son père spirituel.[85]

ἕτερον (καὶ τὸ ἕτερον τῶν αὐτῶν). Cf. F-6): Ἐν πάσῃ ἱλαρότητι· D-3): Εἰ δυνατὸν καὶ καταφιλεῖν αὐτὸν, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ ἐξομολογουμένου ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἐπιτεθῆναι χεῖρα (αὐχένα): Cf. F-6): Μάλιστα ἐὰν ὁρᾷ αὐτὸν κάτω ὑπὸ τῆς ἀφορήτου λύπης καὶ αἰσχύνης κυριευόμενον καὶ καταπονούμενον.

[82] Καὶ ἐπεροτᾶν αὐτὸν πραείᾳ καὶ ἱλαρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ· [K10: 16]: Πῶς σου κύριε ἀδελφέ ἢ τέκνον ἢ κυρία ἢ ἀδελφὴ ἐν πρώτοις ἐφθάρη ἡ παρθενία; [. . .] Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάντα· καὶ περὶ φόνων καὶ κλεμμάτων καὶ ἀρνήσεως λογαρίου ἐρωτᾶν αὐτόν. (cf. le texte en entier: MUN/I: SUV: 399-400 et M. Arranz, *I penitenziali bizantini* . . . , II parte). Cf. note 73.

[83] G-2): Τότε ρίπτειν πάλιν τὸν ἐξομολογούμενον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου καὶ κειμένου αὐτοῦ ἐπεύχεσθαι αὐτὸν οὕτως·

[84] L-5): Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐγείρειν αὐτὸν καὶ ποιεῖν σκεπάζεσθαι· L-6): Καὶ συγκαθέζεσθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ· L-5): καὶ ἐρωτᾶν αὐτὸν ποίαν ἐντολὴν ἰσχύει φυλάξαι. Οὐ γὰρ ὃ θέλει δίδωσιν ὁ ἐπιτιμῶν ἐπιτίμιον, οὐδὲ ὃ πρέπει καὶ ἀπαιτεῖ, ἀλλὰ ὃ φυλάξαι προαιρεῖται <ὁ> ἐπιτιμώμενος [. . .] ut supra note 76.

<Raison d'être de la pénitence administrée par les moines:
Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ a donné aux hommes la Loi en aide,
a établi les anges comme gardiens, a envoyé les prophètes,
les apôtres, les hiérarches, les prêtres et les docteurs
pour l'enseignement spirituel, ainsi que les moines
pour consoler et recevoir les confessions de repentir.>[86]

B-6): Celui qui se confesse doit faire trois prostrations
devant l'entrée du sanctuaire

et il dit trois fois:
[K91: 4]:
1 Je confesse à toi,
2 Père, Seigneur, Dieu du ciel et de la terre,
3 tout ce qui est caché dans mon coeur.[87]

E-7): <Le pénitent et confesseur sont debout;
F-6): celui-ci interroge le pénitent en toute jovialité,
cf. D-3): si c'est possible il l'embrasse
D-4): et (baise) ses mains,
cf. F-6): surtout s'il le voit dans une grande
et insupportable tristesse et dominé par la honte,

et il lui dit d'une voix suave et joviale:>[88]

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[85] T-8): Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ λόγος πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἐξαγορεῦσαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πνευματικὸν πατέρα. Cette attribution, vraie ou fausse qu'elle soit, n'a en vue que le sermon ou logos qui sert d'introduction au rite de confession et non celui-ci. Ce même sermon apparaît, comme catéchèse du patriarche Jean, dans le ms du XV s., Hagios Tafos 136 (cf. ALM: 25-28); cf. note 186 dans la 3e partie (à paraître) de ce même article.

[86] Ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ παῖς. [...] (cf. MOR: 91c-92e), καὶ ἀνερυθρίαστος πρὸς μὲ τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν μηδὲν διαστειλάμενος.

[87] B-6): Ὀφείλει δὲ ὁ ἐξαγορευόμενος ποιεῖν τρεῖς μετάνοιας ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου καὶ λέγειν ἐκ τρίτου· [K91: 4]: Ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι, Πάτερ Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ τῆς καρδίας μου.

[88] Καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἀνιστᾶν αὐτὸν· E-7): Καὶ ἵστασθαι τόντε ἐξομολογούμενον καὶ τὸν ἀναδεχόμενον. F-6): Καὶ ἐπεροτᾶν αὐτὸν ἐν πάσῃ ἱλαρότητι. cf. D-3): Εἰ δυνατὸν καὶ καταφιλεῖν αὐτόν. D-4): Καὶ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐξομολογουμένου. cf. F-6): Καὶ μάλιστα ἐὰν ὁρᾷ αὐτὸν κάτωπον ὑπὸ πολλῆς καὶ ἀφορήτου λύπης καὶ αἰσχύνης κυριευόμενον, πραείᾳ καὶ ἱλαρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ λέγειν οὕτως·

[K12: 94]: <suit une liste de 94 thèmes en vue des questions à poser: foi, [. . .] hérésie, blasphème, [. . .] meurtre, diffamation, condamnation, mensonge, vol, [. . .] ivrognerie, [. . .] rancune, [. . .] orgueil, [. . .] dommage aux ennemis, [. . .] avarice, [. . .] danse et chant, [. . .] port d'amulettes, [. . .], faux témoignage, [. . .] fréquentation des sorciers, mal fait aux serviteurs, enseignement du mal, falsification de signatures>.[89]

Cf. C-2): <Après l'avoir interrogé, il lui fait découvrir la tête, etc.>[90]

<3 prières:>[91]

[K1: 1b]: *O Dieu notre Sauveur, qui par Nathan* (cf. OCP-91: 96).

[K4: 1d]: (Que) Notre Sauveur et Seigneur J.-C . . . . te pardonne (cf. OCP-92: 26).

[K2: 1]: *Seigneur notre Dieu, qui à Pierre et à la pécheresse* (cf. OCP-91: 98).

Autre prière pour délier celui qui s'est confessé,
lorsqu'il a complété le temps de la pénitence:
[K3: 4]: *Maître Seigneur notre Dieu, qui t'es présenté* (cf. OCP-91: 314).

L-5): Après que (le pénitent) s'est relevé et s'est couvert,
L-6): les deux s'asseyent
L-5): et (le confesseur) lui demande quelle pénitence peut-il faire.[92]

<Suit le traité des pénitences du Deuterokanonarion.>[93]

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[89] [K12: 94]: 1 Περὶ πίστεως. Περὶ ἱεροσυλίας. Περὶ αἱρέσεως. [. . .] 94 Καὶ περὶ ψευδοϋπογραφάντων. (cf. le texte en entier: MOR: 93a-e et M. Arranz, *I penitenziali bizantini* . . . , II parte).

[90] Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐρωτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἢ αὐτὴν ταῦτα· Cf. C-2): Ἀποσκεπάζει αὐτὸν ἐάν ἐστι καὶ ὁ τὸ διάδημα φορῶν. εἰ δὲ γυνή· οὔ.

[91] Les prières [K1: 1], [K2: 1] et [K3: 4] sont presbytérales; elles n'auraient pas dû être dites par un moine non ordonné.

[92] L-5): Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐγεῖραι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. καὶ ποιῆσαι αὐτὸν σκεπάσαι τὴν κεφαλήν. L-6): Καὶ συνκαθέσθαι ὀφείλει μετ' αὐτοῦ. L-5): Καὶ ἐρωτᾷν τίνα ἰσχύει φυλάξαι ἐντολήν.

[93] Οὐ γὰρ ὃ θέλει ὀφείλει διδόναι ὁ ἐπιτιμῶν τὸ ἐπιτίμιον, οὐδὲ ὃ πρέπει ἀπαιτεῖ. ἀλλὰ ὃ φυλάξαι προαιρεῖται ὁ ἐπιτιμώμενος [. . .]. Cf. MOR: 95a-97a et M. Arranz, *I penitenziali bizantini* . . . , II parte).

RITES ARCHAÏQUES

CONF-2B: 4): Mosk. Sinod. 455: f. 1v-ss. (XV) =ALM-ISP: 3/1: 23-24:
=type A: seules prières=

Commencement des questions posées au pénitent par le confesseur.

[K12: 64]: (questionnaire mixte, débutant par la première question de [K10])
1 Comment as-tu perdu la virginité? . . .
2 As tu foulé la croix par la luxure ou d'une autre manière?
3 As tu mangé le sang de quelque animal? [. . .]
63 T'es-tu rendu responsable de quelque luxure, ou meurtre . . . ?
64 As tu enduit de lèpre quelque garçon de campagne qui l'a prise?[94]

<Après l'interrogatoire:>

Prions le Seigneur.
[K1: 4]: *Maître Dieu, qui appelles les justes* (cf. OCP-91: 118).

Et après il lui demande:
[K85: 4]:
1 Tu dois pleurer et te repentir de ce que tu as fait
2 et ne plus recommencer;
3 si à partir de maintenant tu seras observant
4 et marcheras par le chemin de Dieu,
5 non seulement tu seras pardonné,
6 mais en même temps tu te rendras digne de la gloire
7 dans le Christ Jésus Notre-Seigneur.[95]

Et aussitôt:

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[94] Ἀρχὴ τῶν ἐρωτημάτων ὧν ἐρωτᾷ ὁ ἀνάδοχος τὸν ἐξομολογούμενον. **[K12: 64]**: 1 Ἡ παρθενία σου ἐν πρώτοις πῶς ἐφθάρη . . . 2 Ἐσταυροπάτησας ποτὲ διὰ πορνείαν ἢ διὰ ἄλλον τρόπον; 3 Ἔφαγες αἷμα οἱουδήποτε κτήνους; [. . .] (Cf. ALM: 23-24) 63 Μὴ ἐγίνου συνήγορος εἰς καμμιὰν πορνείαν ἢ εἰς φθόνον ἢ εἰς φόνον; 64 Μὴ ἤλειψες παιδί σου χωρικὸν εἰς τὴν λέπραν καὶ ἐμετάλεβε: Καὶ ὅταν πάντα ἐρωτήσῃ αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν προλελεγμένων τότε λέγει τὴν εὐχήν· Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. [K1: 4]: Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ καλῶν δικαίους.

[95] Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐρωτᾶν αὐτόν· **[K85: 4]**: Θέλεις προσκλαῦσαι καὶ μετανοῆσαι ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔπραξας, καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς αὐτὸν μηκέτι ἐπιστραφῇς· ἀλλ' ἐὰν φυλάξῃς ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν Κυρίου πορεύσῃ, οὐ μόνον συγχωρηθῇς ἅμα καὶ δόξης ἀξιωθῇς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν. Εἶτα ἄρχεται· [K3: 6]: Ἱλάσθητι Κύριε ἱλάσθητι τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν χειρῶν . . . Καὶ ἀπολύει.

[K3: 6]: *Sois propice Seigneur, sois propice aux oeuvres* (cf. OCP-91: 360).

Et l'on fait le congé.

Conf-2B: 5): Panteleimon 311: f. 1-12v (XV-XVI) =ALM: 29-36[96]
=type B: prières et psaumes=

T-9): Pour la confession:

A-5): Le confesseur conduit le pénitent à tête découverte devant l'icône du Christ, prononce le verset et chante:>[97]

trisagion, Trinité Toute Sainte, Notre Père, Car à toi est . . . ,
Κύριε ἐλέησον (12 fois),
Venez adorons,
Ps 50

Et il dit (au pénitent):
[K82: 5]:
1 Voici (mon) fils que le Christ est invisiblement présent
2 recevant ta confession;
3 n'aie honte de rien, ne crains rien, ne me cache rien,
4 mais avec courage dis-moi tout ce que tu as fait
5 pour que tu en reçoives la rémission
6 de la part de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ;
7 voici son image devant nous:
8 car je ne suis que le témoin
9 pour témoigner devant lui tout ce que tu me diras;
10 si tu me caches quelque chose tu as double péché:
11 fais attention, puisque tu es venu chez le médecin,
12 à ne pas t'en aller sans avoir été guéri.[98]

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96 En parallèle avec le texte grec, sur la colonne de droite Almazov publie le texte paléoslave du Nomokanon (pp. 5-15) édité à Kiev en 1620; il s'agit d'une traduction fidèle du texte grec. Ce nomokanon slave a dû être en vigueur dans la métropolie de Kiev avant la publication du Potrebnik de Pierre Mogila, tandis qu'à Moscou on suivait un rituel différent, celui du Potrebnik de 1623 du patriarche Philarète.

97 T-9): Εἰς ἐξομολόγησιν· A-5): Προσφέρει ὁ πνευματικὸς πατὴρ τὸν μέλλοντα ἐξομολογηθῆναι ἔμπροσθεν τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀσκεπῆ καὶ ποιεῖ στίχον καὶ ψάλλει τό· τρισάγιον. Παναγία Τριὰς . . .

98 Καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· [K82: 5]:
1 Ἰδοὺ τέκνον ὁ Χριστὸς ἵσταται ἀοράτως
2 προσδεχόμενος τὴν ἐξομολόγησίν σου·

F-7): Et il l'interroge avec précision (ἀκριβῶς) et en détail
et insiste jusqu'à ce qu'il réponde.[99]

[K10: 9]: Dis-mois fils si tu n'as pas perdu la virginité . . . [. . .]

[K11: 16]: Dis-moi si tu n'as pas volé . . .[100]

Instruction:
[K85: 5]:

1 De tout ceci il faut que dès maintenant tu tiennes compte
2 puisque en ce moment tu te baptises d'un second baptême
3 selon le mystère chrétien,
4 pour poser un bon commencement avec l'aide de Dieu;
5 surtout ne pas t'exalter pour ne pas faire rire les hommes:
6 cela n'est pas propre des chrétiens,
7 mais comporte-toi avec dignité, droiture et piété,
8 pour que Dieu t'aide.[101]

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3 μηδὲν ἐντραπῇς. μηδὲν φοβηθῇς καὶ κρύψῃς τὶ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ·
4 ἀλλὰ μετὰ θάρσους εἰπὲ πάντα ὅσα ἔπραξας
5 ἵνα λάβῃς ἄφεσιν παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ·
6 ἰδοῦ ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ ἔμπροσθεν ἡμῶν
7 κἀγὼ μάρτυρας εἰμὶ μόνον
8 ἵνα μαρτυρήσω ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ πάντα ὅσα εἴπῃς μοι·
9 εἰ δὲ κρύψῃς τὶ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἔχεις διπλῆν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν·
10 πρόσεχε οὖν ἐπειδὴ ἦλθες εἰς ἰατρεῖον
11 ἵνα μὴ ἀθεράπευτος ὑπάγῃς.

[99] F-7): Καὶ οὕτως ἐρωτᾷ αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς ἕνα πρὸς ἕνα καὶ καρτερεῖ αὐτὸν ἕως ἀποκριθῇ.

[100] Καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· [K10: 9]: 1 Εἰπέ μοι τέκνον· μὴν ἔφθειρας τὴν παρθενίαν σου διὰ μαλακίας . . . 2 Εἰπέ μοι μὴν νὰ ἀρσενοκοίτησάς τινα ἢ ἄλλος ἐσένα; 3 Μὴν νὰ ἐπόρνευσας γυναῖκα . . . [K11: 16]: 1 Εἰπέ μοι μὴν νὰ ἔκλεψες . . . (cf. ALM-ISP 3-1: 29-32).

[101] [K85: 5]: Παραγγελία·
1 Ταῦτα πάντα ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ὀφείλει νὰ τὰ προσέχῃς
2 ἐπεὶ δεύτερον ἄρτι βαπτίζεσαι βάπτισμα
3 κατὰ τὸ μυστήριον τῶν χριστιανῶν.
4 καὶ νὰ βάλλῃς ἀρχὴν ἀγαθὴν βοηθοῦντος σοι τοῦ Θεοῦ·
5 μᾶλλον δὲ μηδὲ μετεωρίζεσαι νὰ κάμνῃς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους νὰ γελῶσιν.
6 ταῦτα τῶν χριστιανῶν οὐκ εἰσίν.
7 ἀλλὰ σεμνῶς καὶ ὀρθῶς καὶ εὐλαβῶς νὰ πολιτεύεσαι
8 διὰ νὰ σὲ βοηθῇ ὁ Θεός.

F-8): <Après que le confesseur a tout demandé et le pénitent a tout manifesté sans honte, celui-ci abaisse la tête et le confesseur dit:>[102]

[K1: 3a]: *Seigneur Dieu de notre salut, miséricordieux* (cf. OCP-91: 114).

Il est digne, Gloire au Père, congé.

L-7): <On impose la pénitence selon le péché qui comporte le plus d'années, et avec lui seront déliés aussi les autres (péchés).>[103]

[K85: 6]:

1 Puisque tant d'années, fils, sont prescrites
par les lois divines et sacrées,
2 tu ne recevras pas les divins mystères,
3 mais tu boiras uniquement l'eau sainte,
4 et si tu t'abstiendras de la divine communion
tes péchés seront déliés,
5 mais si commettant une transgression tu fais la communion
6 tu deviendras un second Judas;
7 mais, attention, si tu tombes malade de mort, communie,
8 et si tu guéris, remets-toi de nouveau aux années prescrites
9 et ajoute à la mesure que tu portais déjà
10 une autre en plus pour avoir fait la communion,
11 afin que soit gardée la mesure.[104]

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[102] F-8): Καὶ ὅταν αὐτὰ πάντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξείπῃ καὶ ἀκρκιβῶς ἐρευνήσῃ, κακεῖνος πάλιν πάντα τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνεπαισχύντως ἀποκαλύψῃ, τότε κλίνει τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ ἐξομολογούμενος, καὶ ὁ πνευματικὸς λέγει τὴν εὐχήν·

[103] L-7): Τότε κανονίζει αὐτόν κατὰ τὸ πταῖσμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἔχει πολλὰς ἁμαρτίας· κανονίζει αὐτὸν τὴν μεγαλήτεραν ἁμαρτίαν, ἡ ὁποία ἔχει περισσοτέρους χρόνους, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μετ' αὐτοῦ λύονται. C'est bien la première fois qu'apparaît dans nos documents un tel principe d'économie.

[104] Καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· [K85: 6]:

1 Ὅτι, τέκνον, τόσους χρόνους ὁρίζουν οἱ θεῖοι καὶ ἱεροὶ νόμοι
2 νὰ μηδὲν μεταλάβῃς τῶν θείων μυστηρίων·
3 μόνον νὰ πίνῃς ἁγιασμόν,
4 καὶ εἰ μὲν κρατήσῃς τὴν θείαν κοινωνίαν· λύονται αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου·
5 ἐὰν δὲ παραβῇς καὶ κοινωνήσῃς·
6 δεύτερος Ἰούδας γίνεσαι·
7 καὶ πρόσεχε· ἐὰν δὲ ἀσθενήσῃς εἰς θάνατον· νὰ μεταλάβῃς,
8 καὶ ἂν σηκωθῇς· πάλιν νὰ ἵστασαι εἰς τοὺς ὡρισμένους χρόνους
9 καὶ νὰ βάλλῃς εἰς μέτρον νὰ τὸ βαστάζῃς
10 πάλιν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὁποῦ ἐμετάλεβες·
11 διὰ νὰ σώσῃ τὸ μέτρον.

<Suivent six paragraphes canoniques à l'intention du confesseur.>
(cf. ALM: 33-36)

CONF-2B: 6): Paris 1318: f. 28v-54v (XVI) =ALM: 4
=type A: seules prières=

T-10): Kanon divin de notre très saint père Jean Nisteutîs sur la confession.

Différences des péchés.[105]

Il faut que celui qui confesse les péchés cachés
au père (spirituel) ne le considère pas en tant qu'homme,
mais comme Dieu en personne, Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ,
qui viendra juger les justes et les pécheurs.
Il faut que celui qui reçoit les confessions
prenne les péchés non comme ceux d'un autre
mais comme propres.[106]

E-9): Le pénitent se met devant le sanctuaire,
fait trois prostrations
et se prosterne devant le sanctuaire.[107]

(Le confesseur) l'interroge:

[K10: 6]: Comment monsieur, madame, as-tu perdu la virginité . . .
[. . .]
Car l'on trouve des gens qui, avec l'aide du diable,
n'ont ni la connaissance ni la crainte de Dieu
pour les propres âmes ni pour le reste.[108]

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[105] T-10): Κανὼν σὺν Θεῷ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ νηστευτοῦ περὶ ἐξαγορεύσεως. Διαφορὰ περὶ ἁμαρτημάτων.

[106] Ὅτι δεῖ τὸν ἐξομολογούμενον κρύφια τὰ ἁμαρτήματα πατρί, μὴ νομίσαι τοῦτον ὡς ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Θεὸν, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν μέλλοντα κρῖναι δικαίους καὶ ἁμαρτωλούς. Ὅτι δεῖ τὸν τὰς ἐξομολογήσεις καταδεχόμενον, μὴ ὡς "ἑτέρου" (ἕτερον ALM) ἀλλ' ὡς τὰς ἁμαρτίας "ἑαυτοῦ" (αὐτοῦ ALM) ἀναδέχεσθαι.

[107] E-9): Ἱστᾶναι δὲ τὸν μέλλοντα ἐξομολογήσασθαι ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου καὶ βαλεῖν μετάνοιας τρεῖς καὶ πίπτειν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου.

[108] Καὶ ἐπερωτᾶν αὐτὸν οὕτως· [K10: 6]: Πῶς κύριε, κυρία, ἐν πρώτοις ἐφθάρη [. . .] (cf. ALM-ISP 3-1: 4-5). Εἰσὶ γάρ τινες οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες γνῶσιν ἢ Θεοῦ φόβον εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ εἰς ὅλα εὑρίσκονται συνεργοῦντος τοῦ

<Le pénitent se prosterne devant le sanctuaire et le prêtre dit:>[109]

[K4: 2]: *(Que) Dieu notre sauveur, qui pour nous s'est fait homme*
(cf. OCP-92: 26).

[K4: 3]: *(Que) Dieu qui a pardonné par Nathan*[110] (cf. OCP-92: 28).

[K4: 8]: *(Que) Le Dieu miséricordieux et tout compatissant* (cf. OCP-92: 36).

[K2: 1]: *Seigneur notre Dieu, qui à Pierre et à la pécheresse* (cf. OCP-91: 98).

[*.*]: *Maître, Seigneur notre Dieu, qui as fait le ciel.*[111]

[K3: 1]: *Seigneur Jésus-Christ, Fils du Dieu vivant, agneau* (cf. OCP-91: 96).

<Suivent deux prières non strictement pénitentielles>[112]

Et aussitôt il le relève
cf. L-6): et tous les deux s'asseyent
L-8): et le (père) spirituel l'instruit en disant:[113]

[K85: 7]:
1 A partir d'aujourd'hui, mon fils, ne fais pas de telles choses,
2 aie crainte de Dieu et fais ce qui plaît à Dieu,
3 saches mon fils que Dieu est miséricordieux . . . etc.

δαίμονος. Les 8 catégories de péchés du Protokanonarion, en même temps que leurs respectives pénitences, sont présentées de manière prolixe et désordonnée.

[109] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πίπτει αὐτὸν ἐξομολογούμενον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου καὶ κειμένου αὐτοῦ ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς οὕτως· Même si cela n'est pas dit, on suppose que le pénitent était debout (ou assis) pendant l'interrogation. Les prières sont dites par un prêtre, mais toute la première partie du rite semblait typiquement monastique.

[110] Amalgame de deux prières: aux deux premiers paragraphes de l'une suit le texte de l'autre.

[111] Εὐχὴ Δ'· Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν . . . Cf. ALM: 6, où la prière, qui ne semble pas pénitentielle, reste tout de même incomplète.

[112] Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ λῦσαι ὅρκον· [J: 3]: Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ἐπὶ σωτηρίαν τοῦ γένους . . . (SIN: 76v =DMI: 51, EBE: 179, cf. OCP-82: "L5"). Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τῶν προπετῶς ὀμνυόντων· [L1]: Ὁ Θεὸς τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως τὸ εὐάλωτον ἐπιστάμενος . . . (GOA: 534, ZER: 228). De ces prières d'absolution plus canonique que pénitentielle nous nous occuperons dans un futur article que nous pensons consacrer aux prières parapénitentielles.

[113] Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνιστᾷ αὐτόν. cf. L-6): Καὶ καθέζονται οἱ δύο ὁμοῦ·

<suit le reste d'une pieuse exhortation>[114]

L-9): Et il donne la pénitence au pécheur selon son péché:
qu'il jeûne . . . ou qu'il fasse l'aumône . . .[115]

L-10): Le fornicateur recevra l'onction (des malades?)
et sera sanctifié et recevra la bénédiction des prêtres
et après cela avec contrition du coeur et bonne componction
est tenu comme digne de la divine communion.[116]

L'adultère aura deux ans de pénitence,
<avec jeûne trois fois par semaine>
finies les deux années, il fera l'onction (des malades?)
et l'aumône selon ses possibilités,
et ainsi il sera digne des divins mystères.[117]

Egalement on fait aussi pour les autres péchés,
sauf que pour le meurtre et la négation du Christ,
qui ne peuvent être pardonnés que par le "pape"
et le patriarche.[118]

CONF-2B: 7): Paris 1318: f. 19-28v (XVI) =ALM: 8-9

T-11): Pour ceux qui se confessent et font recours à Dieu.

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[114] L-8): Καὶ ὁ πνευματικὸς νουθετεῖ καὶ διδάσκει αὐτὸν λέγων· [K85: 7]: Ἀπὸ τὴν σήμερον, υἱέ μου, μηδὲν πράττης τοιαῦτα, φοβοῦ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ πρᾶττε ἔργα ἀρέσκοντα τῷ Θεῷ, γίνωσκε, υἱέ μου, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἐλεήμων ἐστὶ καὶ μακρόθυμος καὶ πολυέλεος, ἀλλὰ ἤξευρε πάλιν [. . .] (cf. ALM: 7) Λοιπὸν, ἀδελφέ μου, ἔσφαλες· ποίησον ἔργον ἀγαθὸν, λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης Δαβίδ· ἔκκλινον ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ ποίησον ἀγαθόν.

[115] L-9): Καὶ δός κανόνα τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἁμάρτημα αὐτοῦ καὶ νὰ νηστεύῃ . . . εἴτε να ποιήσῃ ἐλεημοσύνην . . . (cf. ALM-ISP. 3-1: 7).

[116] L-10): Ὁ πόρνος ποιήσει εὐχέλαιον καὶ ἁγιασθήτω καὶ εὐλογηθήτω παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων, εἶτα καὶ οὕτως μετὰ συντριβῆς καρδίας καὶ καλῆς κατανύξεως ἀξιωθήσεται καὶ οὗτος τῆς θείας μεταλήψεως. Cette prescription d'une onction sur l'adultère pourrait avoir été inspirée par l'onction des apostats de la Diataxis du patriarche Méthode (cf. OCP-90: 283-322).

[117] Ὁ δὲ εἰς ὕπανδρον γυναῖκα πεσών· χρόνους Β ἔχει τὸ ἐπιτίμιον . . . . πληρωθέντων δὲ τῶν δύο χρόνων, ποιήσας εὐχέλαιον καὶ ἐλεημοσύνην κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ οὕτως ἀξιωθήσεται τῶν θείων μυστηρίων. (cf. ALM-ISP. 3-1: 8).

[118] Οὕτω τήρησον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁμαρτημάτων, πλὴν φονέως καὶ ἀρνησιχρίστου· οὐχ ἔχει δὲ τινὰς ἄδειαν νὰ συγχωρήσει εἰμὴ μόνον παππᾶς καὶ πατριάρχης. (cf. ALM-ISP. 3-1: 8).

Le (père) spirituel commence ainsi:[119]

[K82: 6]:

1 Mon fils spirituel, je ne vais te demander
2 que quelques-unes des nombreuses questions
3 que l'Eglise de Dieu
4 et les divins et sacrés canons des saints pères
5 nous prescrivent;
6 mais toi ne me caches rien de ce que tu as fait [. . .]
7 car moi-même je suis un pécheur
8 et j'ai commis tous les péchés comme personne sur la terre,
9 mais par la pénitence et la confession j'ai été libéré de tout;
10 donc je commence maintenant à t'interroger,
11 mais toi donc, dis-moi la vérité.[120]

[K12: 33]:

1) Ne t'es-tu pas moqué par violence du diable de la foi chrétienne et n'as-tu pas blasphémé contre Dieu et ses saints?

[. . .]

33) N'as-tu pas de la méchanceté et de l'inimitié contre quelqu'un?[121]

(à suivre)

Pontificio Istituto Orientale Miguel Arranz S.J.

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119 T-11): Περὶ τοὺς ἐξομολογουμένους καὶ τοὺς προσερχομένους Θεῷ· καὶ ἄρχεται ὁ πνευματικός·

120 [K82: 6]: Τέκνον μου πνευματικόν, ἀπὸ τὰ ἐρωτήματα τὰ πολλὰ ὁποῦ μᾶς ὁρίζει ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία. καὶ οἱ θεῖοι καὶ ἱεροὶ κανόνες τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ὀλίγα τινὰ βούλομαι ἐρωτῆσαί σε· σὺ οὖν μὴ κρύψης μοι τί ἀπ' ὅσα ἐποίησας· [. . .] ἐπειδὲ καὶ ἐγὼ ἁμαρτωλός εἰμι καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὅλας ἐποίησα ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἐπὶ γῆς. ἀλλὰ διὰ μετανοίας καὶ ἐξαγορεύσεως ἐλυτρώθην τούτων· λοιπὸν ἄρχομαι τώρα νὰ σὲ ἐρωτῶ καὶ σὺ λέγε μοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

121 [K12: 33]: Μὴ ἐκ συναρπαγῆς τοῦ διαβόλου ὕβρισες τὴν πίστιν τῶν χριστιανῶν καὶ εἰς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους ἐβλασφήμησας; [. . .] Μὴ ἔχεις κακίαν καὶ ἔχθραν κατά τινος; (cf. ALM-ISP. 3-1: 9).

Ivan Al. Biliarsky

Le rite du couronnement des tsars dans les pays slaves et promotion d'autres *axiai*

A Sa Majesté Syméon II, Tsar des Bulgares

L'étude de l'Euchologe des peuples slaves orthodoxes au Moyen Age est un problème de l'avenir. Dans l'avenir se situent également les publications d'une grande partie des textes et leur évaluation en tant que source historique.[2] Les différentes prières et *taxeis* contiennent des

ABBREVIATIONS

Arranz, Euchologe slave du Sinai = M. Arranz S.J., "La liturgie de l'Euchologe slave du Sinaï", *Christianity among the Slavs The Heritage of Saints Cyrill and Methodius*, (OCA 231, Roma 1988) 15-74.

Arranz, Couronnement royal = M. Arranz S.J., "Couronnement royal et autres promotions de cour. Les sacrements de l'institution de l'ancien Euchologe constantinopolitain", OCP 56 (1990) 85-133.

Barsov = Е. Барсовъ. *Древне-русскіе памятники священнаго вѣнчанія царей на царство*. Москва 1883.

Boris, Служебникъ 1532 года = Архимандрит Борисъ (Плотниковъ). Срѣднеболгарскій служебникъ 1532 года (Опыть палеографико-глоттологического изследованія) *Филологическія записки* вп.3. Воронежъ 1880. с. 22-55. вп. 5. Воронежъ 1880. с. 55-73.

Bréhier, *Les institutions* = L. Bréhier, *Les institutions de l'empire byzantin*. Paris 1949.

Brightman, Imperial Coronations = F. E. Brightman, "Byzantine Imperial Coronations", JTS 2 (1902) 359-392.

Bury, *Administrative System* = J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century*, London 1911.

Constantini Porphyrogeniti *De cerimoniis* = Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae libri duo*, vol. I-II, Bonnae 1829-1830.

Goar, Εὐχολόγιον = *Εὐχολόγιον sive rituale Graecorum, complectens ritus et ordines divinae liturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum, consecrationum, benedictionum, funerum, orationum et c. juxta usum orientalis ecclesiae*, opera R. P. Jacobi Goar, O.P., Editio secunda, Venetiis MDCCXXX.

Gorsky, Nevostruev, *Описаніе* = А. Горскій, К. Невоструевъ. *Описаніе славянскихъ рукописей Московской Синодальной библіотеки. Отдель III, книги богослужбныя*. часть первая. Москва 1869.

Guilland, Le césarat = R. Guilland, "Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin: Le césarat", OCP 13 (1947) 168-194.

Guilland, Le despote = Guilland, "Recherches sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin: Le despote", REByz XVIII (1959) 52-89.

renseignements précieux aussi bien sur la pratique liturgique que sur les autres domaines de la vie. Les données relatives à la vie quotidienne des gens, aux rites organisés à différentes occasions sont inappréciables. Lors de l'évaluation de cette information, il faut tenir compte aussi d'un autre fait: dans la plupart des cas, il s'agit de traductions dont l'archétype se trouve dans quelques prières rômaïques. Il y a donc lieu de se demander si

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Loparev, Къ чину царьского коронованія = Хр. Лопаревъ, "Къ чину царьского коронованія въ Византіи". *Festschrift zu Ehren D. Th. Kobeko*, Санктъ Петербургъ, 1913, c. 1 suiv.

Nevostruev, *Три молитве* = К.Невоструевъ, *Три молитве. Гласник српског ученог друштва*, кн. 22, 1867, 360-3701.

Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance* = N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX et X siècles*, Paris 1972.

Oikonomidès, *L'évolution* = N. Oikonomidès, *L'évolution de l'organisation administrative de l'empire byzantin au XI siècle (1025-1118). Travaux et mémoires*, VI, 1976, p. 125-152.

Olšr, La Chiesa e lo Stato (Rurikidi) = G. Olšr, "La Chiesa e lo Stato nel cerimoniale d'incoronazione degli ultimi sovrani Rurikidi", OCP XVI (1950) 267-302.

Olšr, La Chiesa e lo Stato (Periodo dei torbidi) = G. Olšr, "La Chiesa e lo Stato nel cerimoniale d'incoronazione degli zar russi nel periodo dei torbidi (1598-1613)", OCP XVII (1951) 395-434.

Olšr, La Chiesa e lo Stato (Romanov) = G. Olšr, "La Chiesa e lo Stato nel cerimoniale d'incoronazione degli zar Romanov", OCP XVIII (1952) 344-376.

Ostrogorsky, Zur Kaisersalbung = G. Ostrogorsky, "Zur Kaisersalbung und Schilderhebung im spätbyzantinische Krönungszeremoniell. Historia, *Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte* (Festschrift W. Ensslin), IV (1955) 246-256.

Ostrogorsky, Stein, Die Krönungsordnungen = G. Ostrogorsky, E. Stein, "Die Krönungsordnungen des Zeremonienbuches" Byz VII (1932) 185-233.

Ostrogorsky, Эволюция = Г. Острогорский. "Эволюция византийского обряда коронования, в: Византия, южные славяне, Древняя Русь. Западная Европа." *Сборник статей в честь В. Н. Лазарева*. Москва 1973, с. 33-42.

Panaitescu, *Manuscrisele slave* = P. P. Panaitescu, *Manuscrisele slave din biblioteca Academiei R. P. R.*, Bucuresti 1951, vol. I.

Photii patriarchae *Epistulae et amphilochia* = Photii patriarchae constantinopolitanae *Epistulae et amphilochia*, vol. I, *Epistularum*, pars prima, Leipzig 1983.

Syrkou, *Къ исторіи исправленія книгъ* = П. Сырку, *Къ истори исправленія книгъ въ Болгаріи въ XIV вѣке*. т. I, вп. 1. Санктъ Петербургъ 1898.

Tsonev, Описъ = Б. Цоневъ. *Описъ на ржкописитѣ и старопечатнитѣ книги въ Софийската народна библиотека*, т. I. София 1910.

Verpeaux, Pseudo Kodinos = J. Verpeaux, *Pseudo Kodinos, Traité des offices. Le monde byzantin*, I, Paris 1966.

Vogt, *Constantin Porphyrogénète* = A. Vogt, *Constantin Porphyrogénète. Le livre des cérémonies*, vol. II, Paris 1939.

le texte, traduit parfois presque littéralement, reflète d'une manière adéquate la situation dans les pays slaves voisins de l'Empire. Il est impossible de donner une réponse générale. Chaque cas devrait faire l'objet d'un examen à part. On pourrait toutefois avancer quelques comsidérations. Avant tout, il est nécessaire de tenir compte du fait que, dans la plupart des pays, la pratique rituelle de l'Eglise Orthodoxe est dans une large mesure uniformisée, ce qui constitue un préalable à la préparation des traductions. D'autre part, nous avons toutes les raisons de penser que celles-ci n'ont pas été faites au hasard et que, dans chaque pays, la nécessité du texte respectif (souvent corrigé) était prise en considération.

La présente recherche ne se propose pas le but ambitieux de répondre à toutes les questions concernant le rapport entre l'Euchologe rômaïque et l'Euchologe slave, ni de résoudre le problème relatif à leur valeur en tant que source historique. Nous voudrions proposer plus loin les textes de trois *taxeis* concernant le couronnement des tsars et la promotion des autres hauts titres de cour dans la variante de leur traduction slave. A notre avis, ils contiennent des renseignements très précieux sur le système rituel et la doctrine politique des pays orthodoxes au Moyen Age.

Jusqu'à présent, ces sources étaient connues grâce aux publications des diverses copies faites au XIXe siècle par C. Nevostrouev, E. Barsov et P. Syrkou.[1] La diffusion assez restreinte de ces publications, qui ont maintenant une valeur de raretés antiques, semble laisser ces textes un peu à l'écart de l'intérêt des chercheurs. Bien que connus, ils sont utilisés à un très faible degré comme source du système des titres du Moyen Age orthodoxe. Voilà pourquoi, nous nous permettons de proposer plus loin non seulement le texte et sa traduction mais aussi un essai de commentaire où nous tâchons de répondre à la question concernant la valeur de l'information qu'ils contiennent, ainsi que l'origine et l'interpénétration des différents textes.

TEXTE

Naguère, l'original grec des trois *taxeis* était utilisé à partir de l'édition ancienne et difficilement accessible de Jacob Goar du XVIIe s.,[2] ou bien à

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[1] Nevostruev, *Три молитве*, p. 360-370; Barsov, p. 25-31. 123-125; Syrkou, *Къ исторiи испарвленiя книгъ*, p. 122-124.

[2] Goar, Εὐχολόγιον, p. 726-732.

partir de la copie moins populaire d'Elpidiphore Barsov.[3] La littérature historique dispose depuis peu de l'edition critique du père Miguel Arranz S.J.[4] Cela facilite considérablement les recherches dans ce domaine et fournit une base solide à l'évaluation des traductions slaves. L'examen des diverses copies permet de procéder à la reconstitution du chemin parcouru par les différentes copies slaves. On doit noter à l'avance que nous utilisons plus loin la cote des manuscrits grecs, établie par leur éditeur (c.-à-d. BAR, POR, SIN, COI, BES, EBE).[5]

Les recherches sur ces manuscrits montrent qu'il n'y a pas de différences essentielles dans le contenu des textes, sauf l'absence d'explication concernant les *basilissai*, le fils ou la fille dans BAR. La tradition est respectée. On peut remarquer qu'ils ne dépassent pas le début du XIIIe s., ce qui témoigne probablement de leur disparition lors du changement dans le système hiérarchique, survenu après la crise liée à la IVe croisade. Ce fait, ainsi que les traductions slaves relativement tardives sont encore un témoignage de ce fait que les Slaves orthodoxes des Balkans ont vécu l'époque des Comnènes avec un certain retard.

Les variantes bulgares, serbes, russes et autres des prières, analysées ici, se trouvent dans quelques manuscrits conservés dans différents pays. Des publications de certains d'entre eux ont été réalisées au XIXe s. Il faudrait noter à l'avance que la présente édition ne prétend pas être exhaustive et critique. La plupart des manuscrits étant inaccessibles, on peut juger du contenu de certains d'entre eux uniquement sur le titre. Nous pensons tout de même que cette publication, la seule qui soit possible maintenant, où sont comparés les textes bulgares et serbes, sera utile aux spécialistes s'occupant du système institutionnel, ainsi qu'aux chercheurs étudiant l'Euchologe médiéval slave.

Les copies ici présentées sont les suivantes:

1. SYN — Le plus ancien texte connu est celui du recueil où se trouve aussi la copie Palaouzov du Synodikon du tsar Boril.[6] Il est conservé sous le N° 289 (55) dans le service des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale "Saints Cyrille et Méthode" à Sofia. Monument de la fin du XIVe s. (entre

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[3] Barsov, p. 25-31, 123-125.

[4] Arranz, Couronnement royal, p. 89-109.

[5] Arranz, Euchologe slave du Sinai, p. 22; Arranz, Couronnement royal, p. 83-84.

[6] Tsonev, Описъ, N° 289 (55) 187; M. Попруженко. *Синодикъ царя Бориса*, Одесса 1899; idem, *Синодикъ царя Борила*. София 1928, p. XIV.

1380 et 1393).[7] Le codex a 118 a folios de papier et se compose de trois parties: f. 1-62 — Synodikon du tsar Boril, f. 63-102 — Paroissien du patriarche Euthymius et f. 103-118 — l'original grec du paroissien. Cette copie contient deux des textes qui nous intéressent: une partie de la *taxis* du couronnement des tsars (f. 41r-41v) et la prière dite à l'occasion de la promotion du césar et du curopalate (f. 41v-42r). L'unique publication de ces textes a été faite par M. Poproujenko, en 1899.[8]

2. SRB — En deuxième lieu, il faudrait mentionner la variante serbe des textes qui nous intéressent. Elle est connue grâce à une copie de la première moitié du XVe s. Le manuscrit représente un missel serbe en papier contenant 424 f.[9] Il est conservé au Musée historique d'Etat à Moscou, dans la collection de l'ex-Bibliothèque Synodale de Moscou sous le N° 374. Dans cette copie figurent les trois textes: à la f. 179v et suiv. — La *taxis* de couronnement des tsars, f. 181r — La prière pour la promotion du césar, du despote etc., f. 181v — La troisième prière (des princes). Ces textes sont publiés en 1867 en Serbie par Constantin Nevostrouev.[10]

3. MOS — Une autre copie très ancienne est conservée dans la collection de l'ex-Bibliothèque Synodale de Moscou sous le N° 371 (675).[11] Il s'agit d'un missel en parchemin de la fin du XIVe ou du début du XVe s., contenant 220 f. La signature du patriarche Nikon indique que le manuscrit avait été déposé par lui au Monastère de la Résurrection à la Nouvelle Jérusalem. Sur la f. 154r se trouve la *taxis* du couronnement des tsars. Ce texte a été publié par E. Barsov dans son recueil, paru à l'occasion du couronnement de l'empereur Alexandre III.[12] Il est à noter aussi que la f. 166 contient une *taxis* séparée, intitulée: "м҃лтва, бл(с)в҃ити царѣ и кнѧза р҃ѳі", qui, en fait, est une répétition exacte du texte susmentionné.[13] Le remplacement du titre de tsar par celui de prince dans le contexte de la *taxis* du couronnement des tsars représente un phénomène extrêmement intéressant dans le développement du système des titres et de l'idéologie des

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[7] Tsonev, Опись, p. 150; М. Попруженко, *Отчетъ о заграничной командировкѣ лѣтом 1907 года. Записки Императорскаго Новороссійскаго университета*. Одесса 1908. p. 20; idem, *Синодикъ царя Борила*. София 1928. p. XIV.

[8] М. Попруженко. *Синодикъ царя Бориса*. Одесса 1899, p. 79-81.

[9] Gorsky, Nevostruev, *Описаніе*, N° 374, 167.

[10] Nevostruev, *Три молитве*, p. 360-370.

[11] Gorsky, Nevostruev, *Описаніе*, N° 371, 128.

[12] Barsov, p. 25-31.

[13] Gorsky, Nevostruev, *Описаніе*, p. 147.

souverains en Russie. A cet égard, une attention particulière devrait être accordée à la *taxis* située à la f. 144v et suiv. "чин(н) поставленїа на велїкое кнпа(ж)ство", publié aussi par E. Barsov.[14] C'est la *taxis* relative à la promotion princière de Dimitri, petit-fils du grand prince Jean III Vassilievitch. Il est accompagné d'un récit historique de 1498. La juxtaposition permet de tirer la conclusion qu'il correspond presque entièrement aux *taxeis* susmentionnées. La comparaison avec les sources conservées, relatives au couronnement du tsar Jean IV Le Terrible,[15] donne lieu aux mêmes conclusions. Ces données sont extrêmement intéressantes, car elles fournissent encore un témoignage au sujet de l'unité du monde orthodoxe. Elles prouvent la dissémination des textes qui nous intéressent non seulement dans l'Empire, en Bulgarie et en Serbie, mais aussi dans l'Etat moscovite, dès le XVe s.

4. SOL — La copie postérieure des textes qui nous intéressent se trouve dans le Paroissien de Solovky de 1532.[16] Le manuscrit a été copié, comme il est indiqué sur le f. 107v, au monastère de Zographou, par le moine domestique Barlaam, sur commande de Théophane, métropolite de Suceava et de toute la Moldovalachie, à l'époque de Jean Pierre voïévode.[17] Il est sur parchemin, contient 154 f. et comporte différentes *taxeis*. Il est particulièrement important de noter qu'il s'agit d'un texte écrit en moyen bulgare.[18] En même temps, le lien avec la Moldavie est incontestable. Plus tard, les caprices du destin font que ce texte arrive en Russie. Cette copie ne contient que les deux premiers textes analysés. Les f. 64-65 comportent une partie de la *taxis* du couronnement des tsars. Le début manque. Aux f. 65-66 se trouve la prière à l'occasion de la promotion du césar et du despote. Ces textes ont été publiés à la fin du XIXe s. par Polychrone Syrkou.[19]

5. SOF — Une copie, restée inconnue jusqu'à présent, se trouve dans un Livre épiscopal de prières du début du XVIIe s., conservé sous le N° 954 à

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[14] Barsov, p. 32-38; Olšr, La Chiesa e lo Stato (Rurikidi), p. 279-290.

[15] Barsov, p. 42-90; Olšr, La Chiesa e lo Stato (Rurikidi), p. 290-300.

[16] Boris, Служебникъ 1532 года, p. 22-55, 55-73.

[17] Syrkou, *Къ исторіи испарвленія книгъ*. p. XXVI-XXVII.

[18] Boris, Служебникъ 1532 года, passim et surtout p. 64.

[19] Syrkou, *Къ исторіи испарвленія книгъ*. p. 122-124.

la Bibliothèque Nationale à Sofia.[20] C'est un manuscrit en papier, contenant 181 f., 195 x 145 mm., à reliure en cuir, avec des planches mais déjà assez usées, écriture semi-onciale, 15 lignes par page. Les titres et les lettres initiales, ainsi que certains points de séparation sont écrits en couleur de cinabre. Au début des différentes *taxeis* il y a des entrelacs, accompagnés de diverses figures — des dragons, des couronnes etc. Sur le f. 80 il y a une note en langue roumaine: "ача(с)т҃ъ сфтъ летѹргие ачсте словенѣцкъ ... нѹ пѹттем чете ле ... іѹн ден 20" et sur la f. 150v il est écrit d'une écriture codée "ΩΝЦΘΦЄΞ", c.-à-d. Séraphin.[21] Ce manuscrit contient les trois textes qui nous intéressent (l'inventaire, dressé par Ch. Kodov et M. Stoyanov présente des lacunes et ne reflète pas exactement le contenu). La *taxis* du couronnement des tsars se trouve aux ff. 150v-154v, la prière pour la promotion du césar, du despote etc. — aux ff. 154v-155v, et la troisième prière — aux ff. 155v-157r. Le manuscrit est encore inédit. C'est pourquoi le texte essentiel de la publication proposée plus loin suit ce Livre épiscopal de prières du XVIIe s.

Les textes susmentionnés nous permettent de suivre la diffusion de la source étudiée dans tous les pays orthodoxes européens, ce qui souligne également leur importance. Nous ne connaissons les copies évoquées plus loin qu'à travers les inventaires. De plus, nous voudrions noter expressément qu'on les cite ici uniquement en vue de recherches ultérieures. La copie la plus proche des susdites est probablement celle qui se trouverait à la Bibliothèque centrale d'Etat de Bucarest, si elle est restée intacte après les dévastations de décembre 1989. Le codex contient un livre de prières et un missel, rédigé en bulgare, de la seconde moitié du XVIIe s.[22] Son numéro d'inventaire est I ms.sl. 1-2 (4251). les ff. 59r-62v comportent "чинь бываемы на поставление цр҃ѣ". A notre avis, il y a lieu de penser qu'il est identique au texte du même nom, étudié dans la présente recherche. C'est d'après l'inventaire que nous connaissons aussi un autre texte figurant dans le manuscrit N° 378 de l'ex-Bibliothèque Synodale de Moscou. Sur la f. 548 on lit: "м҃ѡ(л) бл(с)вити ц҃рѧ или кнѕѧ гла(в)

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[20] М. Стоянов. Кодов. Опис на славянцките ръкописи в Софийската народна библиотека. т.III, София 1964. N° 954, p. 108-109.

[21] Ibid, p. 109.

[22] Св. Николова. "Една неизвестна сбирка от славянски ръкописи в Румъния". *Старобългарска литература.* IV (София 1978) 88.

ѕ҃ѕ".[23] Etant donné que les auteurs sont très corrects mais que le renvoi manque, on peut supposer que le texte est différent. Puisque le couronnement et le mariage se ressemblent en tant que rites ecclésiastiques, nous voudrions citer ici deux textes de recueils conservés en Autriche. Le premier part d'un missel serbe du XVI^c s. "чинь обр8чению дв҃ицн кь м8жемь цр҃емь",[24] le second — d'un missel serbe du XVII^c s.: "чннь ѡбр8ченїю дв҃ци кь м8ж8. цр҃емь и прочїимь".[25] Pour les mêmes raisons, nous nous permettrons d'évoquer un autre texte, conservé à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie roumaine sous le N° 235 et daté du XVI s.: "чинь ѡбр8ченим царемь и кнѧземь и въсѣм православним хрїстїанѡм" (f.51r-51v).[26] Dans le manuscrit N° 1, se trouvant également à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie roumaine, aux ff. 215v-216v, on lit: "таже в избраной воеводѣ".[27] Malheureusement, on ne peut dire si cette prière est une traduction ou bien une adaptation du texte présenté ici. De toute façon, il est à noter que si cela est vrai, on pourrait en tirer une information très précieuse sur la doctrine politique des principautés au nord du Danube pendant le bas Moyen Age, ainsi que sur le développement général du monde orthodoxe après la conquête turque. Il faudrait dire quelques mots aussi du rapport entre les différentes copies. Avant tout, il faut noter la ressemblance presque totale entre SOF et SRB. On peut dire que les différences sont surtout d'ordre linguistique et orthographique, dans la mesure où l'un est bulgare, l'autre — serbe. De leur côté, ils sont proches des copies grecques BES, COI et EBE qui contiennent les variantes longues des rubriques explicatives.[28]

En même temps, dans SOL les rites à l'occasion du couronnement de la tsarine, du fils ou de la fille d'un tsar manquent. Cela aurait dû le rendre plus proche de BAR et de SIN qui contiennent les variantes courtes des rubriques du texte grec et traitent aussi avant tout du *basileus*.[29] Pourtant, la comparaison laisse une impression toute différente:

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[23] Gorsky, Nevostruev, *Описание*. N° 378, p. 236.

[24] G. Birkfellner, "Glagolitische und kyrillische Handschriften in Österreich. Schriften der Balkancommission", *Linguistische Abteilung* XXIII (Wien 1975) N° II/105, p. 277.

[25] Ibidem, N° II/111, p. 289.

[26] Panaitescu, *Manuscrisele slave*, N° 235, p. 335.

[27] Ibidem, N° 1, p. 4.

[28] Arranz, Couronnement royal, p. 89-91, 95, 97-101.

[29] Arranz, Couronnement royal, p. 91, 95, 101.

Designatio regis. Rubrica posterior:
(Sol, f. 65)

и възимаеть ѿ анти-
минсеа стемѫ ѡбѣма
рѫкама . архїереи вѣн-
чавае͞т его гла . въ
имѧ ѡ͞ца и с͞на и с͞тго
д͞ха. и по причещени
с͞тых таинъ покланѣ-
ется скуптрѡ͞м ,р .
архїереи же г͞лет'
слава въ вышнї͞х б͞оу
и на земли миръ . въ
ч͞лцѣ͞х б͞лговоленїе р
и тако огласивше
вѣнчаннаго . и похва-
ливше и . рекше Мнѡга
лѣта ц͞рю ї͞м. и
ѿходи͞т носа стемѫ
на главѣ своеи .

Designatio regis. Rubrica posterior
(BAR 362, SIN 127v)

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ Ἀμήν, ἐπαίρει ἐκ
τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης τὸ στέμμα
καὶ κρατῶν αὐτὸ ταῖς δυσὶ χερσὶ
στέφει αὐτὸν λέγων · Εἰς
ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ
καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Καὶ μετὰ
τοῦτο ποιῶν προηγιασμένα καὶ
μεταδίδωσιν αὐτῷ τῆς ζωοποιοῦ
κοινωνίας.

Malheureusement, la première rubrique explicative manque dans SOL et c'est à cause de cela que l'on ne peut pas faire de juxtaposition. Le texte actuel est très différent. Tout cela, ainsi que certains autres éléments dans la deuxième *taxis* n'offrent pas de raisons suffisantes pour chercher l'origine de cette copie dans BAR, SIN ou bien dans quelqu'autre variante proche de ces textes. Le lien entre eux se trouve dans le fait qu'ils ne sont consacrés qu'au *basileus* ou au tsar.

SYN est une variante entièrement indépendante. Dans ce manuscrit, les différences, en ce qui concerne la langue, le lexique, la grammaire,

l'orthographe et la structure, sont, comparées aux autres variantes, les plus considérables.

Ayant en vue l'édition critique des textes grecs, présentée par le père M. Arranz, on peut dire que, pour le moment, l'archétype rômaïque reste obscur. Il est évident que cet avis n'est pas valable si l'on suppose l'idée que ces modifications ont été faites au cours de la traduction du grec en slave.

Enfin, on voudrait se pencher aussi sur certains aspects structurels de la *taxis* de promotion du césar et du despote qui pourraient nous aider à découvrir quelques éléments de ce rite, jusqu'à présent inconnus non seulement dans les pays slaves mais aussi dans l'Empire. Aussi bien dans l'original grec[30] que dans SRB et SOF, il manque des rubriques explicatives et κεφαλοκλισία.

Dans sa recherche, le père M. Arranz accorde une attention spéciale à ce fait, en supposant que cette omission (par rapport au texte grec) ait pu se produire à cause de l'application du même rite et du même texte de la prière de la *taxis* du couronnement des tsars ou des princes, bien qu'une telle approche soit étrangère à l'Euchologe.[31] Heureusement, deux des textes slaves conservés donnent la possibilité de répondre à cette question.

Dans SYN, la première rubrique explicative est tellement abrégée qu'elle ne contient presqu'aucune information (cf., rem. 154). Le texte dans SOL est plus intéressant. De prime abord, on constate qu'il ne peut être comparé à la première rubrique des prières relatives à la promotion des patrices ("princes", dans la variante slave). On trouve des ressemblances plus essentielles avec celle de la *taxis* du couronnement des tsars:

Designatio caesaris etc. (SOF f. 65)	Designatio regis (SOF 954 f. 151r)
...приво́дитсѧ прѣⷣ а҆рхїе҆реом'	и҆ прѣстоит' же и҆ хо́таи
и҆ прѣкло́ншоу е҆моу̀ гла́вѫ,	вѣ́нчатисѧ цр҃ь. дїа́кѡⷩ г҃лѐть
а҆рхїе҆реи же възло́жь рѫкѫ	дїа́кон'ства пръвосщ҃е́н'никь
на гла́вѫ е҆мꙋ̀ прочи́таеть	прѣкла́нѣеть гла́вѫ
е҆мꙋ̀ мⷧ҃ сїѫ̀	м҃ли́тсѧ си́це

[30] Arranz, Couronnement royal, p. 103.

[31] Arranz, Couronnement royal, p. 131.

Comme nous avons pu le voir, la ressemblance n'est pas absolue, mais elle pourrait quand même servir de base à la comparaison. Malheureusement, dans la copie du paroissien de Solovky, il manque la première rubrique de la *taxis* du couronnement des tsars et la comparaison dans le cadre d'une seule et même variante s'avère impossible. Au contraire, les autres rubriques et la *kephaloklisia* qui sont conservées dans SOL, sont presqu'entièrement identiques aux mêmes éléments de la troisième *taxis* (celle des patrices ou des princes):

ORATIO CAPITIS INCLINATIONIS

SOL, f. 66	SOF, 156v-157r	Texte grec[32]
и дїаконнства архїе-		
ренмир' всѣ дїа'	дїаконь	Ὁ διάκονος
кон. главы ваша	главн ваше гвн	Τὰς κεφαλάς.
гвн. тж архїереи	прѣклоннтѣ пръво-	ὁ ἱερεὺς εὔχεται
млтвѫ сїѫ +	сщен'никь млтса	
гн бе нашь. иже	гн бе нашь иже	κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ
всѐго създанїа тво-	всѐ създанїа тво-	πάσης κτίσεως δημιουρ
рець. оуслыши млєнїа	рець оуслыши мле-	γός, ἐπάκουσον τῆς δε-
наша и дароуи рабоу	нїа наша и дарѹи	ήσεως ἡμῶν καὶ χάρισαι
своемѹ вѣрномоу семѹ	вѣр'номоу всѣ	τῷ πιστῷ σου δούλου τῷδε
всѣ їаже къ спсе-	їаж къ спсенїю	πάντα τὰ πρὸς σωτερίαν
нїоу прошенїа. сподобла	прошенїа. сподобл	αἰτήματα, ἀξιῶν
его въ твоѐ хотѣнїе	его въ твоѐ хотѣнїе	αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ σὸν θέλημα
прѣданнѫѭ емоу власть	прѣданнѫѭ емоу вла-	την πιτευτεισαν αυτω
право съдрьжати	сть право съдрьжати	ἀρχὴν οἰκονομῆσαι
и наслѣдникѹ емѹ	и наслѣдникѹ емѹ	καὶ μέτοχον γένεσται
быти и нбснаго тво-	быти и нбснаго ти	τῆς ἐπουρανίου σου
его црствїа +	црствїа :-	βασιλείας
възглш'. ты бо еси	възглш'. ты бо еси	Ἐκφώνως Σὺ γὰρ εἶ
бъ нашь и тебѣ	бь нашь и тебѣ	ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ σοὶ
слава въсылаемь.	славѫ възсылаемо	τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν
оцѹ и сноу и	оцѹ +	τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ
и стмѹ дхѹ ннѣ и	и потомь възимаеть	τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι νῦν
присно и в вкы вѣ-	епитрахиль лежешь	καὶ ἀεὶ.............
кымь +	на анаїмн.....	....
и тако поклоннвса.	онь поклоннвса	καὶ οὕτω προσκυνεῖ καὶ
цѣлвѐ архїереа и	цѣлоуеть патрїарха	ἀσπάζεται τὸν πατριάρχην
причастивса охо-	и причастив'са	καὶ κοινωνεῖ καί ὑπο-
днть :-	оходнть :-	χωρεῖ

32 Arranz, Couronnement royal, p. 107-109.

Ce mélange des éléments de la première et de la troisième *taxeis* est entièrement conforme au caractère des *axiai* les plus élevées dans la hiérarchie. Il est évident que l'élément avec l'*epitrachilion* ne pourrait pas figurer quand on promeut un despote ou un césar, mais il faut noter que c'est l'unique écart dans le texte.[33]

Comme on a déjà dit, le texte essentiel de cette publication suit plus loin le Livre épiscopal de prières N° 954 de la Bibliothèque Nationale "Saints Cyrille et Méthode" (SOF). Aussi, devrais-je signaler que les trois variantes SRB, SOL et MOS sont présentées ici telles qu'elles ont été publiées — c'est-à-dire, il faut tenir compte du fait que le texte a été, au moins partiellement, normalisé par les éditeurs. Je me sens obligé de souligner que la traduction proposée ci-dessous est conforme à la traduction du grec, faite par le père M. Arranz.

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[33] Syrkou, *Къ исторіи исправленія книгъ*, p. 124.

DESIGNATIO REGIS

(SYN 41r-41v, MOS 154 sq., SRB 179v-181r, SOL 64-65,
SOF 150v-154v)

TITULUS:

(150v) чи́нь бы́ваѐмы на по
стáвленїє цр҃ѣ (1)

RUBRICA PRIOR:

/ eadem linea| по ѡблѣ́че
нїи (2) хóтаи (3) съ б҃гомь цр<с>твовá
ти .въ вьсѧ̀ (4) цр<с>кыѩ (5) ри́зы (6)
5 крóмѣ дїáдима (7) и стéми (8) о
(151r) дѣ́вается . (9) си́мь оўбо на амидм҃и<и>
си́ прѣж<д>е постáвленно<м> . (10) йже стои́<т>
на ӑмвóнѣ (11) сéго прѣж<д>е (12) стои́ть(13)
оўбо̀ патрїáрхь. и прѣ<д>стоит' же
10 й хóтаѝ вѣ́нчатися цр҃ь . (14) дїáкѡ<н>

г҃лéть дїáкон'ства. (15) прѣвос҃щє
н'никь прѣклáнѣеть глáвѫ .
м҃ли́тсѧ си́це, (16)

ORATIO PRIMA:

eadem linea: м҃лтвѫ (17)
г҃и б҃е нáшь. цр҃ь цр<с>тв8
15 жщїи<м>.(18) и г҃ь г҃п<с>тв8ѫ
щїи<м> (19) йже сáмоуи́ла пр<о>рка (20)
избрáвь .и (21) рáба своегò (22) дв<д>а
и помáзавь егò цр҃ѣ (23) нá<д> лю
дїи свои́<х> ї҃илѣ. (24) ты̀ н҃нѣ (25)
20 оуслы́ши м҃лéнїє нáше (26) недо<с>ои́ны̀<х>
(151v) и призрѝ (27) ѿ с҃тго жи́лища твоегò (28)
и вѣ́р'наго (29) рáба своегò (30) ѡи'си́ц8, (31)
йм҃ (32). егóже б҃лгоизвòли (33) въстá
вити цр҃ѣ (34)на<д> люд'ми твои́ми
25 с҃тыи́ми . (35) йхже стѧ́жа (36) ч<с>тноѫ (37)
си крѣ́вїѫ (38) еди́нороѡ<д>нáго твое<г>
с҃на (39) . помáзати спо<д>óби мáсломь
рáдости (40). ѡблѣ́ци (41) егò (42) си́лоѫ (43)
съвы́ше (44). поставѝ (45) на глáвѣ егò (46)

30 вѣнець (47) ѿ камене ч<с>тнааго . (48) дар8<и>
емоу (49) продлъженїе днн . (50) даж<д>ь (51)
въ деснниця (52) его (53) скуп'тро (54) сп<с>енїа.
посадн его (55) на прѣстолѣ (56) правды.
н ѡграды (57) его (58) снлоя (59) стго твоего
35 дха . (60) оукрѣпн мышц8 (61) емоу.
(152r) покоры емоу (62) въсе вар'вар'скыа
азыкы . (63) въсѣн (64) въ срцн (65) его (66)
(eadem linea) стра<х>
твой .н къ съгрѣшаяшїн<м> (67) про
щенїе (68) съблюды его (69) въ непороч
40 нѣн (70) вѣрѣ. покажн его тврѣда
хранителѣ (71) стѣн тво<е>н съвѡр'
нѣн цркви (72) правило . (73) ѡко да
сядн (74) людемь твон<м> въ прав<д>я .(75)
н нищїн<м> твон<м>'въ ся<д>, (76) спсеть (77) сны
45 оубогы . (78) до<с>инь (79) быти (80) н(81)
(eadem linea) нб<с>ном<8>
ти цр<с>твїю (82):~ възглашь (83)
ѡко твоа е<с> (84) дрѣжава (85) н твое е<с> (86)
(eadem linea) цр<с>
тво н снла н слава (87) ѡца (88) н сна н стго
дха.(89) нн н пр<с>но н въ вѣкы вѣкѡ<м> —(90)

RUBRICA MEDIA:

50 по (91) аминѣ възимаеть . (92) дїадим<8> (93)
(152v) н сапогы (94) патрїархь .н даеть н<х> (95) вн
стїар8 (96).

Nota de incoronatione filii, filiae vel uxoris:

eadem linea: аще лн (97) хотѣн вѣн'чатн<с> (98)
снь цревь. нлн дъщн .(99) нлн жена, (100)
не даеть дїадим8 , ни сапогы
55 внстїар8.(101) ня цркви (sic) (102) прѣдаеть
я ,(103) патрїархь . знаменавь .црь<ж> (104)
възлагаеть (105) вѣнчаваяшом<8>са .(106)

Dialogus:

н глаш8 патрїарх8 .(107) мирь всѣ<м>.
дїаконь .главн наше гвы прѣ ~ (108)
60 сщен'ннкь млнтса снце, (109)

ORATIO CAPITIS INCLINATIONIS:

eadem linea:м<л> – (110)

тéбѣ ѐдйного цр҃ѣ (111). вѣ
кѡ<м> . (112) ѝже зéмльной (113) цр<с>тво
ѡ тéбѣ прїéмлеть .(114) прѣ
клóнївь (115) вы (116) съ нáмн. ѝ
65 м҃лн тн сѧ (117) вл<д>ко (118) въсѣ<х>, съхранѝ
(153r) ѐгò (119) пó<д> крóвомь твон<м> . (120) оутвръ'
дн (121)ѐгò цр<с>твїе. (122)оугó<д>ная(123) тéбѣ
твóрнтн (124) въсег<д>à тóго спо<д>ѣн . (125)
въсїáн въ д҃шн (126) ѐгò прáвдѫ .(127) ѝ
70 мнѡ́ство (128) мйра. ꙗко да въ оу
тйшн ѐгò (129) тйхо .ѝ безмлъвно
жйтїе (130) пожйвемь . (131) въ всѣкѡ<м>
б҃лгочьстн ѝ чйстотѣ (132) : ~ възгл<ш> (133)
тѝ бò (134) ѐсн (135) цр҃ь мйрꙋ ѝ тéбѣ слá ~ (136)

RUBRICA POSTERIOR:

75 ѝ възймаеть (137) ѡ ѐнтнмїньсїà (138)
ст҃éмоу (139) патрїáрхь . ѝ дрьжно
съ ѡ҆бѣма рѫкама вѣнчаваеть
ѐгò г҃ла . (140) въ ймѧ (141) ѡ҆ц҃а (142) ѝ с҃на ѝ
с҃тго д҃ха . (143) ѝ сїа оувò бываѫть , (144)
80 ѐгдà (145) цр҃ь вѣнчаваетсѧ .(146)/

Nota de filio, filia vel uxore:

/eadem linea: ѐг<д>à (147) же
(153v) лѝ с҃нь (148) ѝлѝ д҃щн .(149) ст҃éмоу (150) не въ
злáгаеть (151) патрїáрхь .нѫ (152) ѐдаеть (153)
ѫ (154) цр҃ю .(155) ѝ ѡ҆нь вѣнчаваеть ѝхь .(156)
ѡ҆ще лѝ е҃<с> жéна хóтан вѣнчатн<с>.(157)
85 вѣнчаваетсѧ, на ѐвгоу́сталїн
ѝ ѐнтїмнн'сн .(158)/

Iterum de rege:

/eadem linea:ѡ҆ще лѝ е҃<с> мѫжь. (159)
вѣнчаваетсѧ (160) на ѐмвóнѣ велй
кыѧ (161) цр҃кве. ѝ прнчáщаетсѧ (162)
прѣвос҃щенн8 . (163) ѝ поклáнѣетсѧ (164)
90 скѵп'тро<м> , (165) г҃<ш>'.(166) потóмь г҃лéть (167)
патрїáрхь (168) слáва въ вйшны<х> (169)

Бо҃у и на земли миръ ,(170) въ ч҃лцѣ<х>
бл҃говоленїе. (171) г<ѡ>. (172) ѡглашаеть
вѣчнаго. (173)

Nota pro reginis:

/eadem linea: о (174) цр҃цахже прѣпоста
95 влѣетса (175) тамо на трапезѣ сте
(154r) ма (176) стоѫщоу (177) цр҃кви (178) и патрїар
хѹ . въводитса и цр҃ца (179) ѡ прѣпо
та.(180) прѣ<д>стоѫщи же та.(181) патрїархѹ.(182
покрѣвена (183) мафорымь .(184) и дїа
100 конѹ гл҃ащѹ (185) дїакон'ства. гл҃а (186)
патрїархь. м҃лтвѫ аже и на<д> цр҃ѣ.(187)
прѣтварѣе (188) тѣчїю (189) гл҃ы на женѹ .(190)
ег<д>а ѡвѣдѫть ѫ , (191) и ѡкрывааѫт'
мафорь . (192) простираѫть его , (193) ꙗко
105 не видѣтиса ей . (194) и тако привó
дить ѫ (195) къ патрїархѹ. (196) и възы
маеть (197) патрїархь. (198) ѡ трапезы
стемоу. (199) и дае ж цр҃ю. (200) и тѣ вѣнча
вае ж . (201) дїаконѹ гл҃ащѹ . (202) главы
110 ваше . (203) и гл҃а патрїархь , (204) и в
(154v) торжа. м҃лтвѫ (205) оучить ѫ . (206) и та
ко ѡставлѣеть ѫ патрїархь . (207) сѣ
дащїи (208) съ цр҃емь покланѣетса
и (209) съборь по законѹ .(210)/

Iterum de rege:

/eadem linea: иже вѣнча
115 ваетса (211) на амвонѣ великыа (212)
цр҃кве (213) исходить носа стемѹ :~ (214)

DESIGNATIO CAESARIS ET DESPOTI

(SYN 41v-42r, SRB 181r-181v, SOL 65-66, SOF 154v-155v)

TITULUS:

м҃лтва на поставленїе кесара
и деспота и иныимь власте<м>. (215)

ORATIO UNICA:

б҃же великыи (216) и вѣчныи
120 цр҃ь (217) цр<с>твоуѫщїи<м> .(218) и г҃ь (219)
г<с>постовоуѫщїи<м> .(220) живы

на нб<с>ный . и бж<с>тв'
ный<х> оукрашеный<х> (221) зе
мльнаго сего жите
125 л'ства сътвориві . (222) положи
(155r) вый (223) въ ни<х> (224) начала (225) и власти. по
по<д>бно(226) аггл'скый<х> твои<х> силь(227) црь(228)
земльнаго (229) поставивь .(230) и иже
съ нимь (231) втори<х> начал' (232) с<ъ>твориві (233)
130 дроугь дроуга почитати . и бо
атися .(234) и шб'щимже началш<м>
прѣ<д>ставителѣ, и рѣшителѣ ко
нець.(235) ты вл<д>ко(236) всѣ<х> раба(237) своего(238)
шн'сиц8, (239) им<р> . егоже ѡ всѣхь
135 избравь и бл҃гоизволивь сѣмя
шблѣщеся до<с>ина . (240) шблѣци (241) его
свыше силою твѣрдою . (242) сь
храни (243) его по<д> крово<м> крилоу твоею.
незазор'но и ненапастно нача
140 ло того съблюди. (244) мир'но и не
(155v) блазньно житїе емоу дари .(245) сь
твори его бранемь страшна и не
побѣдима .(246) бл҃горазоумна ра
бомь(247) и ч҃лколюбна.(248) спо<д>би его (249)
145 и нб<с>номоу ти цр<с>твїю(250): ~ възгл'(251)
ѩко да ѡ всѣ<х> прославлѣѩть (252)
прѣстое имѧ твое (253) ѡца и сна и
стго дха .нинѣ (254) и пр<с>но и въ вѣ (255) ~

PROMOTIO ARCHONTUM

(SRB 181v-182r, SOF 155v-157r)

TITULUS:

мл҃твы въ съборѣ кнѧ<s>
150 хотащи<х> власти. прїати ве
ликыѧ ѡ црѣ . (256)/

RUBRICA PRIOR:

/eadem linea: сице бываеть',
или на андїмин'си (257) великыѧ
црквe, (258) или прѣ<д> амвониімь.(259)
и поставленнѣ (260) трапезѣ и за

(156r) 155 вѣсоу и прѣж<д>е ѡсщ҃енн8 . и (261) дїа
конь гл҃еть (262) дїакон'ства.
прѣвосщ҃ен'никь мл҃нтсѧ (263) сице (264) ~

ORATIO PRIMA:

гн҃ бе҃ нашь . иже въсѣком<8>
начѧлоу (265) и силѣ власть и
160 мии (266) на нб҃си и на земли . иже
иже (sic) и (267) раба своего(268) блг҃оизво
ли патрїкїисцѣи (269) дрьжа
вѣ начѧло. (270) дароуи емоу въсѣ (271)
ѩже къ сп҃сенїю прошенїа . спо<д>
165 би(272) его сѫдити(273) сѫщїи<м>(274) под ним'(275)
въ правости и благ<д>ти . и къ бл҃го
оугодїю твоемоу быти, въсѣ
ми ѩже творить. и въсѣко҄ѧ (276)
дѣланїе мл<с>тина .(277) оубогии<м>
(156v) 170 и нищїи<м> показоужщь .(278) и съ по
слѣдоужщїи<х> (279) емоу ,въ мирѣ
и послоушанїи<х> (280) ходити изволи.
исплънѣи (281) въсегда пло<д> земль
нїи<х>, (282) на ѡбилїе въсѣхь людїи (283):~
175 възгл҃а<ш> ѩко твое е<с> (284) цр<с>тво и
сила и слава ѡц҃а и сн҃а .(285)/

Dialogus:

/eadem linea: дїаконь(286)
главы ваше гв҃и прѣклоните (287)~
прѣвосщ҃ен'никь мл҃тсѧ (288)~

ORATIO CAPITIS INCLINATIONIS:

гн҃ бе҃ нашь. иже въсе<г>
180 създанїа творець.(289)
оуслыши мл҃енїа (290) наша.
и дар8и вѣр'номоу (291) въсѣ (292) ѩ<ж>
къ сп҃сенїю прошенїа . спо<д>
блѣ<а> (293) его въ твое хотѣнїе, прѣ
(157r) 185 даниѧ (294) емоу власть право съ
дрьжати. и наслѣдник8 ем8
быти . и нб<с>на<а>го (295) ти цр<с>твїа:~
възгл҃а<ш>. ты бо (296) еси бг҃ нашь,

н тебѣ славж (297) възсилаемо (298) ѡц҃ꙋ (299)~

RUBRICA POSTERIOR:

190 н (300) потомь, възимаеть епи
трахиль лежещь. на андїмин<н>
сн. н даваеть его дїаконꙋ,
н полагаеть его на патрїкїа. (301)
ѡнь (302) поклонивса (303) цѣлоуеть (304)
195 патрїарха. н причастивъ'са (305)
ѡходить: ~

--- ~ ---

(1) Млтва въ провъзевденне црѣ MOS Молитва на поставленїе царя SRB (2) По еже одѣатися MOS, ѡблъченїи SRB (3) хотащомоу MOS, хоте SRB (4) всѣ (въ omittens) MOS, все SRB (5) Цр<с>ьскаа MOS, црьскые SRB (6) одѣанїа MOS (7) опроче Цр<с>кыа хланїды еже Цр<с>ькаа одежда MOS дїадимн (8) стемы еже есть цр<с>кын вѣнецъ н фивлы MOS, стѣмн SRB (9) одѣваетса caret MOS, ѡдѣваетсе SRB (10) еже есть таавѡ на антїмїньсїн предьложена бывають MOS, поставленномь SRB (11) н.с.н.а. caret MOS (12) предъ нимъ MOS (13) стоїтъ MOS (14) хотан вѣнчанъ быти на Црьство (н om.) MOS, хотен вѣнчатисе Црхь SRB (15) н архидїакоу рекшоу малаа дїакѡньства еже есть: Пакы н пакын мїромъ Гоу помлї. Застоупи н спсн: Престоую чтоую MOS, ...Гльеть...SRB (16) Н томоу преклоньшоу главоу н абїе патрїархъ молитса: MOS, ...прѣкланїа его главꙋ SRB (17) м. om. MOS, Млтва SRB (18) Црю Црьствоующимъ MOS, Црь Цр<с>твоующимь SRB (19) н Гн господьствоующимъ MOS, н Гь господствꙋющимь SRB (20) самоунломъ пророкомъ MOS (21) н om. MOS (22) своего MOS (23) того въ Црѣ MOS (24) надъ людьми своими Илѣ MOS, їисрла SRB (25) н нинѣ MOS, нинѣ SRB (26) млтвоу нашоу MOS, моленїе SRB (27) виждь MOS (28) твоего MOS (29) вѣрнаго MOS et SRB (30) тн раба MOS (31) ѡ. om. MOS (32) нма рекъ MOS, їмре SRB, ab hoc initium est orationis in SOL. (33) еже благоволилъ есн MOS (34) въздвигноути црѣ MOS, ...Цра SRB, ...царѣ SOL (35) въ азыцѣ твоемъ стомъ MOS, ...стїнмн SRB, ...стмн SOL (36) его же стажалъ есн MOS, ...стежа SRB (37) честною MOS, ч<с>тною SRB (38) кровню (сн om.) MOS, крьвїю SRB (39) единороднаго сна (твоего om.) MOS (40) елеомъ възрадованїа

MOS, масли<м>...SOL (41) одѣи MOS, ѡблѣци SOL (42) того MOS...(43) силою MOS et SRB (44) свыше MOS (45) положи MOS. (46) іего MOS (47) вѣнць SRB (48) честна MOS, ч<с>тнаго SRB et SOL (49) томоу MOS (50) долготоу днеї MOS, дльготѫ днїи SOL (51) даи же MOS (52) десницѣ MOS, десницꙋ SRB (53) іего MOS, емꙋ, емоу SRB et SOL (54) скыпетръ MOS (55) того MOS (56)престолѣ MOS (57) оградн MOS et SOL, ѡгради SRB (58) того MOS (59) всеороужъствомъ MOS, силою SRB (60) ти дха MOS (61) оутверди того мышцоу MOS,...мышцѫ SOL (62) покори іемоу MOS, покори...SRB et SOL (63) всѣ варварьскыꙗ ꙗзыкы MOS, в'сѐ варвар'скыезыкы SRB, въсѧ варварскыѧ ѧзыкы SOL...(64) всѣи MOS...(65) срдце.SRB et SOL (66) іего MOS (67) и еже к послоушнымъ MOS, сьгрѣшающимь SRB, съгрѣшаѫщи<м> SOL (68) милостивное MOS...(69) сблюдитого MOS, съблюди его SRB et SOL (70) непорѡч'нѣи SRB (71)того опасна хранителѣ MOS,...хранителꙗ SRB (72) стыꙗ твоіеꙗ сборныꙗ црквe MOS, стѣи твоеи и сьбѡр'нѣи цркви SRB, и правителѣ стѣи твоеи съборнѣи цркви SOL...(73) велѣнїꙗхъ MOS, правиль SRB,"правило" om.SOL (74) да соудѧ (ꙗко om.) MOS, соудить SRB (75) люди твоꙗ правдою MOS,...правдꙋ SRB (76) и нищиихъ твоихъ соудомъ MOS,...соудь SRB...(77) и спсеть SRB et SOL (78) оубогыих SRB, оубѡгыⷯ SOL (79) и наслѣдникъ MOS, и дс<с>инь SRB et SOL (80) боудетьMOS, бѫде<т> SOL (81) ї MOS, "и" om. SRB et SOL (82) нб<с>наго тї цр<с>вїа MOS (83) взгладше<и> MOS (84) "е<с>" om. MOS et SOL (85) державa MOS (86) твоіе іесть MOS,. іе<с> SRB (87) "и сила и слава"om. SOL (88) оца MOS (89) ab hoc ad finem lineae 57 in SOL caret (90) нн҃ѣ и прїсн: MOS, ннїа и при SRB (91) и по MOS (92) взимаіеть MOS (93) хламидоу MOS (94) "и сапогы" in MOS caret (95) подаіеть тоую MOS (96) веститоромъ такожде и фївлоу MOS (97) аще ли іесть MOS et SRB (98) вѣнщавaіемыи (хотѣи om.) MOS(99) дчи MOS (100) жена іего MOS (101) не веститоромъ (и.д.д.и.с.в. om.) MOS, вистїаревы SRB (102) но црви MOS, нь цареви (recte)SRB (103) тaa подаіет' MOS,...та SRB (104) тъ же MOS (105) възлагаіеть таа MOS, възлагаеть та SRB (106) вѣнчавaіемомоу MOS,вѣнчавающомоусе SRB (107) и глющоу патрїархоу MOS, и

глаголющ8 па́тріа́рх8 SRB, om. SOL (108) дїакш<н> . Гоу помлнмса:(г. н. г. п.caret) MOS, ...главн ваше...SRB, ...главн ваша...SOL (109) патрїархъ молнтьса снце: MOS, сщеннкь мо́лнтсе снце SRB, архїерен пакы Гле м<л> сїа~ SOL (110) м<л> om. MOS, SRB et SOL (111) едномоу црю MOS, ...цара SRB (112) вѣкомъ MOS (113) земное MOS,зе́мльноѐ SRB, зе́мное SOL (114) тобою въвѣреныи MOS, ѿ те́бе пр...SOL (115) поклонн MOS, прѣклонн SRB et SOL (116) выю MOS et SRB (117) молнмътнса MOS, млнмтнсе SRB (118) вл<д>кѡ SOL (119) схранн того MOS...(120)кровшмь (твон<м> om.) SRB (121) оудержавн MOS, оутврьдн SRB et SOL (122) того цр<с>тво MOS, цр<с>тво его̀ SOL (123) благооугоднаа MOS, оуго́дна SOL...(124) тн творнтн MOS, тво́рнтн тебѣ SRB (125) спо<д>бн его̀ SOL (126) въ днехъ recte MOS: in orat. graec.:"ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις" (127) юго правдоу MOS,...правд8 SOL (128) мншжьствомъ MOS, мно́жьство SRB et SOL (129) да в тнхостн юго (ѩко om.) MOS, ...тншннѣ...SRB (130) безмолвно жїтїе MOS (131) н мы пожнве<м> SOL (132) въ всѣкомъ благочестїн н чнстотѣ MOS, вь вса́комь благочьсты н чнстотѣ SRB, въ в'сѣкш<м> благочьстїн н чнстштѣ SOL (133) възглашее: MOS (134) бѡ MOS et SOL (135) юсн MOS...(136) црь мнровн н спсъ дшамъ нашнмъ н тебѣ славоу възсылаюмъ оцоу н сноу н стомоу дхоу нн MOS, ...сла́воу вьзсн́ламо SRB, слав<в> възсн́лае<м>. ѡц8 н сноу н стм8 дхоу SOL (137) ї по амннѣ . Прнемлеть MOS, възнмаеть SRB et SOL (138) антїмннсїа MOS, анднмннса SRB, антнмнсеа SOL (139) цр<с>кын вѣнецъ MOS (140) н держа того обѣма роукама възлагаютъ на главоу цревоу гла MOS, сте́м8 па́тріархь: н дрьже ю сь со́бѣма р8кама вѣнчаваю его̀ Глю SRB, сте́мж ѡбѣма ржка́ма архїерен вѣнча́вае его̀ Гла SOL (141) нме SRB, нмѣ SOL (142) оца MOS (143) ab hoc usque ad finem SOL (f. 65): н по прн<ч>щенн сты<х> таннъ покла́нѣетса скѵптрш<м>, ѱ'архїеренн же Глет' сла́ва въ вышнїн<х> Боу н на земли мнрь въ Члцѣ<х> благоволе́нїе Г<ѡ>. н та́ко огла́сневше вѣнча́ннаго н похва́лнвше н ре́кше Мнѡ́га лѣта црю Гм<р>. н ѿходн<т> но́са сте́мж на гла́вѣ свое́н (144) бы́вають MOS et SRB (145) внегда MOS (146) вѣнчаваютса MOS, вѣнчаваетсе SRB (147) внегда MOS (148) юстъ снъ цревъ MOS (149) дчн MOS

(150) вѣнецъ MOS (151) възлагаетъ MOS (152) но MOS, нь SRB (153) подаетъ MOS, ра́ють (sic) SRB (154) того MOS, ю SRB (155) ц҃ревн MOS, царѹ SRB (156) н тъ вѣнчаваетъ тѣхъ MOS (157) н аще оубо женьскын полъ естъ вѣнщаваемаа MOS, н аще е<с> же́на хо́тен вѣнчатнсе SRB (158) вѣнчаваема есть не на амвонѣ, но оу авгоусталїа оу антїмїнсїа MOS, вѣнчаваéтсе на авгоуста́лїн н анднмннсн SRB (159) ...же моужескъ полъ ("е<с>" om.) MOS, аще е<с> мѫжь SRB (160) тъ ("вѣнчаваетса" om.) MOS, вѣнчаваетсе SRB (161) велнкыꙗ MOS, велнкые SRB (162) прнчащаеться MOS, прнчещаетсе SRB (163) преж<д>ес҃щенньмн MOS, прьвос҃щеннк8 (sic) SRB (recte leg. прежде освашенныхъ = καὶ κοινωνεῖ προηγιασμένα) (164) ї покланѣютса MOS,покланꙗетсе SRB (165) н скнпетры MOS, скѵптрѡ́мь (166) третнцею MOS, трнщн SRB (167) г҃люще MOS, глеть SRB (168) "патрїархь" caret MOS (169) вышннхъ MOS (170) мїръ MOS (171) б҃говълєнїе MOS, б҃говóлєнїе SRB (172) "г<щ>" caret MOS (173) н възпроповѣдающнмъ н вѣнчаваемаго MOS, "шглашаеть вѣнчанаго" caret SRB (174) ѡ SRB (175) предъ поставлѣетса MOS, прѣд поставлꙗетсе SRB (176) вѣнецъ ц҃р<с>кы ("на т. с. om.) MOS (177) н стоющю MOS, н стоéщ8 SRB (178) ц҃рвн MOS, царевн SRB (recte) (179) прнводнма бываетъ ц҃рца MOS (180) препоснты ("ѡ" om.) MOS, прѣноснма SRB (181) н поставлѣють ꙗ предъ MOS, прѣдстоещн ("же" om.) SRB (182) патрїархомъ MOS (183) прекрытоу MOS (184) прекровомъ MOS, мафѡ́рїѡ́мь SRB (185) н референдарїоу г҃лющоу: пакы н пакы мнромъ г҃оу м҃лнм<с> MOS, аїакѡн8 г҃лющ8 SRB (186) "д. г." caret MOS, г҃лет SRB (187) молнтьса патрїархъ молїтвою. юже творїть о ц҃рехъ MOS, ...молнтв8 юже н над цара SRB (188) премѣнаꙗ MOS, прѣтварае SRB (189) точїю MOS (190) о женѣ MOS (191) таже преставлѣють тоую MOS, ѡведѹть ю SRB (192) оускрываютъ прекровъ MOS, ѡткрн́вают мафѡ́рь SRB (193) ab hoc initium est orationis in SYN, н разъпростнраютъ того MOS (194) ...невнднма е<с> SYN, еже не зрѣтнса тон MOS, не вн́дѣтнсе ен́ SRB (195) н та́ко пакы прнведжть ж SYN,...прнводнть тоу MOS,...прн́вóдеть ю SRB (196) архїеп<с>кпоу SYN, патрїархоу MOS (197) въземь SYN, прїемъ MOS (198) архїеп<с>кпь SYN (199) вѣнець ѡ трапезы SYN,

...Цр<с>кын вѣнецъ MOS, ѿ трапезы стем8 SRB (200) Бл<с>внвь подасть Црвн SYN, подаетъ Цревн MOS, н дає́ть ю цар8 SRB (201) онже въземь вѣнчаеть ж SYN, тъже възлагаетъ на главоу ею .патрїархоу знаменающю роукою MOS, н ть вѣнчавдеть ю SRB (202) н дїаконоу рекшоу MOS, ab hoc usque ad finem orationis in Synodici differentia magna est in narratione. SYN (f.41, lin. 5): н рече<т>// дїакω<н>, гла́вы наша Гвн прѣ//клоннмь . архїєп<с>кпь мо́лнтсѧ снц<е>.// Тѧ єдиномоу црю вѣкωмь // земльное Црство ѿ тебе прне//мшн . поклоннла є<с> выж своѫ// съ намн . н мо́лнмсѧ тебѣ вл<д>ко // всѣхь съхранї ж под' кровомь // твонмь. н оукрѣпн Цр<с>тво єж .// н сподобн ж всегда оуго́днаа // тебѣ тво́рнтн . всїан въ днее<х>// єж правдѫ .н множьство мн́//ра . да въ тншннѣ єн тн́хо н бе//змлъвно жнтїе пожьвемь .// въ всѣцѣмь Благовѣрн н чн//стотѣ : ~ възгла<ш>.// ты бо єсн Црь мнроу н спсъ дшам' // нашннмь . н тебѣ славѫ възсн//лаемь . оцоу н сноу н стмоу дхоу ~ // н потомь накажеть ж полезнынмь.// н тако оубо архїєп<с>кпь ѿхо́днть .// она же са́деть съ Цремь. н покла//нѣжтсѧ єн всн болѣре по обычаю8: - (203) главы ваша преклонинте MOS, главн ва́ше Гвн прѣклонн́мь SRB (204) глетъ ("патрїархь" om.) MOS, Глемь....SRB (205) второую млнтвоу MOS et SRB (206) таже пооучаетъ тою полезнаа MOS, 8чнть ю SRB (207) н тако патрїархь оубо ѿходїть MOS, ...ωставлює́ть ю...SRB (208) сїа же сѣдаетъ MOS, н сѣде́щїн (leg. сѣдащы єн) SRB (209) н покланѣема бываетъ MOS, покла́нює́тсе єн SRB (210) снгглнтомь по обычаю MOS (211) вѣнчаный же MOS, н єже вѣнчає́тьсе SRB (212) велнкою MOS, велнкыє SRB (213) цркви MOS (214) съходнть вѣнецъ носа MOS, нсхо́днть но́се сте́м8 SRB (215) Млтва на поставленїе ке́сара . се же н на поставленїе хранителѣ полатѣ . єже Глетсѧ кѵрополатнсъ SYN, Молнтва на поставлюенїе . кесара н деспота . н нныим властелемь SRB, Мл<л> на поставле́нїе ке́сара н де́спота н властели́на всѣкого . нлн вели́ка нлн ма́ла SOL; hoc et in SRB rubrica prior caret. In SYN (f. 41v, lin. 30-32): архиаїа́кωнже рече<т> се. Гоу помолнмсѧ архїєп<с>пь молн<т>сѧ снце; SOL (f. 65): прнво́днтсѧ прѣ<д> архїереом' н прѣкло́ншоу ємоу гла́вѫ архїерен же възло́жь рѫкѫ на главѫ єм8 прочи́таеть єм8 м<л> сїа (216) велнкы SYN (217) Црю SYN (218)

царствоуюшїнмь SRB (219) Г҃Н SYN (220) госпо<д>ств8ѫщнмь SYN, господствоѡющнмь SRB (221) нже по ѡбразоу нб<с>наго н бж<с>твнаго оукрашенїа SYN, ...оукрашенїнхь SRB et SOL (222)н землъное се жнтне сътворнвь SYN, землънааго...SRB, (223) н положнвь SYN (224) въ немь SYN (225) начела SRB (226) по подобїоу SYN, по подбїю SRB, по подобїю SOL (227) аггельскыхь снль (твонхь om.) SRB, а҃гг҃лскыхь твонхь снль SOL (228) нже Ц҃рѣ SYN, цара SRB (229) земнаго SOL (230) поставнль есн SOL (231) по немь SYN (232) втораа начала SYN, втóрїнхь начéль SRB (233) оутвръднвъ SYN, (234) ннѣмь оубо на помощь н на з<д>рáвїе владащнмже на ѡбщее застѫпленїе н на пóлзѫ съвръшенѫ SYN, др8гь др8га оубо почнтатн н боáтнсе SRB дроугь дроуга оубо почнтатн н боатнсѧ SOL (235) om. SYN, ѡбщїнмь же начéломь прѣстáтелю н рѣшнтелю концемь SRB, ѡбщїнм же начáлшмь прѣстáтелѧ н рѣшнтелѧ концемь SOL (236) вл<д>кѡ SOL (237) н раба SYN et SOL (238) твоего SOL (239) om. SYN, сего SOL (240) егоже ѿ въсѣхь нзбраль есн н нзволнль есн въ сїн облѣщнсѧ достойна SOL (241) н облѣцн SYN (242) снлоѫ н крѣпостїѫ SYN, снлою тврьдою SRB (in orat. graec.: δύναμιν καὶ ασφαλείαν= SYN) (243) н съблюдн SYN (244) незавнстн8 н без напастн власть сїѫ съблюдн емоу SYN, ...начело того сьблюдн SRB (245) мнрноу въжнтн н нема тежноу жнзнь дарован ем<8> SYN (246) сътворн его протнвнынмь страшна н непостыдна SYN (247) м҃л<с>тнва къ подрѫчннкшмь SYN,...рабшмь SRB et SOL (248) ч҃лколюбнва SYN (249) его om. SYN (250) н҃бснаго твоего Ц҃р<с>твїа SYN, Ц҃р<с>тво om. SOL (251) om. SYN et SOL (252) да съ въсѣмн славнтсѧ SYN, прославлѩють SRB, прославнтсѧ SOL (253) прѣчьстное нма твое SYN, прѣст҃ое нме твое SRB (254) н҃нѩ SRB (255) вѣкы вѣкшмь SYN, SOL continuat (f. 66): н дїáконства . архїерен мнр' въсѣ<м> дїáко<н> главн вáша г҃вн . та<ж> архїерен м҃лтвѫ сїѫ ~ Г҃Н б҃е нáшь нже въсего създáнїа твóрець. оуслышн млéнїа нáша н дароýн рáбоу своем8 вѣрномоу сéм8 всѣ юже къ с҃псéнїоу прóшенїа . спо<д>блѣѧ его въ твоѐ хотѣнїе . прѣдáннѫѧ емоу̀ власть право съдрьжатн н наслѣдннк8 ем8 бытн н нб<с>наго твоего цр<с>вїа ~ възгла̀<ш> Ты бѡ есн Б҃ъ нáшь . н тебѣ слáвѫ възсылаемь ѡ҃ц8 н с҃ноу н с҃тм8 д҃х8 н҃нѣ н пр<с>но

и в вкы вѣкшмь ~ и тако поклоннѧсѧ цѣлѧѧ<т> архїерѣа и причастивсѧ ѿходить ~ (256) молитва вь сьборѣ кнезь хотещихь власти прнети велнкые ѡ цара SRB (257) амиинси SRB (258) велнкые церкви SRB (259) амвономъь SRB (260) поставлениѣ SRB (261) и om. SRB (262) глеть SRB (263) млитсе SRB (264) om. SRB (265) вьсакомꙋ начелꙋ SRB (266) имы SRB (267) om. SRB (268) своего сего SRB (269) патрикѵнсцѣи SRB (270) начело SRB (271) вьса SRB (272) и сподоби SRB (273) сꙋдити SRB (274) соущимь SRB (275) подобнимь SRB (276) вьсакое SRB (277) млтине SRB (278) инщимь показаюць SRB (279) сьпослѣдꙋющихь SRB (280) пославшаїих SRB (281) испльниа SRB (282) плша земльныих SRB (283) людеи SRB (284) е<с> SRB (285) ѡца и сна и стго дха нна и пр<с>ноSRB (286) дїакѡн SRB (287) поклоньте SRB (288) молитсе SRB (289) творць SRB (290) млениїа SRB (291) вѣрномꙋ рабꙋ своемоу семꙋ SRB (292) вьса SRB (293) сподоблые SRB (294) прѣданнꙋю SRB (295) нбеснаго (и. om) SRB (296) во SRB (297) славꙋ SRB (298) вьзсиласми SRB (299) om. SRB (300) om. SRB (301) патрикїа SRB (302) и ѡнь SRB (303) поклонивсе SRB (304) целꙋеть SRB (305) причестивсе SRB.

Designation du Tsar

TITRE:

Taxis pour la désignation du tsar.

RUBRIQUE INITIALE:

Après s'être revêtu,
celui qui doit régner par la disposition de Dieu,
de tous les habits royaux,
5 à l'exception du diadème et de la couronne, il se
pare — choses toutes déposées
auparavant sur l'antimension qui se trouve
sur l'ambon — se tenant devant celui-ci
le patriarche[34] et étant présent
10 celui qui veut être couronné comme un tsar,
ayant fait le diacre la synaptie et l'archihiéreus,
tenant la tête de l'autre(du tsar-I.B.) inclinée, prie ainsi.

PREMIERE PRIERE:

La prière.

15 Seigneur notre Dieu, Roi des régnants et Seigneur des seigneurants,[35]
Qui par Ton prophète Samuel
élus Ton serviteur David
et l'oignis comme roi de Ton
peuple Israël[36]: Toi-même
20 écoute maintenant la supplication de nous indignes
et regarde aussi de Ta sainte demeure
Ton fidèle serviteur, N.
(dis son nom), que Tu T'es complu d'élever
pour tsar de Tes hommes
25 saints acquis par
le sang précieux de Ton Fils Monogène:
daigne l'oindre avec l'huile
de l'allégresse, revêts-le de la force
d'en haut, mets sur sa tête

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[34] Dans SYN, le patriarche est complètement absent du rite, étant remplacé partout (cela concerne aussi la deuxième des trois *taxeis*) par l'archevêque. Ce rapport suivi ne pourrait s'expliquer ni par la conjoncture en Bulgarie pendant les dernières décennies du XIV s., ni par quelque copie grecque de celles que nous connaissons.

[35] I Tim. 6:15; v. aussi Apoc. 1:5, 19:16; Deut. 10:17; Dan. 2:47; II Mac. 13:4; III Mac. 5:35.

[36] I Sam., chap. 16, v. aussi 10:1.

30 une couronne de pierres précieuses, fais-lui
grâce de longs jours, donne
à sa droite le sceptre du salut,
asseois-le sur le trone de la justice,
entoure-le de l'armure de Ton Saint
35 Esprit, rends fort son bras,
soumets-lui tous les langages
barbares, sème dans son coeur Ta crainte,
et aux pécheurs pardon,
conserve-le dans une foi immaculée,
40 montre-le inflexible
gardien des règles de Ta Sainte Eglise
catholique, afin que
jugeant Tes hommes avec justice
et Tes pauvres dans le jugement, il sauve les enfants
45 des indigents et devienne digne aussi de
Ton règne céleste. Doxologie:
Parce qu'à Toi est le pouvoir et Tien est le règne
et la puissance et la gloire du Père et du Fils et du
Saint-Esprit maintenant et toujours et pour les siècles.

RUBRIQUE MOYENNE:

50 Après l'Amen le patriarche prend le diadème
et les bottes et les donne au vestiteur.

Note sur le couronnement d'un fils, d'une fille ou d'une femme:

Si doit être couronné
le fils du tsar ou sa fille ou sa femme,
le patriarche ne donne pas le diadème ni les bottes
55 au vestiteur mais il les donne au tsar
en bénissant; le tsar
les impose au couronné.

Dialogue:

Et le patriarche ayant dit "Paix à tous"
le diacre: "Inclinons nos têtes devant le Seigneur."
60 Le célébrant prie ainsi:

LA PRIERE DE LA TETE INCLINEE:

La prière.

Devant Toi, unique Roi éternel,
a été celui à qui le règne terrestre
a été confié par Toi
a plié le cou avec nous; et
65 ainsi nous Te supplions, Toi Maître de tous, garde-le

sous Ta protection, fortifie
son règne, et ce qui T'est agréable
accorde-lui de le faire toujours,
illumine son âme[37] de justice et
70 d'abondance de paix, afin que dans sa sérénité
une vie calme et tranquille
nous menions en toute
piété et pureté.[38] Doxologie:
Car Tu es le Roi de la paix[39] et à Toi gloire (nous rendons)

RUBRIQUE FINALE:
75 Et le patriarche prend de l'antimension
la couronne et la tenant
avec les deux mains le couronne
disant: "au nom de Père et du Fils et
du Saint-Esprit". Et l'on fait ainsi
80 si c'est le tsar qui doit être couronné.
Note sur le fils, la fille ou la femme:
Mais si c'est
son fils ou sa fille, la couronne n'est pas
imposée par le patriarche, mais il la remet
au tsar et c'est celui-ci qui les couronne.
Et si c'est la femme qui doit être couronnée,
85 elle est couronnée dans l'*augustalion*
sur un antimension.
De nouveau sur le tsar:
S'il s'agit d'un homme:
il est couronné sur l'ambon de la
grande-église et il reçoit la communion
avec les (dons) présanctifiés (c'est le sens correct-I.B.)[40]

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[37] A la ligne 69 "въ дйни" devrait correspondre à "ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις" mais tenant compte de la similitude dans la manière d'écrire "въ дйни", on peut supposer qu'il s'agit d'une faute de transcription. Pourtant, il est à noter que cette faute est présente dans tous les manuscrits que nous connaissons.

[38] I Tim. 2:2. Cette citation détermine dans une large mesure la position idéologique vis-à-vis du pouvoir royal (laïc), ce qui fera l'objet de notre attention plus loin.

[39] A la ligne 74 il manque la traduction de l'expression grecque "καὶ σωτὴρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν" (Arranz, Couronnement royal, p. 97 n. 12).

[40] A la ligne 89 "καὶ κοινωνεῖ προηγιασμένα" est remplacé dans MOS par "и причащаєтьсѧ прежесщеными", qui correspond entièrement à ce qui est écrit dans

et se prosterne
90 (devant) les sceptres trois fois. Ensuite dit
le patriarche: "Gloire à Dieu au plus haut des cieux
et sur la terre paix et pour les hommes
bienveillance" trois fois et il proclame
celui qui a été couronné.

Note sur les tsarines:

Pour les tsarines on dépose
95 à l'avance la couronne là-bas sur une table
et étant présent le tsar (c'est le sens correct - I.B.),
ainsi que le patriarche
et la tsarine est introduite par les
préposés et elle demeure devant le patriarche
étant couverte avec le *maphorion* et le
100 diacre fait la synaptie, et dit
le patriarche la prière que l'on fait pour le tsar
en changeant seulement les paroles au féminin.[41]
Après quoi ils la font se déplacer et lui enlèvent
le *maphorion* qu'ils déploient (devant elle) pour
105 qu'elle ne soit pas vue et ainsi ils
la conduisent au patriarche, et prenant
le patriarche la couronne de la table
et la remet au tsar, et celui-ci la couronne, et lorsque le diacre a dit "(Inclinez)
110 vos têtes", le patriarche dit la
seconde prière. Ensuite il l'exhorte et ainsi
la quitte. Elle
s'assied avec le tsar et reçoit la prostration
de la part du Sénat selon la loi.

De nouveau sur le tsar:

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l'original grec: "καὶ κοινωνεῖ προηγιασμένα" v. Arranz, Couronnement royal, p. 99 n. 15). Cela montre sans aucun doute que cette traduction diffère des autres. Ce fait est confirmé d'ailleurs par l'existence de divergences lexicales et linguistiques qui, par endroits, sont considérables.

[41] La prière de la tsarine figure en entier dans la variante du Synodikon (cf. rem 142). Ayant en vue que cette copie est parmi les plus anciennes, une attention particulière devrait être accordée à ce fait. Bien que le caractère et la structure du texte restent intacts, l'insertion de toute une prière pose la question de son origine. Pour le moment, on ne peut aucune donner réponse définitive. Elle pourrait être due à la traduction d'une variante grecque inconnue mais aussi à l'intervention de l'érudit lui-même qui l'avait faite. Nous voudrions tout de même souligner de nouveau qu'il n'existe aucun parallèle ni dans les textes slaves, ni dans les textes grecs.

Celui qui est
115 couronné sur l'ambon de la grande-
église sort en portant la couronne.

DESIGNATION D'UN CESAR ET D'UN DESPOTE

TITRE:

Prière pour la désignation d'un césar
et d'un despote et pour d'autres pouvoirs.

PRIERE UNIQUE:

Ô Dieu Grand et Eternel,
120 Roi des régnants et Seigneur
des seigneurants,[42] Qui vis
aux Cieux et Qui
selon les parures célestes
cette société terrestre
125 as créé et mis
en elle autorités et pouvoirs à
imitation de Tes forces angéliques,
(Toi) Qui installas le roi terrestre et après lui
établis des autorités secondaires
130 pour qu'ils s'estiment l'un l'autre et pour qu'ils
craignent[43] et Qui promus le tsar d'être intercesseur devant
les principes généraux et libérateur des confins,
Toi, Maître de tous à Ton serviteur N.,
(dis son nom), que Tu choisis entre tous
135 et que Tu T'es complu à faire
revêtir de cette dignité, habille-le
de la force inébranlable d'en haut.
garde-le sous l'abri de Ton aile,
conserve-lui cette autorité non
140 violente ni assaillante,[44]
grâcie-le d'une vie pacifique et sans tentations,

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[42] I Tim. 6:15.

[43] Sur les lignes 130-131, l'expression grecque "εἰς ἀλλήλων μὲν ἐπικουρίαν καὶ συνέχειαν" (v. Arranz, Couronnement royal, p. 103, H2, n. 9) est traduite par "дроугъ дроуга почитати и боатисѧ". La divergence est évidente mais il est à noter que la variante du Synodikon est beaucoup plus proche de l'original grec: "ïнѣмь оўбо на помощь и на з(д)ра́віе" (cf. rem. 173).

[44] A la ligne 139 "ἀνεπιφθόνος" est traduit par "незазорно", et "ἀνεπηρέαστον" par "ненапастно". Il faut souligner encore une fois que la traduction du premier mot dans SYN — "независтнѹ" — est complètement identique à l'original.

rends-le en bataille redoutable et
invincible, bienveillant pour les
serviteurs et philanthrope, le rendant
145 digne aussi de Ton Règne céleste. Doxologie:
Pour que par toutes choses soit glorifié
Ton nom tout saint du Père et du Fils et
du Saint-Esprit, maintenant et toujours et pour les siècles.

PROMOTION DES PRINCES[45]

TITRE:

Lors de l'assemblée prières pour les princes
150 qui veulent recevoir du tsar la grande,
autorité.

RUBRIQUE INITIALE:

Elle se fait
ou bien sur les *antimensia* de la grande-
église, ou bien devant l'ambon
où l'on met une table et un
155 rideau et les dons présanctifiés (c'est la traduction correcte - I.B.), et
après que le diacre ait dit la synaptie,
le prélat prie ainsi:

PREMIERE PRIERE:

Seigneur notre Dieu, Qui possèdes
le pouvoir de toute autorité et force
160 dans le Ciel et sur la terre,
Qui Te complus de faire ranger Ton serviteur
dans l'autorité de l'état
patricien, accorde-lui
toutes ses demandes en vue du salut,
165 et rends-le digne de juger ceux qui sont en dessous de lui
en justice et charité, et de manière
qu'il Te devienne agréable en tout
ce qu'il fera, en montrant toute
sorte d'activité miséricordieuse envers les pauvres
170 et les nécessiteux, agréé
qu'il conduise ses subordonnés dans la paix

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[45] Les problèmes concernant le changement dans le titre et le rapport patrice-prince seront examinés à part. L'absence de différences essentielles dans le texte lui-même peut être expliqué aussi par le fait que cette *taxis* figure uniquement dans SRB et dans SOF qui se ressemblent beaucoup.

et l'obéissance,
augmente comme toujours les fruits terrestres
pour le bien-être de tout Ton peuple.
175 Doxologie: Parce qu'à Toi est le règne et
la puissance et la gloire du Père et du Fils (...)

Dialogue:

Le Diacre:
"Inclinez vos têtes devant le Seigneur".
Le prélat prie ainsi:

PRIERE DE LA TETE INCLINEE:

Seigneur notre Dieu,
180 Artisan de toute créature,
écoute notre supplication
et accorde à Ton fidèle toutes
ses demandes en vue du salut,
en le rendant d'après Ta volonté
185 digne d'administrer l'autorité qui lui fut confiée,
et de devenir héritier
de Ton Royaume Céleste.
Doxologie: "Car Tu es notre Dieu
et à Toi nous rendons gloire: au Père (...).

RUBRIQUE FINALE:

190 Et ensuite (le patriarche) prend,
l'*epitrachilion* déposé sur l'*antimension*,
et le donne au diacre
et (celui-ci) l'impose au patrice
qui s'incline, embrasse
195 le patriarche et recevant la communion,
il se retire.

NOTES SUR LE RITE DU COURONNEMENT ET LA PROMOTION DES AUTRES TITRES

Le texte analysé dans la présente recherche contient, à cause de son caractère, des informations très détaillées sur le rite du couronnement des tsars et sur l'attribution des autres titres mentionnés. Elles feront l'objet d'une attention particulière, mais, pour être jugées équitablement, elles devraient être situées dans leur contexte temporel. Cela concerne avant tout le texte grec, puisque les textes slaves dépendent dans une large mesure de ce dernier.

Comme il a été indiqué, les manuscrits contenant les sources grecques qui nous intéressent, témoignent d'une époque relativement plus reculée — le manuscrit le plus récent date du XIIe s. Cette datation est confirmée aussi par certaines données contenues dans le texte. Un argument sérieux dans ce sens est la présence du nobilissime dans la deuxième prière. Les informations relatives à cette haute *axia* de la cour ne dépassent pas les dernières années du XIIe s.[46] Il est particulièrement important de noter l'absence, dans la description de la *taxis* du couronnement royal, du rite de l'onction qui s'impose aussi au XIIe s.[47] Cependant, pour définir le *terminus ante quem*, il faudrait déterminer l'époque de l'élaboration du plus ancien des manuscrits connus. C'est BAR — du VIIIe s. A notre avis, ce fait permet d'affirmer que le texte prend sa forme définitive avant ou au cours de ce siècle.

La datation est un bon repère pour faire la comparaison avec d'autres sources. Les renseignements sur le rite du couronnement du *basileus* sont abondants. Nous nous permettrons de ne mentionner ici que les plus importants. C'est avant tout le traité de Constantin Porphyrogenète *De ceremoniis aulae constantinopolitanae*.[48] En ce qui concerne le XIVe s. il faudrait citer le chapitre VII du traité du Pseudo-Codinos[49] et deux descriptions du couronnement de Manuel II Paléologue (l'une anonyme et l'autre du diacre Ignace de Smolensk).[50] Il faut mentionner aussi les descriptions du couronnement des hospodars russes,[51] bien qu'elles se rapportent à une période relativement plus tardive, marquée par les changements survenus après la conquête de la *Polis* par les Turcs. Il faut noter à l'avance qu'il est plus intéressant d'analyser les renseignements fournis par Constantin

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[46] Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*, p. 293.

[47] Ostrogorsky, Zur Kaisersalbung, p. 246; Ostrogorsky, Эволюция, p. 37; Brightman, Imperial Coronations, p. 378.

[48] Constantini Porphyrogeniti *De cerimoniis*, l. 1, 38-41, p. 191-216; l. 1, 43, p. 217-225; l. I, 44, p. 225-229; l. I, 45, p. 229-235; l. I, 48, p. 244-255; Vogt, *Constantin Porphyrogénète*, 1-5, 26-32, 33-36, 37-39.

[49] Verpeaux, Pseudo Kodinos, p. 252-273.

[50] Verpeaux, Pseudo Kodinos, app. VI, p. 351-361; Barsov, p. 19-24; Loparev, Къ чину царьского коронованія, p. 1-11.

[51] Barsov, p. 32-38, 42-90; Olšr, *La Chiesa e lo Stato (Rurikidi)*, p. 267-302. Sur la période plus tardive v. Olšr, *La Chiesa e lo Stato (Periodo dei torbidi)*, p. 395-434; idem, *La Chiesa e lo Stato (Romanov)*, p. 344-376.

Porphyrogenète, qui, on peut le dire, se rattachent à l'époque du texte grec considéré.

Quand on fait le commentaire de la source, il faut tenir compte avant tout du fait qu'elle contient la description d'une cérémonie religieuse et non pas de tout le cérémonial de la cour. Cela constitue une certaine spécificité qui, par comparaison, doit être prise en considération. Le lieu du rite est expressément indiqué: l'ambon,[52] ce qui coïncide exactement avec les données du traité *De ceremoniis*.[53] La description de la *taxis* elle-même est relativement brève et la coïncidence avec d'autres sources est d'une évidence incontestable. Les données contenues dans le traité de Constantin Porphyrogénète sont presque identiques.[54] Il est important de noter à cet égard que d'après G. Ostrogorsky et E. Stein ces renseignements datent de la deuxième décennie du IXe s.[55] Il y a aussi une coïncidence avec les données relatives au couronnement du *symbasileus*, qui datent aussi de la première moitié du IXe s.[56] On peut avancer le même raisonnement à propos du couronnement de la *basilissa*.[57] Il n'y a pas non plus de différences de principe avec ce qui est écrit dans le traité du Pseudo-Codinos.[58] Les informations de la description anonyme du couronnement de Manuel II Paléologue présentent un intérêt particulier car c'est uniquement ici que se trouve en plus le texte de la prière dite par le patriarche à la cérémonie.[59] Sans aucun doute, cette prière diffère de celle qui figure dans la source analysée par le présent article. Pourtant, il est à noter que toutes les deux présentent suffisamment de traits communs pour qu'on puisse les étudier dans le cadre d'une même tradition. Il s'agit notamment de l'apostrophe du début ("Roi des régnants et Seigneur des seigneurants", 1 Tim. 6:15), de l'évocation de l'onction du roi David par le

[52] Arranz, Couronnement royal, p. 91 H1:Aa, n. 5, p. 99, H1:Ca n. 13-14.

[53] Constantini Porphyrogeniti *De cerimoniis*, t. I, l. I, 38 p. 192 (22-23), p. 194 (1-18).

[54] Constantini Porphyrogeniti *De cerimoniis*, t. I, l, I, 38 p. 192-193.

[55] Ostrogorsky, Stein, *Die Krönungsordnungen*, p. 233.

[56] Constantini Porphyrogeniti *De cerimoniis*, t. I, l. I, 38 p. 194 (1-18); Arranz, Couronnement royal, p. 99, H1:Ca n. 7-10; Ostrogorsky, Stein, *Die Krönungsordnungen*, p. 233.

[57] Constantini Porphyrogeniti *De cerimoniis*, t. I, l, I, 40 p. 202-205, l, I, 41 p. 207-209; Arranz, Couronnement royal, p. 99 H1:Ca n. 19-26.

[58] Verpeaux, *Pseudo Kodinos*, p. 257.

[59] Verpeaux, *Pseudo Kodinos*, p. 353-354.

prophète Samuel, des dignités du souverain. On pourrait en tirer des conclusions intéressantes au cours d'une analyse éventuelle du développement intégral du rite relatif au couronnement des *basileis* dans l'Empire,[60] mais cela dépasse les tâches que la présente recherche se propose.

L'une des questions principales auxquelles il faudrait répondre est celle concernant l'importance du texte slave et surtout la mesure dans laquelle il reflète le rite authentique du couronnement dans les pays orthodoxes ayant subi l'influence de Constantinople. D'une part, comme il a été déjà noté, la traduction ne s'écarte presque pas de l'original grec. Cela met en doute sa valeur en tant que source historique relative à la situation dans les pays slaves, car il est difficile de présumer une imitation parfaite du rite coûteux et compliqué, pratiqué dans l'Empire. D'autre part, on ne peut pas négliger le fait qu'il existe quand même des différences entre l'archétype et la traduction, bien qu'au niveau de la composition seulement. L'argument principal en faveur de la thèse que la *taxis* analysée ici contient des reseignements véridiques sur le couronnement du tsar dans les pays slaves orthodoxes, consiste dans sa diffusion relativement large pratiquement dans tous ces pays. Les copies conservées témoignent de l'intérêt porté à ce texte en Bulgarie, en Serbie, et peut-être aussi en Valachie et Moldovie.[61] Le fait qu'il existe une copie russe, qui nous apprend que cette *taxis* avait été utilisée lors du couronnement du grand prince Dimitri et du tsar Jean IV Le Terrible, est particulièrement important.[62] Le changement du titre du souverain dans le premier cas ainsi que la situation historique concrète excluent la possibilité de présumer qu'il s'agit d'une traduction littérale contrairement à l'usage.

La prière suivante est consacrée à la promotion du césar, du nobilissime ou du curopalate. Il a été déjà question de la datation. Ce qui pourrait être intéressant ici, ce sont les données du traité de Constantin Porphyrogénète, qui témoignent du rite pendant une période plus ancienne. En fait, on ne peut pas faire de parallèles, car le texte analysé ici ne comporte pas de

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[60] Brightman, *Imperial Coronations*, passim; Ostrogorsky, Эволюция, passim.

[61] Panaitescu, *Manuscrisele slave*, N° 1, p. 4.

[62] Barsov, p. 31-38, 42-90. Il est à souligner l'idée rômaïque de la symphonie que l'on peut trouver dans les textes russes v. Olšr, *La Chiesa e lo Stato (Rurikidi)*, p. 300-302. Sur l'histoire plus tardive de cette idée v. idem, *La Chiesa e lo Stato (Periodo dei torbidi)*, p. 410, 412-413, 421, 432, idem, *La Chiesa e lo Stato (Romanov)*, p. 353-354, 355-356, 374-376.

description du rite (sauf le supplément dans SYN et SOL), tandis que chez le *basileus* érudit du Xe s. il manque la prière elle-même. Constantin VII consacre un chapitre de son traité à chacun des titres.[63] Il n'y a qu'une brève mention aussi dans le traité de Philothée.[64] Or, bien que les comparaisons directes soient impossibles, les données des deux sources se complètent l'une l'autre et permettent d'avoir une image plus complète des rites de Constantinople.[65]

Il est intéressant d'établir aussi une comparaison avec les données du Pseudo-Codinos qui, au chapitre VIII, donne la description d'une promotion de despote et, au chapitre IX — consacré au sebastocrator et au césar — renvoie au chapitre précédent.[66] A cet égard, il est à noter que les données proviennent d'une tout autre époque — la moitié du XIVe s. En outre, elles reflètent non pas une cérémonie religieuse mais un rite de la cour, ce qui rend impossible toute comparaison avec le texte de la prière.

La traduction slave pose d'autres problèmes. Elle date d'une période beaucoup plus récente. En outre, il y a des différences essentielles dans le titre même, ce qui est un témoignage de la destination différente du texte. Le titre de despote apparaît pour occuper plus tard le sommet de la hiérarchie. Le nobilissime est tout à fait absent et le curopalate n'est mentionné que dans le texte du Synodikon. Après comparaison avec l'original grec, il est évident que les deux prières concernent les plus hautes *axiai*. Le césar, le nobilissime et le curopalate occupent les trois premières places dans la liste pendant les IXe-Xe s.[67] Le despote et le césar sont dans la même position pendant une période plus récente mais on pose la question de l'absence du sebastocrator qui, dès le XIIIe s., occupe la deuxième place dans la hiérarchie. Cela pourrait s'expliquer par la disparition progressive du titre pendant la seconde moitié du XIVe s. période de laquelle datent les derniers renseignements sur ce dernier dans l'Empire et en Serbie.[68] En Bulgarie, il disparaît dès la fin du siècle précédent. Sauf en ce qui concerne

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[63] Constantini Porphyrogeniti *De cerimoniis*, t. I. l. I. 43 p. 217-225, l. I. 44 p. 225-229, l. I, 45 p. 229-231; Vogt, *Constantin Porphyrogénète*, II, p. 26 suiv.

[64] Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*, p. 96-98 v. note 52.

[65] Guilland, *Le césarat*, p. 187-191.

[66] Verpeaux, *Pseudo Kodinos*, p. 274-276.

[67] Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*, p. 47, 135-137, 243-245, 263, 293.

[68] Bréhier, *Les institutions*, p. 144; Б Ферјанчић, "Севастократори и кесари у Српском царству". *Зборник Филозофског Факултета Универзитета у Београду*, XI (1970) 226.

la datation, ce fait pourrait être un argument sérieux concernant l'application réelle des prières dans les pays orthodoxes slaves des Balkans. Bien que le texte lui-même soit traduit littéralement, le changement dans le titre (qui signifie aussi un changement dans la destination même des prières), n'étant enregistré dans aucun texte grec connu, témoigne du fait qu'il s'agit d'une adoption du rite, et non pas d'une traduction littérale.

La troisième prière est consacrée à προαγωγῇ ἀρχόντων ἤτοι πατρικίων. Le traité de Constantin Porphyrogénète est le seul qui donne la possibilité de faire des parallèles. Bien sûr, la description du rite y est beaucoup plus détaillée, tandis que le texte de la prière elle-même manque. Une place beaucoup plus importante est réservée à la seule cérémonie de cour. Pourtant, on ne saurait ignorer la coïncidence presque complète avec la description de l'office religieux.[69] Le texte grec ne pose pas de problèmes particuliers, sans compter le sens un peu vague du terme "archontes".[70] Il n'en va pas de même de la variante slave beaucoup plus récente. On peut remarquer, dès le titre, la substitution des titres rômaïques par le mot slave "*kniaz*" qui n'est pas typique du bas Moyen Age. En même temps, le maintien du terme "patrice" dans nombre d'endroits du texte slave (cf. lignes 162, 193) témoigne d'une approche bien négligente lors de l'élaboration de la traduction. Pourtant, nous ne sommes pas enclins à accepter la thèse que celle-ci serait faite sans tenir compte de l'usage de la prière. Elle fait, avec les deux autres, partie intégrante d'un tout qui contient des renseignements précieux sur le système rituel des pays slaves orthodoxes du bas Moyen Age.

La Doctrine Rômaïque Dans Les Prieres

Le but principal du cérémonial de Constantinople — l'affirmation du culte du *basileus* — le rattache inéluctablement à la doctrine politique de l'Empire Oriental. Ce qui est particulièrement intéressant, c'est la conception du souverain en tant que représentant de Dieu et image du Roi des Cieux, qui se rapporte directement au couronnement. Dans ce sens, les textes analysés dans la présente recherche fournissent des données

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[69] Constantini Porphyrogeniti *De cerimoniis*, t. I, l. 1, 48 p. 250; Vogt, *Constantin Porphyrogénète*, II, p. 44-60.

[70] Arranz, Couronnement royal, p. 131-132. L'auteur le traduit comme "les chefs" sans faire de différence entre les "patrices" et les "archontes".

précieuses non seulement sur la doctrine rômaïque mais aussi sur son adoption dans les pays slaves orthodoxes.

Avant tout, il faudrait mentionner la conception du tsar en tant qu'élu de Dieu, représentant de Dieu et oint de Dieu. Elle figure expressément à plusieurs endroits du texte (lignes 23, 27, 29-30, 31-32, 33-34). La thèse de l'origine divine du pouvoir est dominante et largement répandue avant l'époque des lumières en Europe Occidentale. Loin d'être une exception, Constantinople représente même un cas particulier, où ces conceptions sont à la base de la doctrine politique. Le monde — la nature et la société — est conçu selon un système hiérarchique particulier, comme un reflet du Royaume de Dieu et des hiérarchies célestes. A cet égard, il faudrait accorder une attention spéciale à l'oeuvre de Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite qui exerce une forte influence sur tout le Moyen Age. Or, la condition du *basileus* sera conforme au principe "un Dieu — un *basileus*" et il sera placé au sommet hiérarchique de la "famille des souverains" en tant qu'image terrestre vivante de Jésus et souverain unique du monde visible.[71] Ce sont ces idées, bien que non généralisées, qui trouvent une expression dans la prière du couronnement des tsars, où il est dit que Dieu a fait du tsar son oint (ligne 27), qu'Il lui a mis la couronne sur la tête (lignes 29-30), qu'Il lui a mis le sceptre dans la main (lignes 31-32), qu'Il l'a fait monter sur le trône (ligne 33) et qu'Il le protège par sa puissance (ligne 34).

Il est intéressant de noter aussi le rapport étroit entre l'idéologie du souverain et la tradition de l'Ancien Testament: le tsar l'oint de Dieu, tout comme le roi David qui a été choisi par le Seigneur par l'intermédiaire du prophète Samuel[72] (lignes 16-19). Nous rencontrons de nouveau ici une comparaison très intéressante relative au rapport Dieu-tsar: le tsar est le premier notable, l'élu parmi le peuple d'Israël élu de Dieu (cf. aussi les lignes 19-20, 23-25) et, dans ce cas, le critère n'est pas ethnique, comme dans l'Ancien Testament. Nous ajouterons seulement que le texte commenté pourrait être considéré aussi comme un témoignage du prétendu rapport entre la royauté et le sacerdoce. Dans ce contexte s'inscrit également l'affirmation que le bien-être des sujets dépend de la protection divine du tsar (lignes 70-73). D'ailleurs, il ne s'agit pas ici de bonne gestion

[71] G. Ostrogorsky, "Die byzaminische Staatshierarchie", *Seminarium Kondakovianum* VIII (1936) 41-61; idem, "The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Order", *The Slavonic and East-European Review* XXXV (1956) 1-14; 'I. 'E. Καραγιανόπουλος, *Ἡ πολιτικὴ θεορία τῶν βυζαντινῶν*, Θεσσαλονικη 1988, p. 71-24.

[72] I Sam., chap. 16 (v. aussi ibidem 10:1).

mais d'une grâce divine qui permet à eux aussi vivre dans le calme et la sérénité, dans la dévotion et la pureté. Lors de l'évaluation de la doctrine politique rômaïque, reflétée dans le texte analysé ici, il faudrait accorder une attention particulière aux renseignements sur les vertus qui constituent l'image du souverain idéal. Elles sont les suivantes: avant tout, une foi forte et vertueuse, appréhension de Dieu, faire toujours ce qui plaît à Dieu et veiller à ce que les règles de la Sainte Eglise Oecuménique soient respectées (lignes 37, 39-40, 40-41, 67-68), il doit être en outre un souverain juste, pardonner aux pécheurs, juger équitablement, aider les pauvres (lignes 38-39, 42-44, 44-45) et avoir les bras forts pour subjuguer toutes les peuplades barbares (lignes 35-37). Tout cela le rendra digne non seulement du royaume terrestre mais aussi du Royaume céleste (lignes 45-46). De toute évidence, il s'agit avant tout de vertus purement chrétiennes, c'est la raison pour laquelle il est intéressant de noter la ressemblance avec la doctrine politique rômaïque, énoncée dans le message du patriarche Photios au prince bulgare Boris Ier — "En quoi consiste le travail d'un prince". Ayant en vue les besoins des néophytes bulgares, le patriarche de Constantinople trace l'image du souverain chrétien, en soulignant les vertus qu'il doit posséder et les vices qu'il doit éviter. Bien sûr, les deux textes sont très différents et il ne faudrait pas chercher dans la *taxis* du couronnement royal l'énoncé d'un vaste traité politique. Par conséquent, nous indiquerons ici d'une manière très générale certains éléments qui confirment la similitude. D'après le patriarche Photios, la dévotion, la vertu et la foi inébranlable sont parmi les qualités les plus importantes du souverain chrétien[73] qui doit non seulement tâcher de ne pas s'écarter de la foi mais aussi d'y confirmer ses sujets, car un souverain est obligé d'assurer aussi bien son propre salut que celui de son peuple.[74] La défense des canons de l'Eglise est visée dans l'ample énoncé des activités des Conciles oecuméniques qui occupe une partie essentielle du traité.[75] Le patriarche Photios rattache la vertu du souverain à la bonne gestion de l'Etat et au bien-être des sujets.[76] Le prince doit rendre la justice sans

[73] Photii patriarchae *Epistulae et amphilochia*, vol. I p. 2 (9suiv), p. 19 (564suiv), p. 26 (781-785).

[74] Photii patriarchae *Epistulae et amphilochia*, vol. I, p. 17 (480suiv).

[75] Photii patriarchae *Epistulae et amphilochia*, vol. I, p. 4-6.

[76] Photii patriarchae *Epistulae et amphilochia*, vol. I, p. 22, p. 38 (650suiv.), p. 36 (1163-1164).

infliger des punitions trop sévères,[77] être charitable,[78] aider les malheureux et les pauvres.[79] Enfin, le patriarche Photios souligne que le souverain doit être connu par ses exploits et faire peur aux ennemis[80] mais cela reste un peu à l'écart de l'orientation principale de l'exposé, puisque l'ardeur belliqueuse ne figure pas parmi les plus grandes vertus chrétiennes. Les deux textes témoignent de la création de l'image du souverain chrétien dans l'Orient orthodoxe.

Les données des prières ne font que compléter la célèbre thèse de l'origine divine du pouvoir des tsars, mais elles sont en outre une source extrêmement précieuse concernant le système des titres dans l'Empire et dans les autres pays orthodoxes. Il faudrait noter d'abord que toutes les *axiai* indiquées dans le texte grec sont titres "purs", c'est-à-dire qu'elles ne sont liées à aucune fonction administrative, ou bien, si l'on se sert de la division faite dans le traité de Philothée — ce sont des *axiai* attribuées au moyen d'insignes (διὰ βραβείων).[81] Ayant en vue cela, il faudrait souligner l'assertion que Dieu a crée tous les principes et pouvoirs, qu'Il a choisi le dignitaire, qu'Il a promu et sauvegardé celui-ci, qu'Il est la source de tout pouvoir (lignes 125-127, 134 et suiv., 158-160). En général, Dieu est la source et le créateur de tout, mais il nous semble exagéré de concevoir de la même manière le pouvoir d'un simple fonctionnaire de l'administration étatique. Ce texte nous permet d'accéder à l'essence de la conception rômaïque relative au titre honorique en tant que faisant partie de la hiérarchie. Comme il a été déjà dit, les *rômaioi* considéraient le monde visible comme une création du Très-Haut, harmonieuse et achevée. Soumise à un ordre déterminé, elle est un reflet mystique du Royaume céleste. Lors de la transition de l'Antiquité au Moyen Age, l'harmonie (ou l'ordre) du monde visible acquiert rapidement la forme d'une hiérarchie. On a mentionné plus haut le rôle de l'oeuvre du Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite dans la formation de la culture pendant la période étudiée. C'est grâce à la vision hiérarchique du monde que sont établis les rapports avec l'au-delà.

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[77] Photii patriarchae *Epistulae et amphilochia*, vol. I, p. 26, (792-796), p. 34 (1035-1037).

[78] Photii patriarchae *Epistulae et amphilochia*, vol. I, p. 26 (764-774).

[79] Photii patriarchae *Epistulae et amphilochia*, vol. I, p. 26 (711-712), p. 37 (1160-1162), p. 39 (1197-1198).

[80] Photii patriarchae *Epistulae et amphilochia*, vol. I, p. 38 (1183).

[81] Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*, p. 291-299.

Les grades terrestres correspondent aux grades célestes et cela confirme l'unité de la création. La hiérarchisation domine toute la culture orthodoxe — elle détermine la conceptualisation de la société. Son expression suprême dans l'architecture est le temple, en tant que synthèse de la culture rômaïque et modèle de l'Univers.

La hiérarchie qui est une expression de l'ordre dans la société et de sa correspondance aux *taxeis* célestes est justement celle des titres. Sa caractérisation détaillée ne fait pas l'objet de la présente recherche. Nous nous permettrons de mentionner ici un seul fait. L'attribution d'un titre ne peut être comparée avec la nomination d'un simple fonctionnaire dans l'appareil étatique ni avec l'appartenance à la hiérarchie féodale de l'Europe Occidentale (c'est-à-dire, le rapport seigneur-vassal). Elle comporte la qualité d'attachement à l'ordre et à l'harmonie dans l'Univers. Dans ce sens, l'existence de la *taxis* ou de l'*axia* respectives, ainsi que la présence d'une personne donnée dans la hiérarchie ne peuvent avoir leur raison qu'en Dieu. Voilà pourquoi, l'attribution du titre est liée à un rite de cour mystique, avec la participation obligatoire du *basileus*, accompagné d'un office religieux. Cet état des choses est reflété dans presque toutes les sources rômaïques concernant des informations sur le système hiérarchique de l'Empire: les listes des IXe-Xe s., y compris le traité de Philothée, ainsi que la liste plus récente du Pseudo-Codinos de la moitié du XIVe s., chez Constantin VII, etc.[82]

La confirmation de ce qui a été dit plus haut par le texte analysé dans la présente recherche revêt une importance particulière lors de la réflexion sur le système des titres des pays orthodoxes au Moyen Age. A cet égard, il faudrait avant tout souligner le fait que dans les trois cas il s'agit d'un rite purement religieux — c'est-à-dire aussi bien le souverain que les autres personnes titrées (puisque les trois *taxeis* devraient être considérées comme un ensemble) donnent des arguments mystiques pour justifier leurs titres ou leur pouvoir, en s'appuyant sur l'au-delà, sur Dieu. Une telle approche exclut en principe la confusion des *axiai* avec les fonctions administratives. Dans ce sens, il est nécessaire de dire quelques mots pour éclaircir le terme "**власть**" que l'on rencontre à plusieurs reprises dans le texte (lignes 126,

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[82] Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*, p. 85; Verpeaux, *Pseudo Kodinos*, p. 332, 339-340; Constantini Porphyrogeniti *De cerimoniis*, t. I, p. 3-5, 526-527; sur les lettres du patriarche Nicolas Mystikos v. PG CXI, col. 65; ed. Westerink-Jennkins, N° 8; Guilland, "Vénalité et favoritisme à Byzance", REByz X (1953) 37.

150, 185, etc.). Il s'agit du pouvoir de la personne titrée. Nous avons déjà eu l'occasion de noter que le titre confère une qualité et non pas un pouvoir à son détenteur. D'après nous, l'existence de ce terme ne devrait pas être comprise comme une preuve de l'inverse — il n'y a point de données à ce sujet. Elle devrait plutôt être comprise comme "condition". Enfin, nous voudrions relever encore une chose — le mot utilisé pour la promotion du césar et d'autres titres est le même que pour le *basileus*: "προχειρίσει"[83] = "поставленїе". Il faudrait noter ici la différence avec le terme de la troisième *taxis*: "προαγωγή".[84] Dans la variante slave, cela est dit d'une façon beaucoup plus claire, en soulignant que les princes obtiennent leur "pouvoir" du tsar.

Le dernier élément de la doctrine politique rômaïque, reflété dans les textes commentés et sur lequel nous voudrions nous arrêter, c'est l'image du détenteur d'un titre tracée au moyen des qualités qu'il doit avoir. Nous en trouvons l'énumération dans les deuxième et troisième prières: sagesse et philanthropie (lignes 143-144), juger équitablement (lignes 165-166), avoir pitié des pauvres (lignes 168-170), exercer le pouvoir d'une manière juste (lignes 184-186), vivre dans la paix et l'obéissance (lignes 171-172) et surtout être agréable à Dieu (lignes 166-167). Nous voyons qu'il s'agit encore de vertus chrétiennes typiques. On ne pourrait pas ajouter grand-chose à ce qui a été dit plus haut au sujet des vertus du souverain.

RENSEIGNEMENTS SUR LES DIFFERENTES *AXIAI*

1. *Despote*. l'*axia* du despote[85] ne figure que dans le titre de la deuxième prière, et uniquement dans la traduction slave. Cela s'explique par la destination même de la prière. Comme il a été déjà noté, le texte grec est très ancien. Il décrit une cérémonie religieuse à l'occasion da la promotion des trois plus hauts titres dans l'Empire d'avant la fin du XII[e] s.

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[83] Arranz, Couronnement royal, p. 89, 103.

[84] Arranz, Couronnement royal, p. 105.

[85] G. Ostrogorsky, "Urum-Despotes, Die Anfänge des Despotenwürde in Byzanz", BZ XLIV (1951) 448-460; Guilland, Le despote, p. 52-89; P. Wirth, "Die Genesis der byzantinischen Despotenwürde in Lichte der zeitgenössischen höfischen Titulatur", *Byzantina* V (1973) 421-426; Б. Ферјанчић. Деспоти у Византији и у јужнословенским земљама. Посебна издања. CCCXXXVI/8, Београд 1960; А. Каждан. "Севастократоры и деспоты в Византии XII в.", *Зборник Радова Византолошког Института* XIV-XV (1973) 41-44; 45-52; Б. Ферјанчић, "Још једном о почецима титуле деспота", *Зборник Радова Византолошког Института*; Iv. Biliarsky "The despots in Medieval Bulgaria", *Byzantinobulgarica*, t. IX, sous presse.

Dans la variante slave, qu'on peut dater du XIV[e] s., on vise aussi les plus hautes *axiai* de la cour à Tarnovo ou en Serbie. Ce ne sont plus le césar, le nobilissime et le curopalate mais le despote et le césar. Nous avons déjà avancé quelques considérations relatives à l'absence du *sebastocrator*. L'indication d'autres titres non mentionnés élargit la destination de la prière et représente un écart essentiel de l'original. Puisqu'il figure dans le titre de toutes les copies connues, il ne peut être négligé lors de l'évaluation de l'application réelle du texte analysé. Pourtant, l'indication formelle des deux plus hauts titres de la hiérarchie attire notre attention. D'après nous, on peut affirmer que le rite présenté ici était destiné avant tout aux despotes et aux césars (c'est-à-dire aux ἀξιώματα τοῦ βασιλέως).[86] Cela se confirme aussi par le fait déjà mentionné que le terme utilisé pour la promotion du détenteur du titre est le même que pour le tsar (προχειρίσει = поставленїе). Il faut remarquer que, dans toutes les copies que nous connaissons, le despote occupe le seconde place, après le césar. A notre avis ce n'est pas une raison de réévaluer la situation des deux *axiai* dans la liste hiérarchique. La primauté des despotes pendant une période plus tardive ne peut être contestée.[87] Nous pensons que la transposition dans le titre de la prière peut s'expliquer par l'influence de l'original grec, où le césar occupe la première place et, par tradition, le même ordre a été observé dans la traduction slave.

2. *César*. L'*axia* du césar[88] est indiquée, dans toutes les variantes de la prière, en premier lieu dans le titre. Le texte analysé ici fournit une argumentation très sérieuse concernant le présence du titre dans le système hiérarchique du Second empire bulgare.[89] Les données relatives à la Serbie sont beaucoup plus nombreuses.[90] Vu le nombre très restreint des sources

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[86] Verpeaux, *Pseudo Kodinos*, p. 307.

[87] V. l'indication formelle de Pseudo-Codinos – Verpeaux, *Pseudo Kodinos*, p. 133.

[88] Guilland, *Le césarat*, p. 168-194; Bréhier, *Les institutions*, p. 42-45; Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*, p. 293; Б. Ферјанчић, "Севастократори и кесари у Српском царству", *Зборник Филозофског факултета Универзитета у Београду*, XI (1970) 263-268. Ив. Ал. Билярски, "Титлата кесар в средновековна България", *Исторически преглед* 11 (1989) 54-57.

[89] Ив. Ал. Билярски, "Титлата кесар в средновековна България", *Исторически преглед* 11 (1989) 54-57.

[90] Б. Ферјанчић, "Севастократори и кесари у Српском царству", *Зборник Филозофског Факултета Универзитета у Београду*, XI (1970) 263-268.

de notre histoire médiévale, cette mention rend le texte encore plus précieux.

3. *Nobilissime*. Le titre de nobilissime[91] est un des plus anciens et des plus hauts titres dans l'Empire. Jusqu'au IXe s. il vient immédiatement après le césar — c'est-à-dire il occupait la deuxième position dans la liste. Le titre supérieur de "prôtonobilissime"[92] apparaît plus tard. Dans le texte analysé ici, le titre figure uniquement dans l'original grec de la deuxième prière. Il n'existe pas dans la traduction slave plus récente car il disparaît vers la fin du XIIe s., les dernières données sur celui-ci provenant de cette période.[93] Il y a tout lieu d'affirmer que ce titre n'a pas de place dans le système hiérarchique de Bulgarie et de Serbie.

4. *Curopalate*. Ce titre est rômaïque.[94] Dans les *taktika* des IXe-Xe s. il occupe la troisième place.[95] Le Pseudo-Codinos le mentionne aussi, sans rapport avec une fonction de service.[96] Il figure dans toutes les copies de l'original grec de la prière mais, quant aux copies slaves, il n'apparaît que dans celles du Synodikon, c'est-à-dire dans une source bulgare du XIVe s. Cette mention unique de l'*axia* du curopalate est susceptible de mettre en doute son existence en Bulgarie. Il a été déjà question du caractère de la *taxis* qui nous intéresse, ainsi que de son application dans la réalité bulgare, dans le système rituel bulgare. Ici, la situation se complique car le titre du curopalate est donné sous la forme grecque, avec la disinence du nominatif, ce qui pourrait signifier qu'il s'agit d'un emprunt direct à un titre grec du texte. Cependant, le rapprochement ne s'avère pas si littéral. Les trois *axiai* dans la prière rômaïque césar, nobilissime et curopalate — se présentent sous leur forme de *genitivus obiecti*. Il en est de même dans le texte slave et, pour mettre "курополатись" au nominatif, au génitif apparaît la forme slave "хранитель полатѣ". Cela est dû peut-être à un désir formel de

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[91] Bury, *Administrative System*, p. 35-36; Bréhier, *Les institutions*, p. 43; Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*, p. 293; Oikonomidès, *L'évolution*, p. 126-127.

[92] Oikonomidès, L'évolution, p. 126-127.

[93] Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*, p. 293 v. et note 30.

[94] Bury, *Administrative System*, p. 33-35; F. Martroye, "L'origine de curopalate", *Mélanges G. Schlumberger*, I (Paris 1924) 79-84; E. Stein, *Histoire du bas-Empire*, t. II, Paris 1949, p. 739-746; R. Guilland, "Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin: le Curopalate", *Byzantina* 2 (1970) 185-249; Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*, p. 293.

[95] Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*, p. 47, 97, 137, 245, 263.

[96] Verpeaux, *Pseudo Kodinos*, p. 137, 156, 175.

donner le nominatif du titre grec, pour que la correspondance dans le texte devienne plus claire. Par conséquent, le titre bulgare n'était peut-être point "curopalate" ou "кѵропалат/нсь" mais il existait plutôt sous le terme slave "хранитель полатѣ", le terme "curopalate" étant employé uniquement pour une plus grande clarté. La transcription même du mot pose aussi un problème — la diphtongue grecque "ου" n'est pas transcrite par son équivalent slave "ꙋ" comme on pourrait s'y attendre mais par "Υ" (ῦ ψυλόν).

Ce que l'on peut dire encore de ce titre en Bulgarie médiévale, c'est qu'il n'était probablement pas lié à certaines fonctions mais qu'il était conféré pour réserver une place dans la hiérarchie, tout comme dans l'Empire.

5. *Patrice, kniaz.* Le titre de "patrice"[97] est un des plus anciens dans l'Empire et il tire ses origines de l'Antiquité romaine. Jusqu'au XIe s. il présente un rang relativement élevé dans la hiérarchie. A ce titre est consacrée la troisième prière dans l'original grec.

Les problèmes principaux concernant ce texte viennent de la traduction slave. Dans le titre de celle-ci, le terme "patrice" est remplacé par le terme

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[97] E. Stückenberg, *Der Constantinische Patriziat*, Basel 1891; W. Heil, *Der Konstantinische Patriziat*, Basel-Stuttgart 1966; F. L. Ganshof, "Note sur les origines du titre Patricius Romanorum", *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves de l'Université de Bruxelles* (AIPHOS) 10 (1950) 261-282; R. Guilland, "Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin: Les patrices byzantins des IVe et Ve siècles", *Ἐπ. Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 134 (1965) 139-174; idem, "Les patrices byzantins du VI siècle", *Palaeologia* 7 (1958/59) 271-305; idem, "Les patrices byzantins de la première moitié du VII s.: du règne de Phocas (602-610) au règne de Constantin II (641-668)", *Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Κ. Ἰ. Ἀμάντου* ('Αθῆναι 1960) 11-24; idem, *Les patrices du règne de Constantin IV (668-685) à Théodose III (716-717)*, p. 287-298; idem, "Les patrices du règne de Léon III l'Isaurien (717-741) au règne de Michel II (820-829)", Byz 40 (1970) 317-360; idem, "Les patrices sous les règnes de Théophile (829-842) et de Michel III (842-867)", *Revue des études du Sud-Est Européen* 8 (1970) 593-610; idem, "Les patrices sous les règnes de Basile I (867-886) et de Léon VI (886-912)", BZ 63 (1970) 300-317; idem, "Les patrices stratèges byzantins en Italie méridionale de l'avènement de Basile I à la mort de Léon VI (867-912)", *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* 7 (1953) 377-386; idem, "Les patrices byzantins sous le règne de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète (913-959)", *Silloge Bizantina in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati*, Roma 1957 (= *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* 9) 188-221; idem, "Les patrices du règne de Basile II (976-1025) et de Constantin VIII (1025-1028)", JÖBG 20 (1971) 83-108; idem, "Les patrices sous le règne de Constantin IX Monomaque (1042-1054)", *Зборник Радова Византолошког Института* 13 (1971) 1-25; idem, "Les patrices sous le règne de Théodora aux Comnènes", *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* 8-9 (Roma 1971-72) 7-23; Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*, 294-295.

slave "*kniaz*". Cela pose certaines questions que l'on ne peut négliger. Il est à noter que ce titre purement slave n'est pas typique des pays balkaniques au Bas Moyen Age, lorsqu'ils subissent une forte influence rômaïque. La Serbie fait une certaine exception car deux de ses souverains (le *kniaz* Lazar Hrébéljanović et son fils Etien Lazarévić jusqu'à 1405) portent à la fin du XIV[e] s. ce titre. Si nous étudions les sources de la période après la fin du XII[e] s. (la traduction slave pourrait être datée de cette période), nous constatons que le terme "*kniaz*" a des usages très divers, parfois l'un des sens excluant l'autre. Dans certains textes il signifie "souverain",[98] dans les édits et autres documents il désigne les maires et les autres notables de village,[99] d'ailleurs il n'a aucun sens institutionnalisé précis et signifie "maître", "notable", "personnage important".[100] D'après nous, c'est justement ce dernier sens qui a remplacé le terme "patrice" de l'original grec. Bien sûr, il ne peut être question de souverain dans ce contexte, ni de maire, bien que ce soit le sens prédominant de ce terme pendant la période qui nous intéresse. D'autre part, nous voulons souligner expressément que nous ne soutenons pas l'idée que le *kniaz* était un titre correspondant au

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[98] Б. Ст. Ангелов. Из старата българска, руска и сръбска литеература, т. II, София 1967, p. 64. 65-66; Й. Иванов. Български старини изъ Македония. 2 изд.. София 1931, p. 398. 399; Архиепископ Данило. Животи краљева и архиепископа српских. изд. Ђ. Даничић. у Загребу 1866, p. 117, 183.

[99] Г. Ильинскій. Грамоты болгарскихъ царей. Москва 1915, p. 15 (14-15), 18 (98-99); Iv. Dujčev, "Contribution à l'étude des praktika byzantins", *Etudes historiques* III (Sofia 1966), 118; v. et С.С. Бобчевь. "Титли и служби въ областното управление на старовремска България". *Известия на исторического дружество вь София.* XI-XII (1932) 243; М. Андреев. "Службите на провинциалного управление на средновековна България и средновековна Сърбия според данните от дарствените грамоти на българските и сръбските владетели от XIII-XIV век.". *Годишник на Софийския Университет. Юридически Факултет.* г. 58, 2 (1967) 16; М. Андреев. Д. Ангелов. *История на българската феодална държава и право.* София 1972. p. 155. P. Petrov et E. Grozdanova rejettent cette interprétation en insistant sur le fait que ce terme n'existe que dans le faux édit du tsar Constantin Assen — v. P. Petrov, E. Grozdanova, "Mittelalterlische Balkanämter und Titel im osmanischen Orts- und Selbsverwaltungssystem", *Etudes balkaniques* 4 (Sofia 1978) 94.

[100] E. Kaluzniacki, *Werke des Patriarchen von Bulgarien Euthymius (1375-1393)*, Wien 1901, p. 20, 83, 96, 208, 309; E. Kaluzniacki, *Aus der panegyrische Literatur der Südslaven*, Wien 1901, p. 113; Ив. Дуйчевь. Стара българска книжнина. т. II. София 1943. p. 175; Б. Ангелов. Из старата българска, руска и сръбска литература. т. II, София 1967, p. 160; Й. Ивановъ. Български старини изъ Македония. p. 398. 412; Н. Начовъ. "Листь отъ хроника, намерень въ с. Голѣмо Бѣлово", *Български прѣгледь.* 2 (1898) 150-151.

"patrice" dans la liste hiérarchique bulgare et encore moins dans la liste serbe. Il s'agit du sens le plus général du mot que l'on pourrait probablement attacher à toute une classe d'*axiai*. Cela se confirme aussi par une autre source slave, ce qui est, quant à la présente recherche, très important. Dans son récit concernant le couronnement de Manuel II Paléologue, l'archidiacre Ignace parle de princes, en les mettant à deux reprises en tête d'une énumération d'*axiai* de la cour de Constantinople: "ни кн҃зи, ни болѧре, ни вои", "... кн҃зи, стратилати, ѝпáти".[101] Il est clair que dans ce cas le terme "*kniaz*" ne peut refléter aucun titre de l'Empire. Il cache quelque terme grec qu'il faudrait déchiffrer. A cet égard, il est intéressant de faire la comparaison avec le protocole anonyme dressé à l'occasion du couronnement de ce *basileus*. Le terme préféré y est "ἄρχων",[102] que nous retrouvons aussi dans l'original grec du texte slave publié ici. Puisque l'"archonte" n'est ni une *axia* particulière, ni une fonction concrète mais un terme très général désignant la haute société dans l'Empire, il faudrait chercher dans ce contexte aussi le sens du terme "prince", ce qui correspond pleinement aux faits énoncés plus haut.

Il faudrait souligner notamment que le terme "patrice" est sauvegardé en deux endroits dans le texte slave de la prière (lignes 162, 193). On pourrait mettre cela sur le compte du traducteur qui se serait écarté de ce qui est écrit dans le titre même de la prière. En même temps, il est à noter que cette négligence fournit un argument supplémentaire en faveur de la thèse que le terme "*kniaz*" est très général et qu'il ne signifie aucun titre ni fonction de cour.

6. *Preposite (préposé). Axia*[103] réservée aux eunuques. Au début, elle était liée à certaines obligations dans la cour. Elle n'est pas mentionnée dans les sources après la fin du XIe s. Le texte grec de la prière indique sa place dans le rite du couronnement des *basileis*. Des questions surgissent avant tout au sujet de certaines mentions dans les traductions slaves. Or, dans la copie N° 954 de la Bibliothèque nationale "Saints Cyrille et Méthode" à Sofia il y a le terme "прѣпота" (ligne 97), et dans la copie serbe

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101 Barsov, p. 23-24.

102 Verpeaux, *Pseudo Kodinos*, p. 356 suiv.

103 Bury, *Administrative System*, p. 123-124; A. E. R. Boak, J. E. Dunlap, *Two Studies in Later Roman and Byzantine Administration*, New York 1924, 161-324; R. Guilland, "Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin: les fonctions des eunuques", *Byzantinoslavica* 22 (Prague 1961) 241-301; Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*, p. 300.

— "прѣносима". Il est clair que dans les deux cas il s'agit d'un essai pour transcrire le terme grec "πραιποσίτος".

L'usage et la transcription incorrects du mot nous font penser qu'il était étranger au scribe. Cela permet de conclure que le titre du préposé n'avait pas de place dans les systèmes hiérarchiques des pays orthodoxes dans les Balkans. Sa présence dans le texte pourrait s'expliquer par une traduction trop littérale de l'original grec.

7. *Vestiteur.* Cette *axia* est mentionnée à deux reprises dans le texte de la *taxis* du couronnement des tsars dans sa variante slave (lignes 51-52, 55). On se demande si l'on peut considérer qu'elle existait déjà dans le système hiérarchique des pays orthodoxes voisins de l'Empire. D'après nous, son existence ne pourrait pas être sérieusement mise en doute. Des données sur les protovestiteurs ou les vestiteurs existent aussi bien en Serbie qu'en Valachie et en Moldovie.[104] Il faudrait accorder un peu d'attention à la Bulgarie. Le seul renseignement sûr y est la mention du protovestiteur Raksine,[105] faite par Jean Cantacuzène. Dans un édit du tsar Jean Alexandre concernant le monastère "Saint-Nicolas" à Messembrie, il est question du "vestiaire de ma Royauté" (ἐκ τοῦ βεστιαρίου τῆς βασιλείας μου).[106] Dans ce cas, il s'agit en fait d'une trésorerie mais elle fait penser inévitablement au fonctionnaire respectif. Cependant, ces renseignements proviennent de textes grecs, ce qui permet à certains auteurs d'affirmer que l'on utilisait en Bulgarie le terme slave "ризьница", qui figure dans le *Codex Suprasliensis*,[107] respectivement "чельникъ ризьничьскъ".[108] Il est difficile

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[104] Ст. Новаковић, "Византијски чинови и титуле у српским земљама XI-XV века," *Глас СКА* XXVIII (1908) 260-263; P. Koledarov, "Le titulariat des boyards dans la Bulgarie médiévale et sa portée dans les autres pays", *Etudes historiques* IV (Sofia 1968) 202.

[105] Ioannis Cantacuzeni imperatoris *Historiarum libri IV*, t. I, Bonnae 1828, l. II.26 p. 458 (19); R. Guilland, "Fonctions et dignités des eunuques. II. Le protovestiaire", *Etudes byzantines* 2 (1944) 205.

[106] Ἀ. Παπαδόπουλος Κεραμεὺς, *Ἀναλέκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταυχολογίας*, τομ. Δ', ἐν Πετρουπόλει 1891, p. 469 (14-15). Ив. Дуйчевь, Стара българска книжнина, т. II, София 1943, p. 144-145; П. Мутафчиев, *Към историята на месемврийските монастири*, Избрани произведения, т. I, София 1973, p. 668.

[107] С.Сьвѣрьяновь, "Супрасльская рукопись", *Памятники старославянского языка*, II (1904) 120; Супрасьлски или Редков Сборник, изд. Й. Заимов и М. Капалдо, т. I, София 1982, p. 120.

[108] P. Koledarov, *Le titulariat des boyards dans la Bulgarie médiévale et sa portée dans les autres pays*, p. 202.

aussi bien de constater que de prouver une telle allégation. La source étudiée ici témoigne de l'existence du terme purement grec dans des textes slaves. Nous sommes d'avis que c'était notamment le terme officiel, puisqu'il n'y a presque pas de preuves directes pour l'inverse.

Pour conclure, on pourrait dire que l'analyse des textes proposés permet de tirer les conclusions suivantes. L'original grec des prières, dans son état actuel, date de toute évidence du VIIIe s. environ. La datation de la plus ancienne des copies et le parallèle avec d'autres sources de cette période en sont un témoignage. Des arguments supplémentaires de son origine ancienne sont fournis aussi par la présence de certaines *axiai*: nobilissime, préposé etc. La variante slave pourrait être datée du XIVe s. Des arguments en faveur de cette thèse sont fournis non seulement par la copie la plus ancienne (la copie Palaouzov du Synodikon), mais aussi par le contenu lui-même (par ex. l'absence de l'*axia* du sebastocrator).

Quoiqu'ils aient un caractère très spécifique, ces textes contiennent des renseignements importants non seulement sur l'Euchologe slave médiéval. L'information concernant la doctrine politique de l'Empire et des pays voisins est aussi importante, dans la prise de conscience des titres et du système hiérarchique en tant qu'ensemble, que les *axiai* particulières. Mais on doit surtout souligner que la large diffusion du texte dans tous les pays orthodoxes en Europe est un nouveau témoignage sur l'immense influence qu'a eue Constantinople et sur l'importance de la communauté orthodoxe pendant le Bas Moyen Age.

Bulgarska Akademia na naukite
Institut po istoria
Čapaev N°52, bl. 17
1113 Sofia, Bulgaria

Ivan Al. Biliarsky

John D. Basil

The Relations between the Church and the State in Late Imperial Russia: Views of the Canonists

In the waning years of imperial Russia, the legal place held by the Orthodox Church in its relationship with the state was being carefully studied and intensely debated by canon lawyers. What had been an unimportant area of legal discussion prior to Alexander II's reform edict of 1861 was rapidly becoming a topic of considerable interest and controversy, and appointments to the post of canon law in many Russian universities and theological academies were being awarded to some of the best academic minds in Europe. It appeared as though the legislative ties that had bound the Russian Orthodox Church to the tsar for several centuries were no longer to be found among the unchallenged traditions of the empire.

The legal scholars of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Russia who distinguished themselves in the discussion over the proper relationship between Church and state were usually associated with the Church and could be divided generally into three different groups. First, a strong school of thought formed that defended the long-functioning *status quo*, which had been rigidly frozen into a distinct institutional form by Peter the Great in 1721. This body of opinion favored the close supervision of ecclesiastical affairs by the state, and its leading figure was Nicholas Suvorov, a professor of church law at the University of Moscow and the author of many publications devoted to the subject of church discipline.[1] A second group of thinkers also arose. They accepted the past ties that bound the Church to the state in Russia as having been made legally and canonically, but they put forth suggestions for reform based on a fresh understanding of the Church as a spiritual body whose inner life enjoyed independence from state control. Their arguments were the most subtle of all the legal opinions put forth during the later years of the empire. Nicholas Zaozersky, a professor of church law at the Moscow Theological Academy, was the most astute

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[1] Suvorov's major works on the issue of Church and state in Russia include *Kurs tserkovnago prava*, 2 vols (Iaroslavl, 1889-1890), and "Tserkovnoe pravo, kak iuridicheskaia nauka," *Iuridicheskii vestnik* (August, 1888), tom XXVIII (Moscow), pp, 520-550.

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thinker of this group and Ilia Berdnikov, a professor of canon law at the Kazan Theological Academy, its most prolific spokesman.[2] The third important category of canonists to present a coherent point of view on the church-state question in pre-revolutionary Russia was sharply critical of the relationship that kept the Orthodox Church in a closed league with the Romanov throne. It saw the legal ties binding the clergy to the government as being detrimental to the faith, and they were especially determined to undermine the legislation put into place by Peter the Great. The most outstanding figure of this final group was Paul Verkhovskoi, a professor of church law on the faculty of the old Imperial University of Warsaw.[3]

In most cases, the opinions of the canonists concerning the church-state issue were presented as histories. In fact, the writing of legal history, particularly the legal history of Russia and Byzantium, might well be the most lasting artistic and scholarly contribution made by the three contending schools of thought. The proper understanding of ecclesiastical and governmental law, in their views, would not emerge from a review of problems in the areas of philosophy or theology, even though these themes appear in their works. It was from a correct vision of how the Church and the institutions of the state had formed and interacted in the past centuries that the Russians would arrive at the solution to the political problems they faced in the present. A. S. Pavlov, perhaps the best known of all nineteenth century Russian canonists, stated the case clearly: "The question of the relationship between the Church and the state is not theoretical but living, so in order to understand it we must turn to history."[4] Which historical setting proved the most important, of course, depended on the imagination of the particular canonist. Some works began with an analysis of the legal life of the Russian

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[2] Nikolai Zaozerskii, *O tserkovnoi vlasti* (Moscow, 1894). Il'ia Berdnikov, *Kratkii kurs tserkovnago prava pravoslavnoi tserkvi*, 2 vols (Kazan, 1888). An important second edition appeared in 1903 (vol I) and in 1913 (vol II). Berdnikov's *Osnovnyia nachala tserkovnago prava pravoslavnoi tserkvi* (Kazan, 1902) should also be consulted.

[3] P. V. Verkhovskoi, *Uchrezhdenie dukhovnoi kollegii i dukhovnyi regalment: k voprosy ob otnoshenii tserkvi i gosudarstva v Rossii*, 2 vols (Rostov on the Don, 1916). The work is divided into two parts. Verkhovskoi wrote an extensive introduction to the first part, which was composed of summaries of the views held by many historians of the Petrine church reforms. Part one then went on to give an extensive interpretative history of the relations between the church and the state in imperial Russia. The second part of the work is a collection of important documents relating to the issues of church reform in the eighteenth century.

[4] A. S. Pavlov, "Otnoshenie tserkvi k gosudarstvu," *Bogoslovskii vestnik* (February, 1902), p. 213.

medieval past, and some others began the story as early as the eighth century B.C. The most popular starting point was the fourth century A.D. in the Byzantine Empire. In their explanations of the relationship between the Church and the state in Russia, for example, both Suvorov and Berdnikov continued a polemical exchange that had its roots in their earlier disagreements over the relationship between the Church and the state in Byzantium. Russian church-state affairs, in their opinions, unfolded as a sort of extension of what had been firmly established over six hundred years before the Christianization of Rus took place in 988.

Suvorov's approach was quite direct. He treated the Russian Church during what he called its Metropolitan period, from 988 to the Council of Florence in 1439, as a branch of the patriarchal trunk rooted in Constantinople, where the real source of authority was fixed in the form of the Byzantine emperor.[5] The Russian metropolitan (head of an ecclesiastical province) was appointed by the hierarchy in Constantinople, Suvorov emphasized, and he was usually a Greek. Furthermore, the young Russian Church also showed its lack of autonomy by referring difficult or embarrassing problems that arose between the Church and the princes of Russia to Constantinople for solutions. Even stronger evidence of Russian Orthodoxy's dependent status could be seen in its lack of creative energy in the realm of church law. Neither the Russian clergy nor the early Russian princes, according to Suvorov, acted as legislators in matters of church organization or management, and when written codes governing church discipline and court procedure finally did appear, they were merely Slavic translations of the Greek nomocanons, which consisted of Byzantine imperial regulations regarding the Church and excerpts from the Pentateuch.[6] As

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[5] Suvorov, *Kurs*, I, p. 135. Suvorov divided his work on the early history of the Russian Church into two time periods, a Metropolitan era, extending from the official introduction of Christianity to Kiev in 988 to the mid-fifteenth century, and a Muscovite era, from the mid-fifteenth century to the enactment of the Spiritual Regulation in 1721. Other canonists used these same categories or else divided the time into three parts, making a place for the period when Russia was recognized as a patriarchate (from 1589 to 1721). The use of different chronological divisions, however, held little importance for the legal and political arguments that were developed by the canonists.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 304, 309-310. Various editions of the Greek nomocanons in Slavic translation had been circulating in Russia until they were collected, edited and published in an official text during the reign of Alexei Mikhailovich. They were then known as the *Kormchaia kniga*, the study of which was introduced into the curriculum of the Russian theological academies in 1798 at the request of Metropolitan Platon. M. Krasnozhen, "Tserkovnoe pravo," *Uchenyia zapiski imperatorskago iur'evskago universiteta* (1907), No. 1, pp. 85-86, 117. In the nineteenth century, the study of the *Kormchaia kniga*

a legislative body, the Russian Church was sterile, which pointed directly to the conclusion that the promulgation of laws and the enforcement of church discipline came from another center.

To his critics, who pointed to the Vladimir Sobor of 1274 and the letters of medieval Russian bishops as pieces of local ecclesiastical legislation, as well as signs of Russian church autonomy with respect to the state, Suvorov insisted that Kirill III did not hold a legislative session in 1274. The Vladimir Sobor was not a canonical council but an accident, hurriedly convoked to make temporary repairs in church discipline which had been severely shaken by the sudden and violent action of the Mongols. As to the letters of bishops like Nifort of Novgorod (1130-1156), Suvorov saw in them only moral instructions or norms not legislative acts.[7] "Unlike Western Europe," according to Suvorov, "where letters of bishops had the force of law, the letters of Russian clergymen had and were seen to have only a spiritual dimension."[8] Suvorov did allow room in his neatly organized argument for the political independence and local power of the Russian princes themselves, who ruled throughout the East Slavic lands and who also maintained some influence over the Church. He conceded that the princes kept a hand in church business, especially in cases of appointing bishops and creating new dioceses, but in taking these actions they were merely filling the considerable political void opened to them by an ecclesiatical tradition that already acknowledged a secular authority as the head of the Church. The princes ruled freely in medieval Russia, but they rarely overstepped the bounds that protected the place of the Byzantine emperor in his capacity as the true head of the Orthodox Church.

During the Muscovite period, from the mid-fifteenth century to the enactment of the Spiritual Regulation in 1721, a much larger void was created in Orthodox legal and political ecclesiastical life by the collapse of Byzan-

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received unexpected encouragement in the Russian seminaries from Count N. A. Protasov, the Ober Procurator of the Holy Synod during the reign of Nicholas I. The Count and the regime were interested in reviving the popularity of indigenous writings (regardless of their real origins) to support the emperor's nationalistic theories. The Protasov (revised) edition was published in 1839 and was entitled *Kniga pravil*. The last edition of the *Kormchaia kniga* to be published in the Russian empire was released by the Holy Synod in 1885. Aidan Nichols, OP, *Theology in the Russian Diaspora: Church, Fathers, Eucharist in Nikolai Afanas'ev (1893-1966)* (Cambridge, 1989), p, 13. Readers may also wish to consult Caesarius Tondini, *The Pope of Rome and the Popes of the Oriental Orthodox Church*, 2nd, ed, (London, 1875), pp. 57-61.

[7] Suvorov, "Tserkovnoe pravo," p. 532.

[8] Suvorov, *Kurs*, I, p. 314-315.

tine power, but this gap was quickly filled by the tsars of Moscow. According to Suvorov, the significant events in this shift of legislative authority included the rejection of the Council of Florence (1439) by Vasili the Blind, with the subsequent arrest of the Greek Metropolitan Isidore, and the defeat of the Byzantine military forces by the Turks in 1453, which left the Church without its head; the movement of the metropolitan office from Vladimir to Moscow in 1328, during the struggle against Lithuania, was a harbinger of the important changes that followed a century later. By the time the Stoglav Sobor met in 1551, the metamorphosis of the Muscovite Grand Prince from local Orthodox Christian ruler to Basileus was complete. In 1551 Ivan IV acted not simply as an observer in church affairs but as its proprietor. He called the Sobor into session on his own initiative, presented its members with his own agenda and made it clear that he sought only counsel not controversy. Suvorov quoted M. Karamzin on the Stoglav assembly: "This Church legislation belongs more to the tsar than to the clergy."[9] The presence of clergymen in high government posts at that time and later did not indicate a need to alter these conclusions, because it was understood by everybody in Moscow that the state ruled the Church even if a state office happened to be occupied by a figure wearing a clerical habit.[10] Had Suvorov lived long enough to study the notes of the younger canonist Pavel Verkhovskoi, he might have made use of his description of Patriarch Filaret (1619-1634) as having been "more tsar than patriarch."

The inevitable conclusion to this development, according to Suvorov, came with the establishment of the Spiritual College by Peter the Great in 1721. This strictly government legislation, removing the so-called head of the Church (the patriarch) and replacing him with a council of bishops controlled by the tsar, showed clearly that Peter was indeed the head of the Church and the true source of church legislation. The pattern imposed by Constantine and Justinian in Byzantium was now undeniably entrenched in Russia.

The facts compiled by Berdnikov to develop his analysis of the Russian Church during the Metropolitan and Muscovite periods were similar to the ones assembled by Suvorov, but his thesis brought readers to an altogether different conclusion. Berdnikov agreed with Suvorov that Byzantine political and ecclesiastical patterns prevailed in Russia during the early centuries

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[9] Suvorov, *Kurs*, I, pp. 324-325, 142.

[10] Suvorov, *Kurs*, II, pp. 490-494.

following the conversion of 988. Worldly decisions were exclusively the preserve of the political authorities.[11] The Church made no effort to compete against royal authority in Russia any more than it did in Byzantium and it cooperated closely with the governments of the princes in exchange for protection and support. He also found the Russian Church of the metropolitan period to have been subservient to the Greek hierarchy in Constantinople. The Russian people were received into the Christian fold as a protégé of the Byzantine Church and it was no surprise to discover that political traditions formed in the mother Church were accepted along with the faith. The Church in Russia was a branch of the Byzantine Church, so it entered into a league with the secular powers in exchange for protection in the great task of the developing the spiritual life of the people.[12]

On questions of church autonomy and the Church's legal life, Berdnikov separated from the views of his rival. The young Church of Kiev enjoyed the same inner freedom from worldly power, he insisted, as had been the case in Byzantium. Furthermore, this independence extended into the Muscovite period: "The power of the political authorities in church affairs was rare in the earliest periods of Russian history as it was also rare in the Muscovite period."[13] Berdnikov went on to challenge Suvorov's contention that legal sterility was a feature of the early Russian Church. The Russian sobors did promulgate legislation, and he cited as evidence the long list of laws collected by the renowned canonist A. S. Pavlov and published in St. Petersburg in 1880.[14] Moreover, the legislation enacted at the Vladimir Sobor of 1274, dismissed by Suvorov as accidental, had substantial practical value from a legal perspective.[15] The pronouncements of Russian bishops were also legislation of a certain variety, and the meeting of the Stoglav Sobor, which proved so useful to Suvorov as evidence of Ivan IV's control over the Church, Berdnikov used to

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[11] Berdnikov, *Kratkii kurs*, II, pp. 825-827.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 832.

[13] Berdnikov, *Osnovnyia*, p. 378.

[14] A. S. Pavlov, *Pamiatniki drevne-russkago kanonicheskago prava* (St. Petersburg, 1880). Pavlov's death in 1898 prevented him from engaging in the debate among Berdnikov, Suvorov and Zaozersky at the Presobor Council of 1906.

[15] The cautious M. Krasnozhen, a professor of canon law at the University of Iur'ev, gave some support to Berdnikov's views on the Vladimir Sobor by listing it among the important sources of Russian church law. He also made it clear that the results of the sobors that had been held in Russia should be considered as ecclesiastical legislation. Krasnozhen, "Tserkovnoe pravo," p. 118.

strengthen his own position that the tsar occupied no such place. Ivan did call the bishops into session and they did discuss his agenda, but the tsar did not consider himself the sovereign over church matters and consistently called the bishops his fathers and himself their spiritual son.[16]

According to Berdnikov, Suvorov repeated in this work on the Russian Church the same error he had made in his analysis of the ecclesiastical laws of the Byzantine empire. He saw only the secular authority, because only the secular authorities published the public statues. He was dazzled by the political leadership that printed the legislation.[17] Berdnikov believed, however, that evidence of this kind did not signify the legislative and political impotence of the Church. In this aspect of his argument, he introduced what may be called the element of deference. The Russian political authorities voluntarily rendered respect to the Church, which left the Church with a considerable sphere of autonomy all of its own and a considerable influence over state policy. One was obliged to look beyond the printed laws published by the government, therefore, in order to understand the true legal place of the Church in society. Deference, in this regard, is not an extra legal argument, but one that must be included in any accurate assessment aimed at calculating the true source of ecclesiastical as well as secular legislation. Of course, respect of this great magnitude could only take form in circumstances where cooperation between the Church and the state was very close, and Berdnikov readily accepted the fact that the state played an important role in the history of Russian Orthodoxy.[18]

The strong presence of classicists among Russian canonists does not mean that all legal scholars who participated in the ecclesiastical reform debates of the early twentieth century felt the need to trace the relations between the Church and the Russian state to ancient Rome or Byzantium. An example of this exception was I. I. Sokolov who argued that the Russian Church received only the external forms of Byzantine Orthodoxy in its non-theological or external life but that it never became Byzantine. Paul Verkhovskoi who taught canon law at the Russian Imperial University in Warsaw also believed that the legal and political problems facing the Orthodox Church in Russia should begin with a study of the modern period of Russian history. Verkhovskoi received his early training in church schools and

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16 Berdnikov, *Osnovnyia*, pp. 374-375, 379.

17 *Ibid.*, p 373.

18 *Ibid.*, pp. 381-382.

completed his advanced work at the University of St. Petersburg, where he studied under the direction of the canonist M. I. Gorchakov.[19] His principal contribution to the body of ecclesiastical legal writing in Russia was the *Establishment of the Spiritual College and the Spiritual Regulation: Questions about the Relation between Church and State in Russia;* the publication of the manuscript had its own fascinating history, having reached completion at the same time the German army was entering Warsaw in 1915. Verkhovskoi also wrote several minor works, which were devoted to an understanding of the legal problems facing the Church. Verkhovskoi did not participate in the Pre-Sobor sessions of 1906, but the hypotheses he presented in his scholarship bore strong resemblances to many of the responses voiced by delegates who did attend.

For Verkhovskoi, the mutual and very close relationship between the Church and the state began in fifteenth century Moscow, and at its strong base stood the conviction of religious faith.[20] Verkhovskoi acknowledged that versions of this same type of close union between secular and sacred powers could be found elsewhere in history, in Byzantium, for example, or even earlier in Russia itself, but not until the defeat of the Tatars in 1480 were the conditions ripe for its emergence in a modern form. At that moment, the tsar became completely free and was able to decide for himself the direction of his government's policy, and he chose the same path walked by the Church. When the Muscovite state made the salvation of man through the imitation of Christ its chief aim, it began to share the goals and the unqualified support of the Orthodox Church. Church and state became inseparable only because both shared the same religious vision. Berdnikov also accepted a version of this conclusion, although, as we have seen, he ascribed its presence in Russia to a theory inherited from Byzantium rather than a union born from domestic Christianity.

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[19] M. I. Gorchakov wrote the article on the Holy Synod for the *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar*, Tom XXX, 1st ed (St. Petersburg, 1900), pp. 38-42. In his understanding of the relations between the Church and the state in late imperial Russia, Gorchakov fell into the same general category with Zaozersky and Berdnikov. He recognized the formal Western character of the Romanov government that had grown from the reforms of Peter the Great, but he rejected the conclusion that the Church as a spiritual body carrying out its mission had been adversely effected. In addition, he believed that the Church was fully entitled to stand as a juridically independent society. N. N. Glubokovskii, *Russkaia bogoslovskaia nauka v eia istoricheskom razvitia; i novieshem sostoianii* (Warsaw, 1928), p. 60.

[20] Verkhovskoi, *Uchrezhdenie*, I, p. 15.

Verkhovskoi had no trouble finding evidence that the new union had taken place or that it brought with it far reaching legal ramifications. The church regulations, moral or legal, were now willingly enforced by the Orthodox tsar, and the Church, in return, made obedience of the tsar a tenet of faith. Verkhovskoi cited the actions of Bishop Gennadii of Novgorod in 1488 who expected the state to punish the heretical enemies of the Church, because Gennadii believed that the tsar understood that tsars had been selected by God to exercise power in the Russian Orthodox world. Verkhovskoi then went on to discuss a long line of Russian clerics and political leaders who lived and wrote from the late fifteenth century to the reign of Peter the Great. They all believed that worldly power in Russia was being used willingly by the tsar for God's purposes. The union and the belief behind it rested at the base of the theory that Moscow was the Third Rome, the seat of God's earthly office, and it inspired such diverse figures as Joseph Sanin, Maxim the Greek, Makarii, the chief clerical advisor to Ivan IV, and Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich.[21] Two separate and independent institutions had come together to accomplish one lofty aim, so Verkhovskoi could conclude that the idea of a public life without the presence of the Church or an important ecclesiastical action without the influence of the tsar was foreign to the Russian mind.

From this perspective, of course, a critic from outside the Russian world could not hope to see a clear legal line which distinguished the Church on one side and the tsar on the other. In fact, in the early history of Muscovite Russia nobody tried to draw this line, nor was its exact location of much importance in a country where the Orthodox Church and the Orthodox political ruler worked together toward what both pillars of society saw as the same sacred end. In the religious traditions of the people, the tsar had received from God the power to enforce all the laws, but the exercise of this power did not remove the juridical rights of the Church, which served the government as the ultimate source of truth. Of course, the Church's juridical position was really a matter of very little concern, because the tsar was conscious of his principle reason for entering a holy league with the clergy. In other words, the Church had no need to use its juridical rights as long as the tsar shared its vision of salvation. Verkhovskoi's clarity on the religious character of the mutual bond between the Orthodox Church and the Muscovite state makes it easy to see how certain Western historians

[21] *Ibid.*, I, p. 17-27.

could incorrectly interpret churchmen like Joseph Sanin as having been little more than spokesmen for tsarist absolutism.[22]

In this regard, Muscovite Russia stood in stark contrast against Western Europe during a comparable period of religious consciouness. Between the years 1000 and 1500, when secular and lay authorities in the West were in agreement about the eternal character of human life, the Roman Church was at odds with the native political rulers. The Church and the state were sharply separated in the legal and judicial realms. By the time a union (of sorts) between church and state in Europe was achieved, the Christian religious essence of the royal governments was open to question, and the pragmatic binding of the two institutions in the early modern period created tensions that were to explode during the French Revolution. The absence of serious conflict between Church and state in Russia also helps to explain why Moscow produced no canonists of the stature of Ivo of Chartres or Gratian, whose codifications of law in the West were needed to explain where the political and legal power of the Church began and where the power of the kings and dukes ended. The Russian canonists arrived much later, in the late nineteenth century, when the Orthodox clergy began to suspect that the time had finally arrived to mark the line between the Church and the state, a line that required no great emphasis in the past centuries.

Despite his useful insight on this issue, Verkhovskoi himself ultimately concluded that the joint venture with the state was a mixed blessing for the Russian Orthodox Church. Although it was canonically sound and certainly not a surrender of church legal independence, it tied the Church to the state in a way that brought negative as well as positive results. In the close union, the government protected the Church from having to do battle against many worldly enemies, which helped to accelerate the spread of Christianity, but almost immediately the effectiveness of this protection lulled the clergy, especially the hierarchy, into a slumber. The result was the abandonment of ecclesiastical initiative in secular affairs and the acceptance of wealth and rank awarded to the church hierarchy by the state. A growing collection of so-called privileges became a threat to the spiritual health of the Church, and the bestowal of many gifts eventually allowed Moscow's political authorities too free a hand in strictly church affairs. Too many

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[22] Robert Stupperich, *Staatsgedanke und Religionspolitik Peters des Grossen* (Berlin, 1936), pp. 13-15.

bishops grew attached to material possessions and wasted their energy on efforts to keep them in tact once the tsar decided to confiscate church holdings for strictly worldly purposes. Moreover, the union left the church organization at the mercy of the state, which ecclesiastical officials consistently identified with the tsar, not with the boyars or with any other group of advisors. If the head of the state proved ambitious or fickle, the church administration would still be obliged to render support.[23] Extrication from a union with a powerful sovereign who was recognized as the sole supervisor of secular affairs would prove difficult, particularly because the union had been made voluntarily and accepted as legally sound.

Verkhovskoi's wariness of the close agreement between the Church and the state during the Muscovite period of Russian history helps to mark his own position in the debates of the twentieth century. He saw the Church as a spiritual institution ready to release its juridical rights and obligations to the state only in circumstances that benefited its mission of salvation, and one in which the freedom to perform pastoral and spiritual obligations without inhibiting political restraints was of utmost importance. He admired the sacrifices and religious strength of the non-possessing church elders like Nil Sorsky and Maxim the Greek who had criticized the wealth of the official Church as a dangerous temptation. He did not agree with the vision of Joseph Sanin, the fifteenth century Russian bishop, or Alexander Kireev, the Neo-slavophile of late imperial Russia, both of whom saw the link holding the Church and the state together as a perfect Christian ideal. For Verkhovskoi they were simple historical facts, a series of sequential events in religious and legal history that contained both good and bad features for the Orthodox Church of Russia. He was also quick to point out when, in his opinion, its usefulness came to an end.

According to Verkhovskoi, contradictions in the relationship between the Church and the state reached a most troublesome stage in the late seventeenth century. Beset with many worldly problems, the state was trying to solve them by encroaching ever more often on the independence and the wealth of the Church. At the same time, the Russian clergy was in great need of a higher level of education; the pressure was increasing from Western Europe to conform to standards that were not set by the Orthodox faith, but they were standards that were scholastically much higher than those used in Russia. Into this picture came Nikon, a "cruel and grasping"

[23] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 38-42.

churchman who tried to resolve the contradictions by introducing a bold new system, but one that was quite alien and out of place in the Russian tradition.

In considering the clash between Alexei Mikhailovich and Nikon, Verkhovskoi used many of the facts gathered by N. Th. Kapterev, the anti-Nikonian historian of Eastern Church History who taught at the Moscow Theological Academy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but his conclusions concentrated on the legal consequences of the issues.[24] In Verkhovskoi's opinion, Nikon met the problem of tsarist encroachment into the ecclesiastical world by introducing a special and untried procedure into the legal life of the Russian Church. He tried to divide government power from church power and create a Russian Orthodox Church that was both separate from and politically superior to the tsar's authority. This Nikonian scheme had its origins in the West. It was a papal ecclesiology, and it was abrasive to the Eastern Christology which correctly drew the Orthodox clergy away from the political life. In fact, according to both Verkhovskoi and Kapterev, the entire political proposal of Nikon met with a negative response from the Russian priesthood. In the unlikely event that it might have succeeded, Verkhovskoi believed, the old agreement between the Church and the Muscovite government would have ended and the clergy would have been reluctantly forced to enter into political competition against the state.[25]

The conflict ended with the tsar victorious and Nikon in disgrace, but the turmoil it caused joined to new international circumstances and created what Verkhovskoi called a dangerous situation. The Muscovite state, now showing a strong interest in Western forms and beginning to forget its non-earthly goals altogether, grew suspicious of the recent political ambitions of the Church. At the same time, however, the government showed no will-

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[24] Verkhovskoi used Kapterev's *Patriarkh Nikon i tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich* (Moscow, 1898). He also used the historical research of the canonist M. A. D'iakonov, *Vlast' moskovskikh gosudarei* (St. Petersburg, 1889), and E. E. Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, (Moscow, 1909-1917). All the Russian canonists used these books and many others, as well as their own research to strengthen and complete their arguments. Furthermore, they also made extensive use of the research of many German writers.

[25] This assessment of Nikon's ambitions deals only with his ideas on the relationship between church and state, which he probably found and developed during his periods of study in the highly Westernized atmosphere of Novgorod. Nikon's theological views also caused conflict in Russia, particularly among the clergy, but he was influenced neither by Roman Catholicism nor Protestantism in this area of his thought. Verkhovskoi, *Uchrezhdenie*, I, pp. 43-45.

ingness to release the Church from the many ties formally made between Orthodox clergymen and a once deeply religious political authority. Into this unstable cultural, religious and legal world, Peter the First ascended to the Romanov throne.

On the surface, the canonists of late imperial Russia issued no strong challenge to the generally accepted body of evidence that was known about Peter the Great's ecclesiastical reforms. They agreed, for example, that the changes brought about by the implementation of the Spiritual Regulation in 1721 were the result of a complicated process that included both Peter's interest in Western technical achievements and some Western political forms and ideas. They also noted his fears that an independent political power may have emerged in the Russian Orthodox Church. And they saw the church reform as only a part of a much wider plan designed to reorganize the entire structure of government with the aim of establishing a stronger and in many ways a new concept of service to the state.

Perhaps most important, they all accepted the claims of canonical correctness as they were applied to the Reform.[26] Peter's scrupulous efforts to obtain the approval of the Eastern patriarchs for the foundation of the Spiritual College were noted with approval in the canonists' surveys of the topic (only the Metropolitan of Serbia failed to respond to Peter's request for sanction).[27] What disagreements did arise among the canonists of late imperial Russia regarding the changes introduced in the early eighteenth century were a matter of special emphasis on one event or another and on how to interpret the period between Peter the Great and the contemporary period of Russian ecclesiastical history. Questions of fact did not become issues, and Georges Florovsky's contention that Verkhovskoi "as a canonist" was constrained to describe the situation after the great reform as uncanonical is not supported by the evidence.

Ambiguity would best characterize Zaozersky's interpretation of Peter the Great and his ecclesiastical reforms, not through the canonist's own faultiness of expression but because he saw both positive and negative elements in the changes of 1721. His chapter entitled, "The Synodal-State Form of Church Administration," was an effort to emphasize the good aspects of conciliar church government when exercised in cooperation with

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[26] *Ibid.*, I, p. clxxviii.

[27] James Cracraft, *The Church Reform of Peter the Great* (Stanford, 1971), pp. 224-225, analyzes the motives behind the Eastern patriarchs' responses to Peter.

the state, which he felt Peter had given to Russia, as opposed to single office autocratic leadership combined with clerical competition against the state. At the same time, however, Zaozersky wrote only critical words about Peter himself, and traced many of the shortcomings of the Church of his own day back to the early eighteenth century.[28]

Standing by itself, according to Zaozersky, the Spiritual Regulation established a formal legal pattern that improved upon the ancient Byzantine arrangements that had prevailed in Russia since the conversion at Kiev in 988. The new legislation carefully described for the first time the limits of action and the duties that separated the clergy from government bureaucrats. Zaozersky believed that the overlapping of tasks between the Church and state had often dragged the Byzantine and early Muscovite clergy into worldly governmental affairs, and in 1721 this mistake was corrected. Moreover, the Regulation introduced badly needed administrative order into the Church, and held out the promise that funds would be made available for the desperately needed education of the clergy, and, under some circumstances, still gave the Church hierarchy an authority equal to that the emperor's advisors in secular matters. Certainly, the Regulation did not make the Church a captive of the state, and just as certainly, the continuation of the close working together of church and state was not objectionable .

Unfortunately, the results of Peter's efforts were disappointing and Zaozersky believed that the reasons began with the Emperor himself. He was not a Justinian, inspired by a desire to establish a Christian kingdom on earth, but a misanthrope in search of any and all novelties that would force Russians to serve the monarch. It was the unhealthy ambitions of Nikon that had agitated Peter and alerted him to the potential dangers of a politicized church, but it was the seductive lure of the West with its theories of natural law that proved most useful in fulfilling his quite secular ambitions (particularly Leibniz, according to Zaozersky), and it was in the superficial egoist Feofan Prokopovich that Peter found the man needed to force the royal will on the Orthodox clergy.

The greatest damage to the Church, however, came not from Peter's legislation or Feofan's hypocrisy, both of which were harmless to the internal doctrines and freedom of the Church, but in the gradual growth of worldliness and even atheism at the eighteenth century Russian court. This

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[28] Zaozerskii, *O tserkovnoi vlasti*, pp. 316-370.

drift away from religious themes and practices among the ruling classes brought contempt for the Church, which could do little under the particular form given to the new legislation to prevent a long slide into poverty, ignorance and bureaucratic formalism.

The sorrowful outcome was not the fault of the Holy Governing Synod, initially called the Spiritual College, nor the legislation that had created it. It was the fault of religious indifference, slavishly copied by the dvoriane who found it coiled among the many other fashions they indiscriminately adopted from the West. The Orthodox Church had no principled opposition to the structure of Peter's reforms, since Christianity was not a champion of any form of government (including democracy). In fact, the religious revival in Russia, which Zaozersky saw taking place in nineteenth and early twentieth century Russia, was unfolding under the supervision of the Holy Synod. The bishops needed only to establish stronger contact with Christian Russia by doing away with the bureaucratic obstacles that had been accumulating in the chancellery and had separated the hierarchy from the local churches. This purge could be best accomplished by reinstituting the periodic sobor of the whole Church of Russia as a legislative body, and Zaozersky left little doubt that the Synod's office of OberProcurator was in need of extensive curtailment if a church sobor was to meet its legislative and governing obligations.[29]

Consistent with his analysis of the Byzantine Church, Zaozersky denied that Peter stripped away the legal freedom of the Russian Church. The emperor did give the outer form of the Church the "character of a state institution," and in that limited sense made it a department of the state administration, but this change did not make the Church and the state a single entity. The Church was still free to carry out its mission, which itself gave a clear denial to the importance Peter placed on worldly aims and practical actions. God directs our Church, Zaozersky concluded, not Caesar, even if Caesar happened to be a crucial figure in its daily life. Unlike Alexis de Tocqueville, Zaozersky did not believe that human liberty is most fundamentally political liberty. Moreover, the importance of the Church's divine leadership in his political and legal philosophy gave Zaozersky's writings a theological character much stronger than one finds in either Suvorov or Verkhovskoi.

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[29] *Zhurnaly i protokoly zasedanii vysochaishe uchrezhdennago predsobornago prisutstviia*, I (St. Petersburg, 1906), p. 170.

A version of this complex position was also held by Ilia Berdnikov, although he was inclined to stress the influence of Samuel Pufendorf rather than Leibniz as the heaviest Western influence on Peter, particularly in regard to the writing of the Spiritual Regulation. Peter was overpowered by an interest in strictly political matters which brought about the formation of the Spiritual College and legally deprived the Church of all influence in the realm of government affairs. According to Berdnikov, this change gave cause to think that the Church had been absorbed into the state administration and that lines formally separating the secular authorities from the internal life of the Church had been completely erased. It also left the impression that whatever power the Church enjoyed originated with the state.[30]

Such conclusions, however, were distorted images of the real outcome of events, because the essential aspects of relations between the Church and the state changed very little in 1721. Berdnikov believed that the only significant alteration made by Peter obligated the Church leadership, first under the name of the Spiritual College and then as the Holy Synod, to seek the approval of the secular authorities before its own legislation could be approved for enforcement throughout the the empire. In former periods of Russian history, this approval was not required, although Berdnikov believed that in most cases pre-Petrine ecclesiastical legislation did meet with the confirmation of the tsar. Peter did not reduce the Church to a non-juridical status and the Synod retained its right to formulate legislation up to the present day.[31]

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that Berdnikov saw little or no reason to criticize the reforms of Peter and the activity of the Romanov government after Peter. The enthusiasm with which he wrote of the Muscovite and Byzantine periods is not present in his review of the Synodal period, indicating criticism of the Petrine reforms. Certainly, the deference he saw willingly given by the state toward religious leaders prior to the eighteenth century, which Berdnikov considered to be such an important

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30 Berdnikov, *Kratkii kurs*, II, 2nd ed, pp. 868-874.

31 I. Berdnikov, *Osnovnyia*, pp. 380-382. Berdnikov did not consider that the reforms of Alexander I or the changes associated with the ministry of Count Protasov altered the overall picture painted in 1721, which showed an independent church. At the same time, however, and in the same ambiguous mood of Zaozersky, he did state that without the full cooperation of the pious tsar of Russia the reforms would have left the Church in a difficult position.

feature in the legal life of the Eastern Church, is not mentioned in his discussions of the post 1721 years. In fact, he made a special point of describing the motives of the Russian emperors in terms of profit or political power, if he described them at all. Furthermore, his legal history of the synodal period is mechanical and almost devoid of passion. It is perhaps unwise to draw too many conclusions based on what historians have chosen not to include in their books, but in the case of Berdnikov it seems that the absence of evidence and feeling at this point has significance. One might also remark that the later editions of Berdnikov's work were more critical of Peter the Great than earlier editions had been, although this change of opinion on Peter did not alter his basic hypothesis about the positive relations between the Church and the state in modern Russia. The introduction of the Spiritual Regulation had taken place well within the bounds of legal and canonical tradition, and it did not remove the right of the Church to initiate its own legislation. The twentieth century Russian Orthodox Church was a fully canonical institution, and all plans for change to its outer structure or its internal life would have to begin on that basis.

N. S. Suvorov was the third important canonist whose interpretations of Peter's ecclesiastical reforms began with a comparison to classical settings, and his description of the political events and intellectual changes of early modern Russia were consistent with his description of the relations between the Orthodox Church and the state during the Byzantine and Muscovite periods. In fact, among all the canonists who stressed the importance of Byzantine studies, Suvorov found the least degree of influence in Peter's acts. For Suvorov, the Eastern Christian tradition had never drawn a line between Church and state, even one as winding and obscure as the one detected by Berdnikov and Zaozersky. In these societies, the only organization was the government, which contained both a political (autocratic) and a moral (Orthodox) dimension. The promulgation of the Spiritual Regulation in 1721 did not alter this pattern. It merely brought fresh philosophical justifications and new bureaucratic procedures to replace the old styles.[32]

Anybody who was looking for a legal separation between the Church and the state, according to Suvorov, would be obliged to examine the history of the Roman Catholic Church, and Peter had in mind no such model for Russia. He admired the service state of modern Western Europe that had emerged from the territorial laws enacted during the Protestant Reformation

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[32] Suvorov, *Kurs*, I, pp. 150-151.

and the natural law theories devised in the seventeenth century, Suvorov agreed, and Peter promoted these principles in Russia with the hope of squeezing a maximum of loyalty and energy from the Russian people, including the clergy, for use in strictly secular projects. But his overall accomplishment in the ecclesiastical realm was merely to hang Western trappings on an Eastern frame. Moreover, it was an act that presented no sharp contradictions to the legal culture of the old Russian Orthodox world.[33]

At the same time, Peter never forgot the moral traditions of the East nor the legal obligations that accompanied them. The Byzantine-Muscovite practices that bound the tsar to the Church and its canons for religious reasons remained in force in spite of the fresh imprint of Western innovations. Among these duties were the obligations to protect and support the Orthodox religion, both as a member of the congregation and as the head of state, to enforce the regulations of the Church among the population, and to dedicate the government to the task of the ultimate redemption of mankind. Nor did Suvorov discern a change in direction taken by the Romanovs following Peter. Only Alexander I tried to stretch the fabric of the ancient agreement beyond its capacity when he placed all Christian faiths on an equal footing in the empire. For a short time Orthodoxy became only one of several official religions and Alexander donned the mantle of super Christian. This effort could make no headway in Russia, according to Suvorov, and it was quickly and easily abandoned after Alexander's death. Persons of non-Orthodox faith were tolerated in Russia, but in order to achieve satisfactory results in the system the tsar and the head of the Orthodox Church had to be one and the same person. Effective rule was impossible without this union.[34]

Suvorov continued in this same vein at the Pre-Sobor council that met in 1906 to discuss the reform of the Russian Orthodox Church. He wondered how Zaozersky and Berdnikov could discuss radical changes in the management of the Church without considering the person of the emperor, Nicholas II, as the head of the Church and as the head of the now Westernized state bureaucracy. Delegation of power to church officials by an inde-

[33] Suvorov, *Kurs*, II, pp. 492.

[34] N. S. Suvorov, *Uchebnik tserkovnogo prava*, 2nd. ed. (Moscow, 1902), pp. 210-211. The idea that the tsar must be an Orthodox Christian if the system was to continue in use was held strongly by most canonists even if they did not agree with Suvorov's concept of the Church's place within the government power. Krasnozhen, "Tserkovnoe," pp. 128-129.

pendent All-Russian Sobor was impossible. The legal delegation of authority in the Russian and Byzantine traditions could be action carried out only by the head of the state. He readily agreed that Orthodoxy itself could live in health and legally independent of the state outside the Russian historical setting, as it did in Japan and Greece, but no such situation was possible within a legal tradition that knew only subordination to the state.[35] The Church could not change its relationship with the state nor could it undertake substantial internal reform unless 600 years of history were instantly abolished. In a characteristic speech delivered at the Pre-Sobor council, Suvorov once again discussed the predicament of the Russian Orthodox Church in terms of its Byzantine political and religious heritage. Division between the Church and the state, he reiterated, was a tradition of the West not the East. "In the East, Orthodoxy made the effort to realize the Christian ideal in the state itself."[36]

Verkhovskoi was the last of the canonists whose work was sufficiently thorough to serve as evidence of a canonist point of view on the question of the relations between the Church and the state in the late imperial period. He was younger than most of his colleagues, and, as a result, his research was conducted about ten years after the dates listed for the completed work of Zaozersky, Berdnikov, and Suvorov and as much as twenty years after the dates of P. A. Lashkarev's publications supporting the statist position. His study of the Russian Orthodox Church in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did not appear until 1912, the monumental study on the establishment of the Spiritual College not until 1916, and his commentary on Patriarch Tikhon in 1926. He was the only major canonist who was obliged to adjust to the new circumstances introduced by the Soviet regime. Nevertheless, Verkhovskoi's overall interpretation of Orthodoxy's legal place in the empire was shared by some earlier and less prolific canonists. His views were generally the same as the opinions held by A. S. Pavlov, for example, the best known among the Russian legal scholars, whose death in 1898 prevented him from participating in the debates on Church reform that took place after the revolution of 1905. Verkhovskoi's arguments also closely resembled the views consistently presented in 1906 at the Pre-Sobor Council by A. I. Almazov, a professor of Church Law at Novorossiisk University in Odessa.

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[35] *Zhurnaly*, I, pp. 190-203.

[36] *Zhurnaly*, I, p. 197.

Verkhovskoi's interpretation deviated from the analyses presented by those canonists who were inclined to dismiss the impact that Peter the First made on the Russian Church. In his opinion, the reforms of the early eighteenth century introduced an entirely new chapter into the history of relations between the Church and the state, so they could not be easily analyzed as decorations or as a package of annoying regulations that failed to upset the ecclesiastical traditions of centuries past. Peter reduced a free Church to legal servitude and placed its priesthood firmly within the structure of the state's service bureaucracy; the blame for this catastrophe Verkhovskoi was inclined to place at the feet of the hierarchy, softened by privilege and blinded by ignorance. Verkhovskoi stressed the importance of the former strong juridical place occupied by the Church in Russia, even though he made no careful study of the pre-Petrine period, and then he went on to conclude that the restrictions set in place in 1721 allowed the government to meddle in spiritual affairs, forcing the Church to submit even in matters of dogma, moral teaching, theology and the liturgy. It was on this last point that Verkhovskoi separated most distinctly from Zaozersky and Berdnikov.[37]

The reform of Peter the Great was even more grave for the future of the Church then indicated by the losses it suffered at the hands of the government in the judicial and administrative realms. At the base of the original agreement between the Church and the state in Russia, according to Verkhovskoi, stood the government's voluntary decision to participate in the task of man's spiritual redemption. For this reason, the Church had little to fear from the earlier tsars, regardless of some dreadful acts of brutality, because the Russian rulers believed that Christian salvation was the most important purpose for the existence of their political authority. Peter, on the other hand, brought to Russia a new concept of government and gave a new direction to the energies of the state, which the Orthodox Church could hardly be expected to endorse with its unlimited support. The other Russian canonists well understood Peter's secular ambitions, but Verkhovskoi saw in Peter's pursuit of the "common good" evidence of the government's change in goals, which eliminated whatever good reasons there were for maintaining the old Muscovite alliance between ecclesiastical and secular

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[37] Verkhovskoi, *Uchrezhdenie*, I, pp. 684-686. A clear exposition of A. S. Pavlov's views on the legal place of the Orthodox Church in late imperial Russia can be found in his *Kurs tserkovnago pravo* (Moscow, 1902), pp. 269-272, and 506-513.

powers.[38] It was no longer simply a case of the Church enduring the moods of an easily distracted political ruler until his inevitable demise. The Church, after Peter, was stripped of its legal independence and at the same time remained tied to a government whose leaders had adopted a new ideology that considered the truths of the Church irrelevant and made close Church support impossible to justify.

To reinforce this interpretation, Verkhovskoi analyzed at great length the natural law theories and the new political practices coming into Russia from Western Europe as they appealed to Peter and as they were espoused by Feofan Prokopovich, Peter's alter ego and the author of the *Spiritual Regulation*. According to Verhkovskoi, neither Peter nor Feofan recognized in church power any source of juridical independence, and, like the seventeenth century English philosopher Thomas Hobbes, they allowed only the monarch to initiate and enforce legislation in his territory. Moreover, according to Verkhovskoi, Peter and Feofan were fully aware that the consequences of their thoughts and acts would be to eliminate the Church as the government's legal and spiritual rival. They were fully aware that the so-called Eastern religious vision of the Orthodox Church differed substantially from their own, and they deliberately intended to free the government of moral standards established by the Church.[39]

In reaching these conclusions, Verkhovskoi left no stone unturned in search of evidence of the Western "secularizing" ideas and practices entertained in Peter's mind, some of which, incidentally, were admired by the canonist himself; Verkhovskoi even examined the books catalogued in Feofan's private library. It must be noted, of course, that by interpreting the facts in this fashion, Verkhovskoi's judgments about the history of the relations between the Church and the state in late imperial Russia were tied to a belief that Peter's visions became a reality in Russia, and this belief was rejected by many canonists and historians of the period. It was far easier to find agreement on questions of Peter's motives than on questions about what Peter had actually left behind.

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[38] Emphasis on the government's change in goals during the reign of Peter the Great was later used by Anton Kartashev in his analysis of the relations between church and state in Russia. *Ocherki po istorii Russkoi tserkvi*, 2 vols (Paris, 1959), especially vol II, p. 341. The point was also discussed by Alexander V. Muller, *The Spiritual Regulation of Peter the Great* (London, 1972), p. xxix.

[39] Verkhovskoi, *Uchrezhdenie*, I, pp. 95, 122, 134, 248.

Verkhovskoi stopped just short of declaring the Petrine reforms to be uncanonical, but he was uneasy about how the Church could extricate itself from the unfavorable circumstances created in 1721.[40] He described the situation as not normal. Legally, he believed, the Church of the early twentieth century was still tied closely to the state structure, and following the announcement of the Manifesto of October 17, 1905, that structure included the Duma, which seated many members who were hostile to the values that directed both Christians and Russians. Verkhovskoi was skeptical of the efforts of some churchmen who proceeded to fashion a reform program as though the Duma could be ignored during the course of legal action designed to change the relationship between the Church and the state in Russia. After all, if the Romanov government voluntarily included the Duma as part of its administrative apparatus, then the power of elected Duma politicians extended automatically into the Church.[41] Clearly, Verkhovskoi was not blind to many of the problems that lay ahead for the Orthodox Church in Russia.

Which among the three major positions occupied by Russian canonists in the late imperial period on the question of church and state captured the loyalty of Orthodox reformers? The answer to this question is difficult to find, but the historian can describe the various positions that were held, what they had in common and how they were criticized. In this way, one might ascertain with some accuracy where the lawyers of the Russian Church stood before the revolution that brought all discussion on the issue to a close, at least in Russia.

Of the three key arguments on the question of the relationship between the Church and the state, Suvorov and Lashkarev represented the statist group, the standard bearers of the legacy of Peter the Great and Feofan Prokopovich. For these legalists, the only important institution in Russia

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40 Verkhovskoi went to some length to question the historical and legal links connecting the Holy Synod to the sobors of the early church and in this general way suggested that the Synod was not canonical. His discussion, however, was not intended to call into question the canonical validity of the acts of the Russian Orthodox Church during the period it was under the offical direction of the Synod. In this context, Verkhovskoi used as a supporting argument the conclusions reached by T. V. Barsov, a professor of canon law at the St. Petersburg Theological Academy. Verkhovskoi, *Uchrezhdenie*, I, 272-280. T. V. Barsov, *Sviatieishii sinod v ego proshlom* (St. Petersburg, 1896), especially pages 236-243, and Barsov's article, "O nashem vysshem tserkovnom upravlenii," in *Russkii vestnik* (April, 1891).

41 P. V. Verkhovskoi, *O neobkhodimosti izmenit' russkie osnovnye zakony v pol'zy zakonodatel'noi nezavisimosti pravoslavnoi russkoi tserkvi* (Warsaw, 1912), pp. 9-14.

was the state, and apart from it the Orthodox Church had no judicial identity. Their starting point was the belief that all legislative authority in society was initiated by the state, and whatever facts emerged from their research were simply wedged into place. Had Suvorov survived into the Soviet period (he died in 1909), he may well have seen Lunacharskii's Commissariat of Enlightenment as a continuation of the Most Holy Governing Synod within a Communist framework, just as he had seen the Holy Synod itself as a Russian version of the Byzantine patriarchate. In his opinion, they were all servants of the secular power. In Russia, Suvorov concluded, the Church was a moral rather than a legal force. Lashkarev was also quite obvious on this point. He found a link between the ritual reforms undertaken by the early Roman king Numa Pompilius (715-673 B.C.) and the lack of civil initiative on the part of early Christians in order to show that the true head of religious affairs in Ancient Rome and the Byzantine empire was the political ruler.[42] The Petrine character of this connection can be seen from the fact that it was Feofan Prokopovich himself who introduced Plutarch's discussion of Numa into the Russian literature, precisely in order to justify Peter's unlimited control over the Church.

In Suvorov's opinion, a church separated from the state existed only in Roman Catholic Europe, where the Papacy established itself as a political force in opposition to the German kings. This papal achievement could be traced to the early popes and their ability to capture and skillfully use the old Roman jurisprudence for their own protection.[43] The popes accepted legislation inspired in the secular realm only to the point that it proved useful to the clergy. Suvorov believed that it was for exactly this reason that a systematic development of canon law prevailed only in the West, where one of its most important functions was to define the independence of the Church in its relationship to the state. In the East, on the other hand, collections of legal codes associated with the Church signified no such autonomy. They were merely lists of rules and regulations enforced during bygone years by the only true source of legislative authority, the state. If the clergy held positions of authority in the East, they had been delegated this authority by the political ruler. Orthodoxy had seen its unsuccessful Russian champions of the papål ideal, according to Suvorov, from Nikon to Zaozer-

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[42] P. A. Lashkarev, *Pravo tserkovnoe v ego osnovakh vidakh i istochnikakh* (Kiev. 1886).

[43] Suvorov, *Kurs*, I, pp. 261-262.

sky, but the lack of an independent legislative tradition in ecclesiastical affairs doomed them to failure.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the number of canonist defenders of Suvorov's interpretation was growing smaller as the moment of open revolutionary activity drew closer, largely because disenchantment with the Romanovs in church circles was growing stronger. It should be noted, however, that a weakening of support for the statist position in the early twentieth century probably rested more with the ability of Zaozersky and his colleagues to undermine Suvorov's historical arguments than it did with the ground swell of opinion voiced against the crown in ecclesiastical quarters.

The second major position on church-state relations taken up by Russian canonists in the decades prior to the abdication of the Romanovs was described by Nikolai Zaozersky, and it was based on a subtle and idealistic ecclesiology that had played an important part throughout the eventful history of Eastern Christianity. In this conviction, the Church's worldly power derived from two sources, sacred and secular. The sacred or spiritual power was the most important, since it was this strength that helped people on this earth onto the path of eternal salvation, but ecclesiastical power in the strictly temporal sense was just as real and it gave the Church a legislative and juridical strength sufficient to administer its own internal affairs independent of the royal authorities. Zaozersky and his colleague Ilia Berdnikov rejected the conclusions of Suvorov and other defenders of the statist theory. The Church, in their opinions, was an institution distinct from the state, even if it often cooperated with the state. Its leader was the Holy Spirit and proof of its legislative power could be found in a study of the canons.

The close alliance between the Church and the state in the history of Russia could be explained, according to Zaozersky, as a voluntary agreement made by the Church (the continuation of an agreement made in Byzantium), which could be justified on the grounds that the Christian emperor used his power to assist the Church in the course of its works of charity and in the course of its teaching the message of salvation to the people. The Church accepted his sacrifice in order to preserve its strength for action in the spiritual realm. In this context, it is interesting to read Zaozersky's praise of Nicholas II, written as though the emperor was indeed a figure who understood that his place in this world was justified only from a spiritual perspective. Was Zaozersky praising the emperor for his correct moral understanding, or was he reminding him of the only good reason for continuing church suppport. In either case, the praise should not be interpreted,

as it often is, as the panegyric of a sycophant, because Zaozersky's vision had the firm touch of folk belief in the omnipotent hand of God directing all human affairs.[44]

It is also important to examine Zaozersky's criticism of the Papacy, particularly since he was accused by Suvorov of harboring Catholic sentiments by promoting the cause of church independence in Russia. Zaozersky believed that Rome failed to draw properly the line between the sacred and the secular, and, as a result, it had led the Western Church into playing a commanding role in worldly affairs to the detriment of its spiritual mission; against the papal response that intervention in temporal affairs was essential to carrying out the Church's spiritual mission, Zaozersky had no argument. Certainly, Zaozersky was not a papalist and would have been pleased to extend the period in which the Orthodox Church remained in league with the Rusian state and obedient in worldly matters to the will of the political authorities, but such a concession would be made only on terms favorable to the mission of the Church.

The third body of opinion that reviewed the relations between the Church and the state was best presented by P. V. Verkhovskoi who concluded that the Romanov regime had forced the Russian Orthodox Church into servitude. It was a view that grew rapidly in popularity among churchmen once the results of the revolution of 1905 revealed the reluctance of the government to participate fully in the convocation of a free church sobor, and it was a view that drew most of its supporting evidence from examples of dissatisfaction with the arbitrary actions of the Ober Procurator of the Holy Synod. Verkhovskoi's own account placed much of the responsibility for what was seen to be the weak social and legal positions occupied by the Church in imperial Russia on Peter the Great and his actions that were accurately described in the 1721 legislation creating the Holy Synod. Peter accomplished two goals, Verkhovskoi believed. He pressed the Church into state service by demanding obedience to a series of laws and practices borrowed from the West, and he brought the state leadership to abandon a vision of mankind's ultimate destiny that justified the existence of the Church on her own terms. Much if not all of this legislation needed to be rescinded, according to Verkhovskoi, if the Church was to

[44] N. Zaozerskii. "Gosudar', tserkov i narod," *Bogoslovskii vestnik* (May, 1896), II, pp. 264-278.

regain the freedom of action he believed that it enjoyed in the period before Peter.

Unfortunately, Verkhovskoi's view was fraught with many of the problems that also plagued the church reform movement in early twentieth century Russia. His study was really a learned protest against heavy-handed government officials who meddled in church affairs. It was not really a thorough search for a new plan for correct church-state relations. It shunned the strong theological grounding that rested at the base of Zaozersky's interpretation as well as rejecting the traditional institutional or historical perspective of the Suvorov school in favor of a belief that new and clever wording in legal documents could free the Church from government bullying. He borrowed motifs from both camps but never enough substance to be included under either label.

Verkhovskoi's views were a creation made up of pieces from other systems, held together by faith in a legal structure that enjoyed only the flimsiest place in Russian historical tradition. The devoted church lawyer appeared to accept the ecclesiology of Zaozersky, which divided sacred from secular activity in a strict Eastern perspective, giving the Church independence in its internal affairs without a strong political authority (a clear rejection of papal ecclesiology). But at the same time he ignored the obvious pitfalls to be found along this path, which Zaozersky understood well and which left the Church at the mercy of a capricious state leader with no more solid guarantees of freedom than had accompanied the Petrine system. A certain confusion also surrounded Verkhovskoi's assessment of the modern Western theme made fashionable by the slogan: A Free Church in a Free State. The evidence presented in his work suggests that on many occasions he might have considered the separation of the Church from the state in the modern Western sense as the best path for Orthodoxy to follow in Russia, assuming, of course, that the government itself could be constrained. Yet Verkhovskoi, like Suvorov, was clearly unprepared to recognize that a religiously neutral political authority in Russia was really possible or that it could be considered as anything less than a step away from civilized moral standards.

The dilemma presented in the legal histories of Verkhovskoi reflect one of the greatest problems that Orthodox Russian churchmen faced on the issue of church and state in the early twentieth century, a problem made especially acute due to the fact that the majority of the East Slavic peoples and their culture were Orthodox Christian. They rejected the so-called Prot-

estant theories of Suvorov on the grounds that they failed to recognize the legal independence of the Church. They rejected the Eastern perspective of Zaozersky because it gave religious sanction to government leaders who could be fickle. They rejected Rome because it brought the clergy too closely into contact with secular affairs. And they rejected the modern European notions of the separation of the church from the state on the grounds that a religiously neutral government was both amoral and unlikely to survive for a long period of time: neither Gustavus Adolphus nor Justinian, neither the Pope nor Napoleon. Russian churchmen were trying to find a fresh and realistic direction for the Church in its relations with the state, but success eluded them.

The University of South Carolina John D. Basil
Columbia, SC 29208, USA

Constantine Simon, S.J.

In Europe and America: the Ruthenians between Catholicism and Orthodoxy

On the Eve of Emigration

SEARCHING FOR A COMMON NAME

Eastern Slavs, whose ancestral homelands lay on both sides of the Carpathians, began to arrive in the United States toward the end of the 1870's. While the number of emigrants was at first relatively small (in 1888 they amounted to about six thousand), the movement rapidly assumed mass proportions so that by 1895 they were already two hundred thousand.[1]

Finding a common name which describes the shared ethnological and cultural origin of these emigrants is in itself problematic. This is due to their own, at best, shadowy perception of nationality or national consciousness in a modern sense. Questions of national identity were highly disputed by their own intelligentsia, at the time just in the process of formation. The emigrants themselves generally stemmed from a much lower social milieu. One student of the emigrations described their predicament in the following terms:

> The typical immigrant during this period was single, male, poor, illiterate and unskilled. He was an agrarian laborer who usually found work in a coal mine in eastern Pennsylvania and who planned to return to his native land after making a fortune here. His sense of self was limited to an identification with his village (or at best a vague geographical region) and a religio-cultural heritage which, despite centuries of foreign oppression, remained a primary symbol of ethno-cultural unity.[2]

Ecclesiastically these Eastern Slavs were Uniates. Contemporary Catholic terminology might prefer to refer to them as members of the Byzantine rite of the Roman Catholic Church. This appellation was however not used during the nineteenth century in the Austrian and later Austro-Hungarian

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[1] Julijan Bačyns'kyj, *Ukrajins'ka Immigratsija v Zjedynenych Deržavach Ameryky* (L'viv 1914), p. 98.

[2] Myron B. Kuropas, "The Centenary of the Ukrainian Emigration to the United States," in *The Ukrainian Experience in the United States — A Symposium* (Cambridge 1979), p. 40.

Empire in which they lived. From the time of the reign of Empress Maria Theresa they were officially called Greek Catholics.[3]

As subjects of the Hapsburg Emperor, they inhabited two of the most backward areas of the Empire. Austrian Galicia was known to the mediaeval cartographer as "Russia Rubra." It had been incorporated into the Austrian Empire under the name of the "Kingdom of Galicia and Ladomeria," a title which the sovereign bore until the dissolution of the Empire. Until the end of the thirteenth century the region composed the westernmost reaches of Kievan Rus'. King Kazimierz III of Poland conquered it in 1341 and long centuries of Polish political and cultural dominance followed. With the gradual weakening of Polish political power, Galicia was lost to Poland at the time of the first partition in 1772 and allotted to the Austria of Maria Theresa who claimed it as king of Hungary. During the twentieth century, a period of renewed Polish domination was followed after the Second World War by the annexation of most of the area populated by Eastern Slavs into the Soviet Union. Today this region forms part of the western section of the Ukrainian Republic and the south-eastern tip of Poland. In the Soviet Union at least the term Galicia had fallen into disuse and generally the whole region is described as the western Ukraine.

The other centre of mass Greek Catholic emigration lay in the north-eastern reaches of the Hungarian Kingdom. These regions, inhabited predominantly by Eastern Slavs and Slovaks, had been part of Hungary since the "honfoglalás" or the Magyar "taking of the land" of the ninth century. During the nineteenth century this area, in contrast to Austrian Galicia, enjoyed no regional autonomy and was officially looked upon as any other part of Hungary. For the sake of convenience the term of later origin "Subcarpathia" may be used to describe the region, a term which was used by the Czechoslovak government to partially describe the territory (Podkarpatska Rus') and has an approximate equivalent in later Hungarian usage (Kárpátalja). Today this area forms the Transcarpathian region

[3] Michael Lacko, *Synodus Episcopum Ritus Byzantini Catholicorum ex antiqua Hungaria Vindobonae a. 1773 celebrata* (Roma 1975), p. 311. The term "Greek Catholics" was applied at least to the Ruthenians of Hungary at this synod held in Vienna. The bishops petitioned the Empress for permission to adopt officially the name of Catholics of the Greek rite or Greek Catholics and for their priests the title of "Pfarrer." Until then the rather pejorative forms of "Unierte" and "Popen" had been current.

(Zakarpatskaja oblast') of the Ukrainian Republic and part of eastern Slovakia.[4]

Certain authors identify these groups of emigrants as "Ukrainian." The use of such a term is however highly anachronistic. It implies that the emigrant came to the United States with a pre-conceived political programme. Only very few of the more nationally conscious emigrant leaders thought of their ethnicity in such terms at the time of the mass emigrations. Discussing the nationality problem, the Ukrainian author Bohdan Procko admits:

> As far as the Galicians are concerned, until 1916 the term "Ruthenian" was generally used. As for the term "Ukrainian," you cannot place this until the First World War, specifically the Ukrainian Day proclaimed by Reverend Poniatyshyn in 1917. This does not mean that 'Ukrainian' was not used earlier. It had been used previously in Europe. In America the terms were also used but "rusyn" and "rus'kyj" were more generally accepted because we are mainly dealing with people from the western Ukraine, i. e. Galicia and Transcarpathia.[5]

For reasons of historical accuracy the term "Ruthenian" seems a better choice when describing the identity of these Eastern Slavs. It was used both in Galicia, where the Ukrainian movement later became prevalent, as well as in Hungary on the southern fringe of the Carpathians.[6] The term "Ruthenian" has a long history. It ultimately may be linked with Rus', the name of the old Kievan state. During the Middle Ages and Renaissance it was applied in the works of Herbertstein and Possevino to refer in a global

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[4] Sometimes the term "Prikarpatskaja Rus'" is used by the Eastern Slavs to describe Galicia in contrast to "Podkarpatskaja" or "Zakarpatskaja Rus'."

[5] Bohdan P. Procko, "The Rise of Ukrainian Ethnic Consciousness in America during the 1890's," *The Ukrainian Experience in the United States* . . . , p. 69.

[6] Actually the term 'ruthenisch,' 'Ruthenen' = Ruthenian was used mostly by the Austrian government in official documents to describe Galicia's East Slavic inhabitants. Sometimes the forms 'reussisch' and 'Reussen' were used but later fell into disfavour since the government discouraged the tendency among its subjects to identify themselves with the Russians. Hungarian employed similarly the older form "orosz" and later "rutén." The Ruthenian described himself as "rusyn" and his language as "rus'kyj" or "russkyj." This can be translated as "Ruthenian," "Rusin" or "Russian" depending on how a given Ruthenian perceived his identity at a given historical moment. The russophile author W. J. Birkbeck (See A. Riley ed., *Birkbeck and the Russian Church* (London 1917), p. 308) claimed that he heard the Great Russian inhabitants of Archangel and Olenets likewise refer to themselves as "rusiny." Ruthenians who wished to distance themselves from the Great Russians applied the pejorative term of "moskovskyj," "moskaly" to the latter. Polish preserved the distinction between the Ruthenians who once were incorporated in the Pospolita and the Great Russians who were not.

way to all the Orthodox Eastern Slavs.[7] In the nineteenth century the term was applied in a more restrictive sense to the Eastern Slavs of the Austrian Empire. Not to be overlooked are the strong ecclesiastical connotations implying a separate ritual identity with particular church related customs attached to the use of this word. The Vatican employed this term until very recently in its dealings with the emigrants from both Galicia and Hungary and their descendants in the United States. It is found likewise in the documents of the archive for the Propagation of the Faith and was used in the letters of both the Metropolitan of L'vov as well as by the bishops of Mukačevo and Prešov when referring to their faithful. It continues to be used by the descendants of those Greek Catholics originating from Hungary. Some describe both their ecclesiastical and ethnic identity even today as Ruthenian. Others apply this term exclusively to the former aspect and consider themselves ethnic Slovaks.[8] Still others regard themselves as Greek Catholic Magyars. In contemporary Europe, the descendants of those once collectively known as Ruthenians generally employ more nationally conscious terminology when describing themselves and figure as Ukrainians, Russians, Rusyns and Slovaks. Contemporary evidence in the wake

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[7] These authors use the term "rutheni" in connexion with Eastern Orthodoxy, the religion of the Eastern Slavs, a factor which served to isolate them from the Roman Catholic Slavs or from the rest of western Europe. When these authors wish to distinguish the Orthodox Slavs of Poland Lithuania from those of Muscovy, the former continue to be known as "rutheni," the latter as "moscovitae." The Italian author A. Guagnini noted this distinction: "Moschovitae a Ruthenis aliquantulum, Rutheni quoque a polonis et Masovitis, sic etiam Bohemi, croatae, ab invicem idiomatis expressione, accentibus et prolatione, verborumque immutatione differunt, ita ut sese intelligere difficile possint." B. O. Unbegaun, "L'origine du nom des Ruthènes," *Selected Papers on Russian and Slavonic Philology* (Oxford 1969), p. 134. Not all authors however followed this rule. The Czech author Georgius David who was in Moscow from 1686 until 1689 wrote a description of Muscovite churchmen and churches which he called "De ecclesiasticis et ecclesiis *Ruthenorum*." Georgius David, S.J., *Status Modernus Magnae Russiae seu Moscoviae* (The Hague 1965), p. 99.

[8] The choice of ethnic identity among the Slavs is often unclear and sometimes arbitrary. One example is the following: In the Bačka region of what was once southern Hungary and today is the Yugoslav Vojvodina dwell 30.000 speakers of what many slavicists claim is an eastern Slovak dialect. They are subjects of the bishops of Križevci in Croatia. Their ancestors emigrated from the counties of Zemplén and Sáris in the Hungarian kingdom, regions which today are part of eastern Slovakia. Nevertheless today they identify themselves as "rusini" and some even as Ukrainians. See Michael Lacko, s.j., "A Brief History of the Slovak Catholics of the Byzantine Slavonic Rite," *Slovak Studies*, 3 (Rome 1963) and Paul Magocsi, "The Problem of National Affiliation among the Rusyns Ruthenians of Yugoslavia," *Europa Ethnica* 34 (Vienna 1977).

of perestrojka from the Zakarpatskaja oblast' suggests that more than a segment of the intellectual population has resisted the efforts of forced Ukrainisation and continues to think of itself as ethnically distinct and "Rusin."[9] In February 1989, Ruthenian patriots formed their own "Society of Carpathian Ruthenians" to protect their national rights within the Ukraine. In September 1991 fears of Ukrainian nationalism prompted the Ruthenians to demand full territorial autonomy for Transcarpathia, restoration of the autonomous status granted to Podkarpatsksa Rus' by Czechoslovakia in 1938 and recognition as a separate nation with a distinct culture, language and history.[10]

The term "Ruthenian" as used in this study does not therefore only apply to the forebears of those in Europe and the United States who continue to think of themselves as such. It is used here primarily in an historical and ecclesiastical context. An entire series of dramatic political events has changed the face of eastern Europe during the present century. The conservative Slavic peasant who at the end of the last century presented himself to American customs officials using the terms "Rusin, Ruthenian, Russniak, Ugro-Rusin, Slovak, Slavish and Ukrainian interchangeably"[11] would seem rather odd in contemporary Europe where even the smallest minorities clamor for their national rights.

THE RUTHENIAN HOMELAND: POLITICO-ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS

> In order to understand somewhat clearly the situation of the Ruthenians in America, account must be taken of their national home politics, which they bring with them and fight out quite bitterly in this country. As already said, they are from the northern and southern slopes of the Carpathian mountains. The northern Ruthenians derisively call their southern brethren "Hungarians" (Magyari) while the latter return the compliment by calling the former "Poles" (Poliaki). The point of this lies in the fact that each of

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[9] Paul Robert Magocsi, "Rusyns and the Revolution of 1989." (Carpatho-Rusyn Center 1990), p. 8.

[10] On the current Ruthenian renascence see Alfred A. Reisch, "Transcarpathia's Hungarian Minority and the Autonomy Issue," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Report* (7. 2. 92). pp. 17-23; Alfred A. Reisch, "Transcarpathia and its Neighbours," *Radio Free Europe* . . . (14. 2. 92), pp. 43-47.

[11] Walter Warzeski, *Byzantine Rite Rusins in Carpatho-Ruthenia and America* (Pittsburgh 1971), p. 98.

the nationalities named is cordially detested by the Ruthenians on either side.[12]

The history, culture and even linguistic particularities of the Ruthenians depended to a great extent on the side of the Carpathians on which they dwelt. After the Ausgleich of 1867 and the victory of Hungarian separatism over Austrian centralisation, the cultural and political life of Cis- and Trans-Leithania diverged to an even greater extent. Herein lay likewise the bone of contention between the two groups, although some of their leaders did attempt to surmount this difficulty by stressing similarities rather than differences.

The area in which both groups dwelt was dominated politically and culturally by the Hapsburgh state. The Kaisertreue of the Ruthenian peasants — acclaimed as the "Tyroler des Ostens" — was proverbial. Carl Joseph Trotta, the hero of Joseph Roth's — himself a Galician Jew — novel *Radetzkymarsch*, is lulled to sleep by Ruthenian peasant soldiers singing the Kaiser hymn.[13] The Galician peasantry as a whole was devoted to the Hapsburgs, from whom they sought protection from the local nobility. In 1846, mostly Polish Galician peasants massacred two thousand Polish intellectuals and noblemen for daring to incite them against the imperial government and proudly displayed their bodies to imperial officials.

Galicia and the Carpathian region of Hungary were among the least developed and most primitive of the empire. Petőfy described Ungvár,the Slavic Užgorod, as a drunkard wallowing in the mud.[14] The Bahnhofsrestaurant in Przemyśl in Austrian Galicia was, according to the novelist Karl Emil Franzos, the filthiest in the whole of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[15] The Ruthenians, on the other hand, made up only a fraction of the population of the cities which were populated by Hungarians or Poles,

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[12] Andrew J. Shipman, "Greek Catholics in America," *Catholic Encyclopaedia* 6 (1909), p. 749.

[13] Joseph Roth, *Radetzkymarsch* (Köln 1989), p. 121. Birkbeck (p. 321) made three excursions to Lemko villages in 1913, a few years before the Empire's collapse and at the height of the Orthodox movement. Nevertheless the villagers assured him: "We are the faithful children of our Emperor (našoho Tsisarja), we gladly give him recruits and would die for him."

[14] Béla Köpeczi, *Rebel or Revolutionary. Sándor Petőfi as Revealed in his Diary, Letters, Notes, Pamphlets and Poems* (Budapest 1974), p. 158.

[15] Martin Pollack, *Nach Galizien* (Wien 1984), cover jacket.

Germans and especially Jews.[16] Cultural life was likewise dominated by these groups. A visitor to the Austrian provincial capital of Lemberg could note that the main squares and streets of the city bore the names of famous Poles, while the street named after the Ukrainian poet Ševčenko was narrow, far from the centre and resembled a manure depot.[17] Ninety percent of the Ruthenians were peasants and lived in the countryside — a countryside riddled for the most part by crushing poverty. Serfdom was definitively repealed in 1848 but the land remained in the hands of feudal magnates. Galicia remained, in contrast to highly industrialized Bohemia and other more western provinces, deliberately underdeveloped, chosen to serve as the source of agricultural products for the rest of the Empire. Worst of all were the backward mountain villages which spawned the great majority of emigrants. These were the

> economically depressed mountain border districts between Transcarpathia and Galicia — the villages of the Carpathian Mountains, from which the earliest mass Ruthenian emigration to the United States originated. Eastern Galicia and Bukovina did not contribute to the immigration until the 1890's and the Ukrainian immigration from the Russian Empire remained relatively insignificant until World War I.[18]

Word of the possibility of emigration to the New World had come to the earliest Ruthenian emigrants, living on the western fringe of their ethnographic territory, from the "mazury" — their Polish peasant neighbours. At the same time, the Russian empire produced a disproportionally insignificant number of emigrants since the flow of emigration there was directed to the empire's eastern provinces in Asia and Siberia.

In this vein, a letter of Julijan Peleš, bishop of Stanislau in eastern Galicia, sent in 1891 to Rome, mentions that few of his faithful had left Europe for the New World:

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[16] The Austrian traveller Joseph Rohrer in 1803 rather unkindly described Halicz "einst ein Sitz für Könige" as "ein Judennest." Joseph Rohrer, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise von der Türkischen Gränze über die Bukowina durch Ost- und Westgalizien, Schlesien und Mähren nach Wien* (Wien/Berlin 1804/1989), p. 108.

[17] Pollack, pp. 192-193.

[18] Bohdan P. Procko, "The Establishment of the Ruthenian Church in the United States — 1894-1907," *Pennsylvania History* 42 (April 1975), p. 3.

> . . . quod ex ruthena diocesi Stanislaopolitana ne unus quidem presbyter in status foederatos sept. Americae emigravit – quinimo nec fideles hujus vastissimae dioecesis ibidem se conferre cupiunt.[19]

Peleš attributes the low incidence of emigration to the relatively more favourable economic conditions prevalent within the territory of his diocese:

> . . . (his faithful) sunt probi et laborosi; etiam patria gleba subpeditat eis necessaria media, quibus se suasque familias modice quodem (?), sed statui convenienter alere et sustentare possunt.[20]

The Ukrainophile movement, in an embryonic form, had developed to a somewhat greater extent in Peleš' diocese, rather than in either of the other two. The low rate of emigration from this area may partially explain the complete lack of national consciousness, so characteristic of the early emigrants.

Since political, social and cultural conditions remained basically distinct although similar in Galicia and in the Ruthenian areas of Hungary, the two regions are best studied separately.

CULTURE AND SOCIETY IN GALICIA

Ecclesiastically the Ruthenians of Galicia were subjects of the Metropolitans of Galič (Halyč, Halicz) with see at L'vov[21] (Lemberg, Lwów,

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[19] Letter of 31 May 1891 to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in the Archive of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith: *Rutheni*, Vol. 117, an. 1887-1906, N. 772.

[20] Ibid.

[21] L'vov had Catholic bishops since 1677, although it officially became Uniate only in 1700. It was reestablished by the Holy See in 1807, after the destruction of the Uniate Metropolitan See of Kiev, as the Metropolitan See of Halicz with residence of the archbishop at L'vov. Its bishops bore the official title: "Metropolita Halicensis, Archiepiscopus Leopoliensis, Episcopus Camenecensis." During the first years of the Ruthenian emigration, the metropolitan was Sylvestr Sembratovyč (1836-1898) who remained in office until 1889. Sembratovyč was born into a clerical family near Jaslo in the Przemyśl diocese. He was the nephew of his predecessor, Iosif Sembratovič. He attended seminaries in L'vov, Vienna and the Greek College in Rome, where he was ordained priest in 1860. He changed from the diocese of Przemyśl to L'vov in 1862 and served as seminary prefect. He was named auxiliary bishop of L'vov in 1878 and became metropolitan in 1885, after his uncle abdicated. While Sembratovyč was metropolitan, the new diocese of Stanislau was erected in 1890 and the provincial synod of L'vov met in 1891. In 1895, Sembratovyč received the cardinal's hat. He died in 1898. Unlike his uncle who had contacts with the Russophiles, Sylvestr avoided identification with a precise ideology but later sided with the moderate Ukrainophiles. The Ukrainian cleric Nazarko thought that Sembratovyč was "one of the greatest metropolitans." Irynej I. Naz-

L'viv, Leopolis). There were likewise two suffragan dioceses: Przemyśl (Peremyšl') of the Greek rite[22] in the West and Stanislau (Stanisławów, Stanislaviv, Stanislaopolis, today: Ivano-Frankovsk) in the South-East.[23]

Politically as Hapsburgh subjects they shared the crown land of Galicia with the Poles and other lesser minorities. In 1822 they comprised 45,5% of the population while the Poles attained 47,5%.[24] In eastern Galicia where they were more numerous they formed, in 1849, about 71% of the population.[25] In spite of their near numerical equivalency with the Poles they remained political and social inferiors. They were underrepresented both in the Austrian Parliament and the Galician Diet. Polish and not Ruthenian was the language of higher education in Galicia. Even after 1848, Austrian imperial policy was geared to compromise with the Poles in Galicia and the Polish nobility was left in control of the province.[26] Higher social advancement outside the clerical state was likewise closed to Ruthenians. Ruthenian priests were economically less well off than their Polish counterparts.[27] Like the latter they depended on the support or "presentation" of

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arko, ČSVV, *Kyjivs'ki i halyts'ki metropolyty (biohrafični narysy — 1590-1960)* (Romae 1962), pp. 205-212. The Russophiles disagreed. In their opinion Sembratovyč "sowed discord among the people." (Svistun, p. 94)

[22] The diocese of Przemyśl dates from around 1087. It united with Rome in 1691-92. Its bishops had a triple title: "Premisliensis, Sanochiensis, Samboriensis."

[23] The suffragan see of Stanislau was created by Rome only in 1885.

[24] Georges Castellan, *Dieu garde la Pologne. Histoire du catholicisme polonais (1795-1980)* (Paris 1981), pp. 74-75.

[25] Paul Robert Magocsi, *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide* (Toronto 1983), p. 94.

[26] According to the Ukrainian author Rudnytsky this was the case particularly after 1848 when the Austro-Hungarian Compromise found its corollary in the "Austro-Polish Compromise." Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule," *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History* (Edmonton 1987), p. 324.

[27] Rohrer described in 1802 the poor life style of the Greek Catholic clergy in the mountainous country around Stanislau and their rapport with the local peasantry: "Man erzählte mir die Geschichte eines unierten Pfarrers dieses Ortes (das Dorf Tismeniczany) der 9 Kinder hatte . . . Konnte ein solcher Pope sich wohl ohne Stollgebühren behelfen! Wenn nur aber diesem Alles lediglich für das Geld feil war; wie konnte der Bauer hier wohl nach solchen Beispielen sich für uneigennutzige Menschenliebe bilden! Überzeugt von dem Priester, der für die Communion oder ein Memento zu Gunsten der abgestorbenen Seelen bezahlt ist, nicht befragt zu werden, ob das Geld auch auf rechten Wegen errungen ward; überzeugt, wenn nur die Fasten gehalten und das erübrigte an Fleisch und Brod dem Popen geschenkt wird, selbst bedeutende Verbrechen erlassen zu sehen, sündigt der dumme Gebirgsbauer ohne viele Bedenklichkeiten." Rohrer, pp. 94-95.

a Polish nobleman for appointment to a parish: a factor which highlighted their social inferiority and likewise dampened the enthusiasm of some of them for the budding Ruthenian national movement. Promising young Ruthenian civil servants rapidly polonised themselves attending Polish Roman Catholic church services and speaking only Polish. Two famous Russophiles, Michail Kačkovskij and Ivan Naumovič, both experienced a Polish period in their youth.[28]

Before 1848 and the "Springtime of the Peoples" there was little in the way of Ruthenian culture. Even sermons in the Greek Catholic churches were preached often in Polish.[29] Having given the impulse for the organization of the "Holovna Rus'ka Rada" during the year of revolutions, Galicia's governor Franz Stadion was charged with having "invented the Ruthenians." Actually the budding Slav nationalisms owed a great deal to German romanticism and philological research. Their own intelligentsiae were tiny. The Czech historian František Palacky remarked that one collapsed ceiling would alone be needed to put a stop to the national revival. The Ruthenian intelligentsia was still less significant, composed almost exclusively of clergy of the Greek Catholic church. The clergy received an exclusively western oriented training with emphasis on the classical languages, while the study of Church Slavonic was ignored.[30] A

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[28] For their biographies see B. Deditskij, *Michail Kačkovskij i sovremennaja galitsko-russkaja literatura: Očerk Biografičeskij i istoriko-literaturnyj* (L'vov 1876), "Naumovič, Ioann Grigorievič," *Russkij Biografičeskij slovar'* 11 (S. -Peterburg 1914), pp. 139-141 and especially E. A., *Pamjati Protoiereja Ioanna Grigor'eviča Naumoviča* (1891-1911 g.) (Odessa 1912).

[29] The Uniate bishops' chanceries likewise used Latin or Polish for their official pronouncements. Still in 1847, the cathedral canons conversed among themselves in Polish and used this language in official correspondence with the Metropolitan. A russophile author records the following incident: "In the same year (1847) the consecration of the church at Chirov was held, during which the above mentioned An(tonij) Dobrjanskij gave a sermon in the local Russian language, to the amazement of those present. The Latin priests were scandalized while the Russian priests reproached the speaker for having 'compromised the intelligentsia.'" Filip Ivanovič Svistun, *Prikarpatskaja Rus' pod vladeniem Avstrii* (Trumbull 1970), p. 91.

[30] When in 1835, Church Slavonic began to be taught in the L'vov seminary some of the seminarists rebelled: "'We don't want to be barbarians or asiatics' — they shouted and one of them through a piece of wood at the teacher. Svistun, p. 89. Svistun describes in detail the Uniate priests' ignorance of Church Slavonic: In order to celebrate the church offices, they (Uniate priests) asked those who knew the Slavonic script, to write over the individual letters their equivalents in the Latin alphabet. They had not the least desire to learn the Slavonic letters." Svistun, p. 87. One priest could not correctly read

growing rift was apparent between the peasantry and the clergy together with their families, who proud of their limited booklearning snubbed the lower classes.[31]

Before 1848 Ruthenian culture in Galicia was in serious danger of complete assimilation into a Polish sea or "swamp" — to use the expression of the Ruthenians themselves.[32] Many Galician Poles regarded the Ruthenians as a branch of their own nationality.[33] At the time of the founding of the "Holovna Rus'ka Rada" in L'vov the Poles set up a rival group, the "Rus'kij Sobor" with its slogan "gente Rutheni natione Poloni" — a device which hearkened back to the baroque period. Assimilation was facilitated due to the fact that all elementary school education was in Polish. A polonised younger generation was a foregone conclusion. Neither were there any periodicals or newspapers printed in the Ruthenian dialects. As late as 1859 the Polish governor of Galicia, Agenor Gołuchowski, advocated the Latin alphabet in its Czech form for all Ruthenian publications. Previous phases of the "azbučna vijna" or "alphabet war" had

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the church calendar: "One of the priests christened a child born on the 16th of January with the name 'Veriga' since on that day are venerated the precious 'verigi' (chains) of St. Peter." *Pamjati* . . . . p. 2.

[31] This resentment was rooted in economic matters, especially the "jura stolae." As the peasantry eventually became better educated, they began to resent the social and cultural paternalism of the clergy. One peasant rebuked the clergy for turning its back on the common man, not mingling with the people and "does not say anything (to them) except (the traditional greetings) 'Glory to God' and 'Glory forever.'" John-Paul Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (Alberta 1988), p. 137.

[32] At the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries many Ruthenian clergymen and their families were heavily polonised and expressed themselves in Polish. One of the rulings of the "General Congregation" of the Greek Catholic diocese of Przemyśl in 1780 pointed to the fact that it was not rare to find Greek Catholic clerical candidates ignorant of "Ruthenian" and instructed that unless they gained this knowledge they would not be admitted to the ranks of the clergy: "Kapłanów tutejszej diecezji upominamy, aby synów swoich wyćwiczywszy w rużczyźnie (sic!) do szkół łacińskich oddawali, inaczej do stanu kapłańskiego przyjęci nie będą." Roman Reinfuss, *Śladami Łemków* (Warszawa 1990), p. 120.

[33] For a Ruthenian view of the Polish-Ruthenian problematic in Galicia see Severyn Matkovs'kyj. *Try Synodal'ni Archijereji: Spomyny z žyttja i dijal'nosty preosvjaščenych o. Julijana Kujilovs'koho, dra. Julijana Peleša i dra. Syl'vestra Sembratovyča* (L'viv 1932), pp. 50-66. Even in the United States, the Poles at first tried to assimilate the Ruthenians from Galicia. The Polish emigrant press referred to them as "unici" or "polsko-unicki lud." Bačynskyj, p. 413.

involved the replacement of the Cyrillic alphabet with the Polish variant of the Latin script.[34]

Finally in 1837 the first Ruthenian book entitled *Rusalka Dnistrovaja* appeared in the Cyrillic alphabet. Published in Budapest to avoid local censorship, stemming especially from the Greek Catholic Metropolitan Levitskij and higher clerical circles who opposed literature written in the vulgar "Volkssprache," it marked the beginning of the Ruthenian national movement. Eventually the Galician Ruthenians were to perceive their national consciousness in different ways. At first however, they tended to view the Ruthenian nation as a separate people within the confines of the Austrian Empire.[35] This was a politically safe ideology and fit in well with their ecclesiastical situation and Greek Catholic heritage — components inherent in the conservatively clerical milieu of the Old Ruthenians or St. George's Circle (svjatojurtsy). By the 1860's however conflicting national ideologies began to develop which forced Ruthenian national leaders to choose between a Russian or a Ukrainian national identity. Generally these ideological battles were fought out on both a linguistic and a political plane.

Gradually certain leaders of the old Ruthenian intelligentsia led by Bogdan Deditskij and Jakov Golovatskij began to view the Ruthenian nationality in a wider perspective. They concluded that they were but a part of a much greater people: the Russian nation which stretched from the Carpathians to the Pacific — from the "Sjan to Kamčatka" according to the russophile newspaper *Slovo*.[36] Partially Galician Russophilism developed out of a sense of dissatisfaction with the policy of the Austrian crown towards the Ruthenians. This was true especially after 1866 and the military disaster at Königgrätz, when the central government was forced to rely on the sup-

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[34] Actually Iosif Lozinskij, one of the first advocates of the Latin script for Ruthenian wishes to modernize, rather than polonise the local language. See Paul R. Magocsi, *The Language Question in Galicia* (Cambridge 1978), p. 5.

[35] The following dialogue between Stadion and the Ruthenian deputies in 1848 reflects this ideology: "Who are you? (i. e. What is your nationality?) They answered: We are Ruthenians. (Wir sind Ruthenen.) Stadion countered: Are you of the same stock as the people of Russia? — They responded: The people of Russia are schismatics, we are not like them. — Stadion questioned them further: What alphabet do you use? — They answered: We have our old church script. — Stadion again asked: Would that be the same alphabet as the 'graždanka' in use in Russia? The delegation could not give a satisfactory answer since they were ignorant of the history of the alphabet." Svistun, p. 122.

[36] Matkovs'kyj, p. 55.

port of the local nobility — in Galicia the Polish szlachta — in order to hold what remained of the vast Hapsburgh realm together.

It is noteworthy that the Galician Ruthenians themselves became interested in the Russians and not vice-versa.[37] Leaving questions of ethnic affinity aside, a developed literary language,[38] aristocratic society and recognition by the West were all cultural values which the Ruthenian leaders sought for themselves. The Russians were likewise winners on the political scene. They had humiliated Poland, the Ruthenian Erbfeind, several times in recent history. Even the fact that the Russians were schismatics did not prevent Greek Catholic clergymen from identifying themselves with them. Ivan Naumovič, a Greek Catholic priest and national leader, remained a Uniate even after having converted two villages to Orthodoxy. His own conversion to Orthodoxy and departure for the Russian Empire followed only after he had served his six month prison sentence.

The Russophiles, mainly from clerical families, retained their ecclesiastical interests. During the 1850's and 60's the so called ritual movement or "obrjadovoe dviženie" became an issue in Galicia. Originally conceived as a means of strengthening the Greek Catholic faith and link with Rome rather than a channel of Orthodox infiltration into the Uniate camp, it reached its peak during the years 1861-1863.[39] Interest in liturgical matters had been fanned by the talks given by Ipolit Vladimir Terletskij (Terlecki), a Polish emigre who became a Uniate priest and advocated a purified Greek Catholic rite as a powerful instrument for the conversion of Russia, and by

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[37] Svistun (p. 97) pointed out that at the beginning of the nineteenth century until 1830 and the development of slavophile ideas in Russia, Russian society showed little interest in Galicia. In 1835 Michail Pogodin, the Russian publicist and panslavist, visited Galicia for the first time. He had no Ruthenian connections and his first contacts were with Polish and German journalists. Only by chance he stumbled upon a Ruthenian church and the Basilian priest Varlaam Kompanevič who introduced him to prominent Ruthenians in the city.

[38] The russophile position claimed: "It's not our fault that our language is similar to that used today in Moscow. The similarity of our language with the Russian language is apparent to all since both of them are founded on the same principles, on the same rules. . . ." Svistun, p. 232.

[39] See Luigi Glinka OFM, *Gregorio Jachymovyč — Metropolita di Halyč ed il suo tempo* (Romae 1974), pp. 193-214 for a ukrainophile discussion of the liturgical controversy.

the publication of a book[40] on liturgical problems by the rector of the St. George cathedral Michail Malinovskij. Another factor which stimulated interest in liturgical questions was the lack of available service books, which had been published in the Austrian empire and contained the Uniate rubrics. Service books, printed in the Russian Empire, began to circulate in Galicia and Greek Catholic priests noted the differences between their liturgical usages and those of the Orthodox Russians. Uniate priests began to grow beards and advocate a ritual purged of borrowings from the Latin rite, such as the use of hand bells at the consecration and communion or performing genuflections instead of "metanii." The Russophiles eagerly joined the ranks of the "obrjadovtsy" or ritualists reckoning that ritual purification of the Greek Catholic rite would render it more similar or even identical to the ritual used in the Russian Orthodox church.[41] The movement was quickly denounced to Rome by the Polish prince Adam Sapieha as "schismatic propaganda" and the Greek Catholic metropolitan showed his displeasure in his letter of 1862.[42]

Originally Galician "Old Ruthenians" were politically very conservative and looked to the Austrian monarchy for help against the Poles. With the development of the Russian movement, some no longer took part in politics. Others began to accuse Austria of deliberately wishing to divide the Russian people by preventing the Galician Ruthenians from strengthening their ties with Imperial Russia. Some of the Russophiles saw the "Great

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40 *Die Kirchen- und Staatssazungen bezüglich des griechisch-katholischen Ritus in Galizien* (Lemberg 1861).

41 The priest Ivan Naumovič was credited with having joined the two elements: the ritual movement and the Russian national movement. "In his opinion the Greco-Slavonic church ritual and Russian nationality were bound tightly together. Any ritual abuse also affects Russian national feeling." Svistun, p. 197.

42 The Jesuit Provincial Beckx noted as early as 1842 the traces of a schismatic movement among the Uniate Galician clergy: "Beaucoup de Grecs-Unis, en Galicie, ne tiennent à l'Eglise que par un fil et les tentations et las dangers provoqués par las agissements continuels de la Russie s'aggravent de jour en jour. Il faut procéder avec une grande prudence. Il est établi par des documents publics, et il ne faut jamais l'oublier, que la Russie schismatique, avec l'astuce et la persévérance qui lui sont propres, et en répandant avec abondance l'or et l'argent, travaille depuis longtemps et continue encore de travailler à attirer au schisme toutes las Eglises Unies. C'est a quoi visent ses émissaires, non seulement en Galicie, mais aussi en Hongrie et en Illyrie." Adrien Boudou, s.j., *Le Saint-Siège et la Russie*, 2 (Paris 1925), p. 266. For a discussion of the Greek Catholic Metropolitan Jachimovič's pastoral letter and some excerpts see Glinka, pp. 204-206.

White Tsar" as their future liberator from Austrian misrule.[43] While the Russian movement in Galicia had always been somewhat political, the ideas of Russian Panslavism began to dominate Galician russophile circles.[44] Direct moral and financial help was received from Imperial Russia for the russophile institutions in Galicia and Michail Raevskij, a priest stationed at the Russian embassy in Vienna, served as a liaison in these matters.[45] The Austrian local government remained generally rather tolerant of the Russophiles until in 1881 it struck back staging the trial of Ivan Naumovič for high treason.[46] The russophile movement seems to have lost some of its prestige among the Ruthenian national leaders as a cause of the trial and after the forced resignation of the Uniate Metropolitan Iosif Sembratovič.[47] It became more closely identified with the Russian Empire[48] and

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[43] Nevertheless even extreme Russophiles such as Naumovič continued to publicly assert their loyalty to the Austrian monarchy: "It is time for us to cross the Rubicon and frankly announce our position so that all can hear: We cannot remain divided by the Great Wall of China from our brethren and draw away from the linguistic, literary, ecclesiastical and national union with the whole Russian world. Since 1848 we are no longer Ruthenians; we are true Russians. Still just as in the past, so we remain in the future unshakable in our loyalty to Our Most August Austrian Monarch and to the Illustrious Dynasty of the Hapsburgs." Svistun, p. 232.

[44] Russian Panslavism may be considered a political offshoot of Slavophilism. The latter was first developed in the works of the Western Slavs Ján Kollár and Pavel Josef Šafářik. Already the Slovak Kollár had envisioned Russia as the future leader of the Slavic nations and predicted the assimilation of the smaller Slavic peoples into the larger ones as a natural process. The Russian Slavophiles gave the ideology a specifically Russian anti-western cultural tinge. The aim of Russian Panslavism was decidedly political: the union of all the Slavs under the hegemony of the Russian Tsar. Its immediate objective was the liberation of the Slavs under Ottoman and Hapsburgh rule. Already in 1867, General Rostislav Fadeev writing in M. Katkov's *Russkij Vestnik*, thought of the annexation of Austrian Galicia as the first step in the process of Russia's fight against German expansion. Panslavism often proved an embarrassment for Russian Realpolitik and ceased to be a political force after the Russo-Turkish war. It continued however as a cultural and religious movement. Compare Hans Kohn, *Die Slawen und der Westen* (Wien 1956); Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, *Russland und der Westen* (München 1954); T. Čapek, *The Slovaks of Hungary — Slavs and Panslavism* (New York 1906); on Kollár see J. M. Kirschbaum, *Ján Kollár — Slovak Poet of Panslavism* (Cleveland 1966).

[45] See Mieczyslaw Tanty, "Kontakty Rosijskich Komitetów Słowiańskich ze Słowianami z Austro-Węgier," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 71 (1964), pp. 59-77.

[46] Naumovič was accused not of having converted peasants to Orthodoxy but of having had contacts and having received funds from institutions based in the Russian Empire.

[47] The loss of the Chelm (Cholm) diocese to the Orthodox, bad publicity on account of the Basilian reform, charges of Russophilism and philo-Orthodoxy by the

its institutions and less with the autochthonous culture of the Galician Ruthenians.

Actually the russophile movement remained stronger among the emigrants in the United States than it did in Austrian Galicia where the ukrainophile tendency became dominant. In America it was encouraged by several russophile priests who emigrated there and later by Orthodox priests who arrived from the Russian Empire. A good proportion of the emigrants at the beginning were from "Lemkovščina" or "Lemkovska Rus'" an economically deprived region bordering on ethnological Polish and Slovak territory, on the south-western fringes of the Carpathians. The inhabitants spoke an East Slavic dialect with many borrowings from neighbouring languages and archaic forms.[49] Already at the end of the eighteenth century, the Lemki showed russophile sympathies when they supported the Russian army against the Polish Confederates. When the Russian army in 1849 passed through Lemko territory, it was again welcomed by the inhabitants including the Greek Catholic clergy, one of whom, a certain Michail Konstantinovič, was even decorated with a cross of honour. Later the Lemki became divided between Russophiles and Ukrainophiles, but the former movement did not fade as it did in most of Eastern Galicia. Rather it burgeoned into a full fledged popular Orthodox movement and continues to the present day. The Lemki in the United States likewise developed conflicting

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Poles and finally the Orthodox movement on the eastern fringe of Galicia — all influenced Sembratovič's resignation. The reputation of the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia reached a low point. Even Franz Joseph I, traditionally a defender of the Greek Catholic Church, remarked at a semi-public gathering of his military personnel: "I would be happy if all Galicia were Roman Catholic." Matkovs'kyj, p. 63.

[48] In 1903 the "Galitsko-russkoe blagotvoritel'noe obščestvo" was founded in St. Petersburg to aid the Galician Russophiles, encourage contacts and stimulate the interests of Russians in Galician affairs.

[49] The "Lemky" are today considered a western Ukrainian tribe together with the "Bojky" and the "Hutsuly." Some consider or considered themselves Polish or Russian while others opt for a distinct national identity. Their ethnic name is derived from the word "lem" which in their dialect means "only." Originally the name "Lemky" was given to them by the Bojky, while they continued to describe themselves as "Rusnjaky." Some publications have appeared written in the dialect. See "Korotkyj ohljad istoriji Lemkovščyny," *Prikarpatskaja Rus' pod vladeniem Avstrii* (Trumbull 1970), pp. 539-541. For a discussion of the various national tendencies among the Lemki see "Što musyme o sobi znaty y pamjataty!," *Kalendar "Lemka" na zvyčajnyj rok 1935* (Przemyśl 1934), pp. 133-134 and especially Paul Robert Magocsi, "Religion and Identity in the Carpathians," *Cross Currents* 7 (1988), pp. 87-107.

national ideologies. The Russophiles finally founded the "Lemko Sojuz" in 1931, while the Ukrainophiles developed the "Orhanizatsija Oborony Lemkivščyny" in 1936 and much later in 1973 the "Svitova Federatsija Lemkiw." The former anathematized the latter as "mazepintsy," while the Ukrainophiles countered with the name "katsapy" for their russophile brethren.[50]

The interests of both the Galician Russophiles and Ukrainophiles were centred in the cultural life of the Russian Empire, although the latter were inspired by the Ukrainian movement which ran counter to official policy. Both the Ukrainophiles in Galicia and those in the Russian Empire came to consider themselves members of an independent ethnicity whose ethnographic territory stretched from the Carpathians to the Caucasus.

Interest in the past of the Ukraine or Little Russia had been fanned by ethnographical research done in the Russian Empire at the end of the eighteenth century. The Ukrainian movement in the Russian Ukraine began as an elitist movement — the so-called "chlopomany" — with populist interests among the old Cossack aristocracy of the Left-bank Ukraine in the districts of Char'kov and Poltava. At the beginning of the last century, Ukrainophile groups began to organize themselves on the pattern of Masonic loges, inspired by early Slavophile utopian ideals and dreaming of an independent Ukrainian republic which would take its place alongside its brother Slavonic nations. At first the movement was predominately cultural with roots in the theory of the two Rus' nations propagated by Kostomarov, but later political implications became evident. Naturally the separatist elements inherent in such a political philosophy could only antagonise the imperial Russian authorities and the movement was suppressed during the Nikolaevan era.

In Galicia the movement began in the 1860's among the university youth and the students of the theological seminary. It was mostly composed of young people (hence their name "molodo-rusiny" — "Young Ruthenians") although some clergymen were also involved. The Young Ruthenians were much less clerically organised than the Old Ruthenians, although they saw the value of attracting priests to their movement. Only

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[50] See Birkbeck, pp. 305-322, for a first hand account of national consciousness among the Lemki at the time of the emigrations to America. For a discussion of the various national ideologies among the Lemki, see Reinfuss, pp. 118-134 and Paul Robert Magocsi, *Our People: Carpatho Rusyns and their Descendants in North America* (Toronto 1984), pp. 55-60.

through the parish priest would they be able to gain a hold over the peasantry and win the usually indifferent peasant for their ideology.[51] The Young Ruthenians were not socialists in a strict sense, at least at the beginning. They were rather romantics drawn to the common folk as to the preserver of a national ethos and liked wearing their Cossack costumes as a symbol of pride in their remote past. Because of their interest in the peasant they became also known as "narodovtsy" — "Populists," but they were much less radical and less interested in political upheaval than their counterparts in the Russian Empire. The "narodovtsy" proclaimed their loyalty to the Austrian government although they stood for self-rule in Galicia. In 1885 they formed a political party — the "Narodna Rada." In 1891 the populist radical wing formed its own political party which was decidedly Socialist and anti-clerical. A leading radical was the noted author and publicist Ivan Franko, later to be glorified in forthcoming tomes of Soviet Ukrainian literary history.[52]

Contact with the Ukrainophile movement in the Russian Empire and the Populists in Galicia developed only later.[53] The Galicians became acquainted with the poetry of Ševčenko only during the 1860's. It was even-

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[51] See Jean-Paul Himka, "Priests and Peasants: The Uniate Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867-1900," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 21 (March 1978), pp. 1-14.

[52] Franko, the leading Ukrainian Socialist known for his fierce conflicts with the Greek Catholic establishment, had also expressed a wish to emigrate to America. He was warned by a friend that once there he was sure to have his troubles with "the priests." Franko's interlocutor went on to cite the familiar East Slavic proverb: "One should not be afraid to go into the forest because of the wolves." Franko remained in Galicia. John-Paul Himka, "Ivan Volians'kyi. The Formative Years of the Ukrainian Community in America," *Ukrajins'kyj Istoryk* 12 (1975), p. 66.

[53] Actually the specifically Ukrainian terminology as used by modern Ukrainian authors was very rarely employed in Galicia during the nineteenth century. Both Russophiles and Ukrainophiles referred to themselves as respectively *russkij* or *rus'kyj* naturally with different connotations. The Ukrainian author Pritsak also recognizes this problem: "In the east the term Rus' was supplanted by the term Ukraine, especially in the nineteenth century, gaining recognition and replacing to a certain extent the term Little Russia or Mala Rossija." Omeljan Pritsak in Procko, "Rise of Ethnic Consciousness . . .", p. 70. In Galicia, where the danger of enforced Russification did not exist as in the Russian Empire there was no immediate need even for the Ukrainophiles to introduce the specifically Ukrainian terminology from the East. The tendency of modern Ukrainian authors to substitute everywhere modern Ukrainian terminology for the older Ruthenian variant when writing about nineteenth century Galicia is politically motivated and adds to much confusion when sifting through their writings.

tually Mychailo Drahomanov, a leader of the ukrainophile movement in the Russian Empire, who through his contacts with Franko and other populist leaders, convinced them of their common national affiliation. It was likewise Drahomanov and the radical populists who evolved the idea of Galicia as a Ukrainian Piedmont where the political climate would be more congenial to the development of the ukrainophile ideology than in the Russian Empire.[54] Eventually the populist movement in Galicia began to take on a distinctly Ukrainian tinge and the Populists began to be known as "Ukrainophiles."[55]

The Populists or Ukrainophiles were likewise interested in linguistic questions. While the Old Ruthenians insisted on constructing a literary language on the basis of the Church Slavonic heritage and etymological orthography (some had at first even proposed that Church Slavonic be used as the literary language) and the Russophiles advocated writing in literary Russian or its approximate equivalent, the Populists wished to base the literary language on one of the dialects spoken in Galicia. The atmosphere was highly polemical. The Russophiles found the language of the Ukrainophiles primitive and boorish. The Ukrainophiles retorted branding the Rus-

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[54] Drahomanov perceived nevertheless that the Ruthenian culture in Galicia was in many respects different than that in the Russian Ukraine. Surprisingly he thought the literature of the Galician Populists closer in spirit to Russian literature than that of the Russophiles: "The literature of the 'Moskophiles' has nothing essentially in common with Russian literature. The literature of the 'Narodovtsy' is closer to Ukrainian and in spirit also to Russian literature, but essentially it is still far removed . . . Only the literature of the radical faction is close to Russo-Ukrainian literature." M. Drahomanov, *Listy na naddniprjansku Ukrainu* (Kolomyja 1894), p. 118. (Cited in Svistun, p. 369).

[55] Ukrainophiles and Russophiles each accused the other side of taking advantage of the current political situation. The Russophiles accused the Austrian government of favouring the Ukrainophiles and the Ukrainophiles of playing into the hands of the Poles, who wished at all costs to keep the Russian nation divided. It is true that on occasion the imperial government did favour the Ukrainophiles since they were not hostile to Vienna and they were a deterrent against the success of Panslavist propaganda. Vienna however did not support the overtly separatist aims of the movement and consequently discouraged the use of the name "Ukrainian" as referring to the nationality of the Ruthenians. On the other hand the Ukrainophiles accused the Russophiles of preparing for the possibility of an eventual annexation by Russia of Galicia, in view of the weakness of Austria after the disastrous outcome of the conflict with Prussia in 1866. The position of imperial Russia regarding the success of the Russophile movement in Galicia was far from disinterested. It viewed the success of the Galician Russophiles with satisfaction, especially since they propagated an ideology opposed to that of the Ukrainophiles, a movement which St. Petersburg was trying to suppress within its own territories.

sophiles "Moskvofily" and "national renegades," charging them with wishing to introduce an artificial language, which they termed "jazyčie," foreign to everyday linguistic reality. Eventually through contacts with Ukrainian nationalists from the Russian Empire the idea of using a Galician dialect as the basis of the literary language faded and dialects from the Leftbank Ukraine were chosen for this purpose.[56]

Eventually by the beginning of the twentieth century the Ukrainophile movement became dominant in Galicia.[57] In America, on the contrary, many of the early Galician emigrants eventually opted for a Russian national identity.

THE RUTHENIANS OF HUNGARY — CULTURE AND SOCIETY

Ecclesiastically the Greek Catholics in Hungary were subjects of the bishops of Mukačevo (Munkács).[58] Later the diocese of Prešov (Eperjes)[59]

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[56] The Ukrainian literary language was based on the dialects of the South-East: Charkov, Poltava and the region south of Kiev. Later this language was adopted by the Galicians and many "Galicianisms" entered the language especially in those fields such as law, government and science, which were closed to Ukrainian in the Russian Empire. The introduction of these "Galicianisms" later caused discontent and led to two linguistic discussions (in 1891-1893 and in 1907-1912) between the defenders of the "pure" language and the "westernized" variant. See George Y. Shevelov, "Ukrainian," *The Slavic Literary Languages* (New Haven 1980), p. 153.

[57] Dryud, in his doctoral dissertation, showed that the ukrainophile party was the more vital in Galicia at the beginning of this century. It had "a more limited capital investment, but evidently a larger circulation for its publications and could turn the proceeds from the sale of its publications back into the production of new materials several times a year." Keith Paul Dryud, *The Rusin Question in Eastern Europe and in America, 1890-World War I* (unpublished doctoral dissertation — University of Minnesota 1976), p. 72.

[58] The diocese of Mukačevo (Dioecesis Munkacsiensis) was erected by Clement XIV in 1771 as a suffragan to the Hungarian primatial see of Esztergom (Strigonium). In fact, Mukačevo existed long before its official erection or "canonization" although its origins and most of *its* history before the Union of Užgorod is at best obscure. At the time of the mass Ruthenian emigration, Mukačevo had two bishops: Ivan (Joann) Pastelij (János Pásztélyi) from 1875 to 1891 and Julij Firtsak (Gyula Firczák) from 1891 until 1912. While Pastelij was a Magyarone, Firtsak encouraged the popular Ruthenian culture. Pastelij was born in 1826 into a priestly family of Magyar culture. Pastelij's uncle and immediate predecessor Stefan Pankovič (István Pánkovics) likewise championed Hungarian cultural values. A widower, Pastelij was nominated bishop of Mukačevo over the protests of neighbouring prelates but with the support of Hungarian ecclesiastical and political circles. Pastelij later urged the magyarisation of the Ruthenian schools. A surplus of priests in his diocese allowed a number of them to work in America among the emigrants. Firtsak, Pastelij's successor was also a widow and a former seminary rector.

was also created for them in Slovak ethnographic territory. The ecclesiastical structures of these Ruthenian bishoprics were historically more closely incorporated into the Roman Catholic Church of the Hungarian Kingdom than were the Greek Catholics of Galicia in the Polish Church. Until 1771 the Latin rite bishops of the diocese of Eger in northeastern Hungary refused to recognize the existence of a double hierarchy in the Hungarian Kingdom. The bishop of Mukačevo functioned as the "vicarius ritualis" of Eger. The Ruthenian parish priests were regarded as the assistants of those of the Latin rite.

Politically and socially the Ruthenians were the most backward of Hungary's minorities. They had never enjoyed any degree of territorial sovereignty within the Hungarian Kingdom. They possessed no social or political institutions outside of the church. They were also among the poorest of Hungary's inhabitants condemned to eke out their existence in their isolated mountainous homeland with its lack of fertile land. In Socialist terms, their social milieu has been described as follows:

> Zur Zeit der Jahrhundertwende gehörten die Ruthenen (Karpatoukrainer) zu den gesellschaftlich rückständigsten Nationalitäten Ungarns. Ihre Gesellschaft bestand fast ausschliesslich aus Bauern. Ein ruthenischer

He began a programme of economic assistance to the poor of his diocese which partially succeeded in ebbing the flood of emigration which had decimated entire villages. Antal Hodinka, *A Munkácsi Görög Katolikus Püspükség Története* (Budapest 1909). "Istorija Mukačevskoj Jeparchii," *Zoloto-Jubilejnyj Kalendar' Greko Kaft. Sojedinenija* (Munhall 1942), pp. 213-232. Athanasius Pekar, *The Bishops of the Mukachevo Eparchy* (Pittsburgh 1978).

[59] The diocese of Prešov (Dioecesis Eperjessensis, Fragopolitanae, Prešovensis) was established by Kaiser Franz I in 1816, erected and confirmed by Pius VII two years later. The bishop of Prešov (Eperjes) from 1883 to 1911 was Ivan (Joann) Valij (János Vályi). Valij was born at Óvencselö in 1837 into a soi-disant noble family of Greek Catholic clerics. His culture was Magyar and he remained aloof from the Slavophiles and national awakeners. Correspondence with the bishop was in Magyar or Latin and a source noted that one clerical petitioner received a reprimand when he tried to write the bishop in "Ruthenian." (Dryud, p. 74) At the beginning of his time of office, Valij made some attempt at learning the language and culture of his peasant flock. Kubinyi, a Ukrainophile, thought that Valij was blackmailed into becoming a more pliant tool of the Magyarisers (Kubinyi, p. 122). In 1900 he led the pilgrimage of Hungarian Greek Catholics to Rome, where they petitioned the Holy See to create a separate diocese where Hungarian would be employed as the liturgical language (Hajdúdorog). "Istorija Prjaševskoj Jeparchii," *Zoloto-Jubilejna Kniha . . . .* pp. 232-242. Julius Kubinyi, *The History of Prjašiv Eparchy* (Romae 1970), pp. 122-125, and Lacko, "A Brief Survey of the History of the Slovak Catholics . . . ," pp. 210-211.

> Großbesitzer war geradezu unbekannt. Die Zahl der mittleren Grundbesitzer betrug — samt Familienangehörigen — etwa 70. Um die Jahrhundertwende gab es auch keine ruthenischen Industriekapitalisten. Infolge der zurückgebliebenen kapitalistischen Industrieentwicklung war der Prozentsatz der ruthenischen Industriearbeiter unbedeutend . . . Zur Jahrhundertwende verfügte also die ruthenische Gesellschaft nicht über jene Klassen, die dazumal bei den relativ entwickelteren osteuropäischen Völkern vorzufinden waren. Die namenhaften Fachleute der ost- und südosteuropäischen geschichtlichen Entwicklung, . . . Z. I. Tóth und . . . E. Niederhauser, nennen solche Gesellschaften 'unvollendet' Gesellschaften, d. h. solche, die keine feudale Grundbesitzerklasse hatten.[60]

The Ruthenians in Hungary eventually split into more factions than those in Galicia. The same author goes on to describe the situation:

> Am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts bestand die ruthenische Gesellschaft — ausser den Bauern — aus der Intelligenz, die sich nach dem österreichisch-ungarischen Ausgleich von 1867 immer entscheidender in zwei Richtungen aufspaltete. Der eine Teil begann sich zu magyarisieren, der andere vertrat als 'nationale' Intelligenz die Forderung der Bewegung der nationalen Wiedergeburt. Doch muss bemerkt werden, dass auch der 'nationale' Flügel nicht einheitlich war, sondern in der Frage der zukünftigen Schriftsprache in verschiedene Richtungen zerfiel.[61]

The "national" movement to which the author refers to above eventually split into a russophile, rusinophile and ukrainophile faction.

Nevertheless, the greatest influence on the Ruthenians in the Hungarian Kingdom was by far that of Magyar culture. Even before the Ausgleich and the various government enforced magyarisation programmns, patriotic Hungarians could recall the Ruthenians as the "gens fidelissima" who fought "cum Deo pro patria et libertate" at the side of their Magyar lords under the command of Prince Ferenc II Rákóczy in 1703 against Hapsburg absolutism.[62] Neither did the Ruthenians, unlike Hungary's other minorities — the Rumanians and especially their neighbours the Slovaks — take part in the struggle for national autonomy in 1848.[63] On the contrary the students of

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[60] M. Mayer, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ruthenen (Karpatoukrainer) um die Jahrhundertwende," *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 19 (1973), p. 115.

[61] Ibid.

[62] See Alexander Bonkáló, *The Rusyns* (New York 1990) pp. 22-25, for additional examples of Ruthenian devotion to the cause of Rákóczy.

[63] The Slovaks, long dormant, had been activated through contacts with the early Slavophiles from the Czech lands and also through the work of their own national

the Greek Catholic seminary of Užgorod composed a poem in imitation of Petőfy's famous "Talpra Magyar" and many joined Kossuth's revolutionary army.[64]

Through the Ausgleich of 1867, Hungary received full autonomy from Vienna and the era of Dualism or "Home Rule" began. Hungary had, however, just recovered from the humiliating reprisals undertaken by the imperial government after the lost revolution. A deep distrust of the central government mixed with the knowledge that Vienna held an important ace — the national minorities which it could use as a counterweight to ever more daring demands by the Magyars for extended autonomy. In this charged political atmosphere the Magyars felt more than ever the danger of themselves becoming a national minority in their own country.[65] The solution to this problem involved the rethinking of traditional pluralistic attitudes toward the minorities[66] and the launching of a less tolerant policy. Kálmán Tisza, who held the reigns of Hungarian politics as Minister-President from 1874 to 1890 stated clearly in 1875:

"awakener" Ľudovít Štúr. In 1842 they unsuccessfully petitioned the emperor for aid against Hungarian repression. In 1848 they offered armed resistance to the honvéd army of Lajos Kossuth (himself of Slovak origin). They demanded a national assembly, national guard, freedom of the press, the right to use Slovak as the language of administration in their counties and the right to display the Slovak flag alongside the Hungarian tricolour. The Ruthenians on the other hand remained paralyzed in the economic grip of their landlords who also exercised the juridical powers. Only a small group of Ruthenians under the leadership of the russophile Adol'f Dobrjanskij opposed the Magyars and worked for co-operation with the Hapsburgs. The higher clergy and what there was of a lay intelligentsia stood solidly behind the cause of Hungarian independence. See J. Pereni, *Iz istorii zakarpatskich ukraintsev 1849-1914* (Budapest 1957) and István Barta, *Histoire de la Hongrie des origines à nos jours* (Budapest 1974), p. 289.

[64] Bonkáló, pp. 25-26.

[65] Johann Gottfried Herder, the founder of romantic folk nationalism from which the early Slavophiles took their inspiration, predicted the disappearance of the Magyars from the community of European nations as a result of the awakening of the minorities. Peter F. Sugar (ed.), *A History of Hungary* (Bloomington 1990), p. 180.

[66] Actually before 1843 the official language of the Hungarian Kingdom was Latin. Since the sixteenth century the language of the Diet and the courts was likewise Latin. Only in 1843 did the Hungarian authorities begin sending communications to the Croat authorities in Magyar and no longer in Latin. It was likewise the language of higher education and second place was given not to Hungarian but to German.

> There can be only one viable nation within the frontiers of Hungary: that political nation is the Hungarian one. Hungary cannot become an eastern Switzerland because then it would cease to exist.[67]

An immediate aim of magyarisation was the creation of a Magyar speaking administrative class. It was motivated by fear of the spread of Panslavist ideas among the minorities as well as by centuries of resentment over German control of the interior affairs of the kingdom. The stage was set by the Nationality Bill of 1868 which in a well known and ambiguous clause stated that all citizens of Hungary formed politically a single nation: the indivisible, unitary Hungarian or Magyar nation (magyar nemzet).[68]

Magyarisation was a cultural rather than racial phenomena and proceeded on educational and socio-cultural lines.[69] The historian Béla Grün-

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[67] John Lukacs, *Budapest 1900: A Historical Portrait of the City and its Culture* (New York 1988), p. 126.

[68] In Hungarian the terms "Hungarian" and "Magyar" are rendered by the same word — "magyar." German and other languages distinguishes between "ungarisch" — the people and "magyar(isch)" — the language. The word "nemzet" — "nation" likewise possessed a particular connotation referring not so much to a people in the modern sense as does the German "Volk." but rather to the Magyar "historical classes" i. e. the assembly of aristocrats and nobles of the land.

[69] The question of the enforced magyarisation of the nationalities is vigourously disputed by many Hungarian historians and just as vigourously stressed by the historians of the minorities. For a Hungarian view see Jules (Gyula) Szekfű, *État et nation* (Paris 1945). Szekfű defined Slovak nationalism as "Dés sa naissance, le nationalisme slovaque, à tendance tchéque, se basa sur une interprétation sentimentale et fantastique de l'histoire, pour exiger la dislocation du vieil État hongrois." Magyarisation affected to a varying degree all of Hungary's non Magyar "nations of the state" Rumanians, Slovaks, Germans, Ruthenians and Serbs besides the Jews and to a lesser degree the Croats. It remains true however that some of the minorities and in particular the Ruthenians possessed an almost tribal and religious sense of nationality rather than a modern conception of historical statehood. In 1868 Hungarian was declared the official language of administration, justice and higher education, although the other languages could be used on a local level. In 1875 it was made compulsory in all elementary schools of the minorities and in 1891 in nursery schools. In 1874 the only three Slovak secondary schools were closed. A year later the Slovak cultural organization "Matica Slovenská was forbidden. Laws were introduced which gave every place in Hungary an official Magyar name and reduced the fee for those who wished to change their surnames for Magyar equivalents. All civil servants and teachers were required to know Magyar. The Apponyi school laws of 1907 subjected teachers to even closer control in national matters and every child upon completion of his fourth school year was required to be able to express himself in Hungarian. See C. A. Macartney, *Hungary: A Short History* (Edinburgh 1962) pp. 182-193. On the campaign for the magyarisation of family names see Simon Telkes, *How to Become a Hungarian* (Milano 1977/Budapest 1898).

wald, a leading exponent of magyarisation, held that the non-Magyar peoples of Hungary were "not capable of independent development" and in a surge of optimism declared that it was

> the destiny of Magyardom to assimilate them, to absorb them into a superior people" thereby fulfilling the "Magyar duty to humanity, to elevate them as if we were the champions of civilization.[70]

While it actually changed the culture of the outlying villages to but a limited degree its influence was stronger in the cities and among the intelligentsia.[71]

The Ruthenian minority was especially vulnerable to magyarisation since their intelligentsia was small and insignificant.[72] A part of the lay intelligentsia — physicians, lawyers, secondary school teachers — settled in Budapest and no longer considered themselves Ruthenians but rather "Greek Catholic Magyars." By 1901 one Hungarian publicist travelling through the Subcarpathian territory could note with satisfaction that the Ruthenians had become "Magyars from head to toe."[73]

Already during the 1860's but especially during the last decade of the nineteenth century, a similar trend appeared in the Greek Catholic church itself, which in the past had always sided politically with the Magyars. It affected especially the higher clergy, particularly the bishops who were chosen from among the magyarised priests.[74] It was especially strong

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[70] Lukacs, pp. 128-129.

[71] Budapest was three quarters German speaking in 1848. By 1900 it declared itself 79.8% Magyar.

[72] In 1866 in the four secondary schools of northern Hungary there were 286 Ruthenian students and 2. 270 Hungarians. By 1871 there were only 131 Ruthenians and 4.055 Hungarians. Half the Ruthenians had already begun to state their nationality as Hungarian. Svistun, p. 292. Magocsi (*The Shaping . . .*, p. 66) enumerated the ways the Hungarian government attempted to put magyarising pressure on Ruthenian society: "electoral discrimination, police surveillance of suspected Pan-Slavs, limitation of contacts with Galicia, and polemical attacks on the revived St. Basil Society, to trials for treason against peasants who converted to Orthodoxy."

[73] Magosci, pp. 68-69.

[74] Stefan Pankovič (István Pánkovics) (1820-1874) who became bishop of Mukačevo in 1867 was singled out by the Russophiles as a particularly notorious magyariser. Svistun, p. 290. Pankovič undertook measures against the more nationalistically minded Society of Saint Basil the Great. removed certain influential russophile teachers and editors from their posts and had them transferred and ended plans for the construction of a Ruthenian National Home. In 1873 a vicariate was established at Hajdúdorog where attempts were made to introduce the Magyar vernacular into the liturgy.

among the higher clerical circles of the diocese of Mukačevo.[75] The magyarising clerics and laity wished to create a form of the liturgy which would less and less resemble that used by the Russian Orthodox: hence the trend toward further latinisation characteristic of the movement. The magyarising movement within the church reached its climax in 1900 with the pilgrimage to Rome, led by the two Greek Catholic bishops. The pilgrimage aimed unsuccessfully at securing Rome's permission for the introduction of Hungarian as a liturgical language in some of the Greek Catholic parishes — an innovation that in spite of Roman opposition was unofficially put into practice.

The magyarisation of a part of the Greek Catholic clergy caused a rift between priest and peasant and contributed to the success of the Orthodox movement both at home and in America. The magyarised Greek Catholic priest spoke Hungarian at home with his family and Ruthenian dialect with his socially inferior parishioners. His sermons were likewise preached in Magyar. As in Galicia an effort was made by the government to introduce ecclesiastic literature printed in the Latin alphabet with Hungarian orthography.

Not everyone accepted magyarisation as a result of government pressure. Many Ruthenians wished to become Magyars simply in order to raise their social standing and to take part in the cultural life of a "higher," "historical" nation with an aristocratic tradition. Magyarisation provided the key to social advancement and only an assimilated Magyar could take full part in nineteenth century Hungarian society. Both Petőfy and Kossuth are examples of Slavs who preferred to become Magyars.

An analogous Ruthenian awakening to the one in Galicia began at the end of the 1840's but was seriously weakened during the 1870's as a result of magyarisation. Its leaders after 1851 were the priest Aleksandr Duchnovič, a canon of the Prešov diocese and Adol'f Ivanovič Dobrjanskij, a

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risking even the direct disapproval of Rome. Pankovič declared pointedly "If now we live under the rule of the Magyars, then we should become Magyars." Magosci, *The Shaping* p. 56.

[75] The diocese of Prešov included some Russophile clerics who stressed the ethnic links of Subcarpathian Rus' with Galicia. These were however outnumbered by the magyarone clerics with their sense of social élitism. In the New World a marked antagonism appeared between the Mukačevo clerics (mukačevtsy) with their aristocratic Hungarian manners and their ability to occupy the better Ruthenian parishes and those from Prešov (prjaševtsy), closer culturally to the Slovaks, who sometimes in America sided with the Galicians.

political figure. In 1866 just after the death of Duchnovič the "Obščestvo sv. Vasilija Velikago" or "Society of St. Basil the Great" was founded in Užgorod. The aims of the society were literary and cultural. This society evolved into, in the words of one author, the "Mittelpunkt der Bewegung der ruthenischen nationalen Wiedergeburt."[76] At first it was dominated by the Russophiles. Later the magyarising tendency became apparent and rusinophile views were adopted. During the 1890's the budding ukrainophile movement could also be detected within the ranks of its members. From the very beginning, membership was open not only to the Ruthenians in Hungary but to any person in the Austrian Empire who accepted the aims and work of the society. Such an arrangement was not at all to be taken for granted under a government which as a matter of principle discouraged contacts between the Galician and Hungarian Ruthenians.

The founding fathers of the Ruthenian national movement in Hungary — Duchnovič, Dobrjanskij and Ivan Rakovskij — quickly developed a russophile ideology.[77] Like the Galician Russophiles their first opportunity to observe at first hand real Great Russian people came when Russian troops crossed the Carpathian mountain passes to crush the revolutionary government of Kossuth. Duchnovič wrote of this event in glowing terms:

> I was once carried away by joy when I saw in 1849 for the first time the glorious Russian army which had come to subdue the rebellious Magyars. I have not the strength to describe or even express the feeling of gladness which I experienced when I saw the first Cossack on the streets of Prešov. Enraptured, I danced and wept, and let forth a whole storm of tears and exclaimed "Now dismiss Thy servant in peace, O Master . . ." I immediately got acquainted with General Sel'van and Majors Petrov, Ruban, Kolačov, Ivantsov and Mužajka and with all the officers, and I offered

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[76] M. Mayer, p. 117.

[77] All of them were nevertheless products of Magyar schools. While the national awakener Duchnovič spoke an Eastern Slavonic dialect at home, his education had been thoroughly Hungarian. In his autobiography, he described his conversion to Rus' at the age of 31 while he was parish priest in the village of Beloveži: "Then for the first time was I among Ruthenians (rusiny), I realized that I was a Ruthenian (rusin) and a Russian (russkoe) feeling awoke in my soul and I began to read and write in Russian (po-russki) — but what was there to read? I had never seen Russian books and I occupied myself with the Psalter and the Trifoloj, and I read in Church-Slavonic not knowing that in Russia that same language is the civil language (graždanskoj jazyk)." "Kratkaja Biografija Aleksandra Duchnoviča, Krylošana Prjaševskago, im samym napisannaja," in O. B. Duchnovyč, *Tvory* 3 (Prjašiv 1989), pp. 404–405.

> hospitality to them within my means and we became brothers for all eternity.[78]

Duchnovič was responsible for education in the diocese of Prešov and introduced Russian into the curriculum of the local gymnasium.[79] He likewise began to teach other classes in Russian. Duchnovič described the early days of the national revival:

> After the end of the unfortunate rebellion, instigated by Kossuth, Hungarian Rusins inspired by the Russian troops began to think about their own nationality (stali dumat' po-narodnomu) and began with their own weak forces to develop a literature and I, having been inspired, awakened the Russian youth to the task. I published for the simple people a little work entitled "A Primer for Beginners" . . . I also published a Russian Prayerbook, Almanach, Calendar etc. . . . I can happily say that the Rusins of the Prešov Diocese were inspired by the national idea and the youth began to be active in the national spirit. Young girls were no longer ashamed to sing Russian songs and my national hymn "I was a Rusin, am and shall be" was sung everywhere. Even the Jews began to learn Russian. In the Prešov gymnasium I taught Russian and not only Rusins attended my lessons, but also Slovaks and Hungarians.[80]

Linguistically the Russophiles decided for the introduction of literary Russian rather than a local dialect as the language of the national movement. They reasoned as follows:

> The North-East of Hungary, settled by the Russian people, is mountainous. Its surface is formed in such a way that all the valleys open toward the south are inhabited by Hungarians; the valleys are divided from each other by high mountain ranges. As a result the inhabitants of the various valleys do not have much contact among themselves and on the other hand remain in direct contact with the Hungarians of the plain. On account of this almost every valley and basin has its own Russian dialect with its own idioms and expressions. An author, wishing to write in the popular "Ugro-Russian" language would find it difficult to choose one of the dialects as the literary language since that which is written in the dialect of one of the valleys may not be to the taste of the inhabitants of another and often may well be incomprehensible. Even that which is

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[78] Duchnovyč, *Tvory* 3, p. 405.

[79] Duchnovič continued however to write prolifically in the local dialect, which he apostrophized as a pure, simple, innocent maid who has still preserved her virginity. Later however when he grew older he opted for what he termed the "high style." Paul R. Magocsi, *The Language Question among the Subcarpathian Rusyns* (Fairview 1979), p. 10.

[80] Svistun, p. 178.

> written in the "Galician-Russian" and the Ukrainian dialects is not quite understandable for "Ugro-Russians." The only way out of the problem is by accepting a literary language which would include in itself all the various dialects. Such a language is none other than common literary Russian – and these circumstances explain to us why "Ugro-Russians" feel inclined to write in it.[81]

Great difficulties however stood in their way. Literary Russian indeed provided an upgrading of the local dialects but was not readily understood by the populace.[82] Secondly educational materials from Russia were not easily available in Hungary due to government importation restrictions. Neither did the government in any way favour the use of Russian. This hampered the formation of a more far reaching Russophile movement on the popular level and restricted the Ruthenian literary culture produced in Hungary to a closed group.

The turn of the century saw the formation of the "schismatische Bauernbewegung" which involved the conversion to Orthodoxy of the peasants of a few Ruthenian villages in Maramaroš county. The local Russophile intelligentsia was careful not to become involved. Sympathy for Orthodoxy had been fanned by Pan-Slavist Russian propaganda[83] which the peasants had encountered as seasonal labourers in Galicia and by returning wealthy peasants from the United States where they had already taken part in the budding Orthodox movement. The movement started around the turn of the century among the Uniate Rumanians in the village of Szacsal. After the Orthodox neophytes had been acquitted after a trial in Máramossziget it spread to the Ruthenian and Hungarian speaking Greek Catholics first in the village of Iza and later in Nagylucska (Velyki Lučky) in Bereg county. The Serbian Orthodox Metropolitan of Sremski-Karlovci was declared responsible for the newly converted Orthodox but hesitated in sending them a priest because of government pressure.

In reality there were deeper economic and social reasons behind the Bauernbewegung. The peasants felt exploited by the local magyarised Uni-

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[81] Svistun, pp. 178-179.

[82] Pereni (p. 158) points out that the Rusyns could not easily understand the Austrian laws when they were printed in 1849 in Russian.

[83] During the 1890's the Ruthenians of Hungary became familiar with Michail Sarič's (Mihály Szárics) brochure "Bratskij privet brat'jam i sestram karpatorussam, živuščim v predelach karpatskich gor i v Amerike" (S-Peterburg 1893).

ate clergy and their stole fees[84] and felt that their material lot would be lighter as Orthodox. The Soviet author Kolomiets thought, with more than a touch of ideological preconception, that the "Bauernbewegung" was a sign of social protest against Hungarian oppression in religious disguise and a crystallising of the wish of the Ruthenian peasant to attain fraternal union with the Russian people.[85]

The ukrainophile movement which began to dominate Ruthenian society in Galicia by the early years of the twentieth century took much longer to develop in Hungary. Mychailo Drahomanov visited Subcarpathia in 1875 and 1876 but was appalled by the lack of enthusiasm for the Ukrainian movement, finding "Hungarian Rus" to be "farther separated even from Galicia than Australia is from Europe."[86] For Drahomanov and the Ukrainophiles, "Hungarian Rus" was the "lost brother" unjustly sundered from Galicia and the Ukrainian lands to the East with which it had enjoyed ethnic and historical ties in the period of Kievan Rus'. Interest was fanned in Galicia for Subcarpathia in the writings of Drahomanov's student, the Gaician Volodymyr Hnatjuk. Subcarpathian ukrainophile intellectuals under the leadership of Avhustyn Vološyn (Agoston Volosin) and later Avhustyn Štefan began to publish in Ukrainian and disseminate their political and cultural views at the end of the 1890's. At the time of the first emigrations to America, there was thus little interest among the Ruthenians of Hungary for the ukrainophile position.

The clergy, however as a whole remained impervious to the movement perhaps because it feared difficulties with the Hungarian government which discouraged contact between the Ruthenians of Hungary and those of Galicia. The peasants were even less affected. According to Magocsi:

> With regard to immigration from what is now Transcarpathia and eastern Czechoslovakia, inhabitants from these lands began to perceive themselves as Ukrainians only after the First World War and in many cases not until after the Second World War. Before then, people from this area

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[84] Duties to the local priest included the "koblina" to be paid in agricultural products or currency and the "rokovina" to be paid in physical labour. Lawrence Barriger, *Good Victory: Metropolitan Orestes Chornock and the American Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Diocese* (Brookline), p. 16.

[85] I. G. Kolomiets, *Sotsial'no-ekonomičeskie otnošenija i obščestvennoe dviženie v Zakarpat'e vo vtoroj polovine XIX v.* (Tomsk 1961-1962).

[86] Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "Carpatho-Ukraine: A People in Search of their Identity," *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History* (Edmonton 1987), p. 362.

identified themselves as Rusyns or Russniaks and in many instances they had no national consciousness. Their identity was limited to the parameters of their native village.[87]

In fact Ukrainisation of the Carpathian territory was accomplished with mixed results only with its annexation to the Soviet Union at the end of the Second World War.[88] This was in tune with the official policy of the Communist party which after 1926 embraced the ukrainophile interpretation of Subcarpathian history.[89] Consistent with this policy was the decision of the Czechoslovak government to adopt the use of Ukrainian terminology since 1945 when dealing with the Ruthenian population of the Prešov region.

The peasantry, as has just been seen, remained as a whole impervious to both Magyarisation and Ukrainophilia and moreover found the language of the Russophiles difficult to understand. Through study of these and related phenomena, some Ruthenian intellectuals argued that the Ruthenian or Rusin people of north-eastern Hungary formed a particular compact entity only indirectly related to other groups.[90] These Rusinophiles often found the support of Magyar government circles for their ideas since they were profoundly less dangerous than those of either the Russophiles or Ukrainophiles which looked for aid outside the borders of historical Hungary. Sándor Bonkáló's work *A Rutének (Ruszinok)* published in Budapest in 1940 offers a classic presentation of the theory of an "Uhro-Rusin" nationality,

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[87] Paul R. Magocsi, "Problems in the History of the Ukrainian Immigration to the United States," *The Ukrainian Experience in the United States* . . . , pp. 28-29.

[88] See Rudnytsky, Carpatho-Ukraine . . . , p. 371, for a contrary view.

[89] Magocsi, *The Shaping* . . . , p. 229.

[90] These particularities are reflected also in the liturgical life of the Ruthenians of Hungary and their descendants. According to the Ruthenian author Stephen Gulovics the Ruthenians of Hungary "had little in common, and very little contact, if any with the church in the ecclesiastical province of Galicia." S. Gulovics, "The Rusin Exarchate in the United States," *The Eastern Churches Quarterly*, 6 (Oct. -Dec., 1946), p. 5. The Russian Orthodox writer Ioann Boruch pointed out that as a result of this isolation from Galicia and the eastern Slavs in general, variant forms of liturgical chant developed among the Ruthenians of Hungary. According to this author, the pronunciation and chant were basically the same. When contacts were limited, both actual mistakes and sometimes simple variant forms as well as changes in the accent of individual syllables became standard in Hungary and are retained to this day. I. G. Boruch, *Naše tserkovno-narodnoe delo v Amerike ot načala našej emigratsii do nynešnich dnej* (New York 1950), p. 31. An interesting peculiarity of pronunciation may be observed in the way the Ruthenians of Hungary pronounce the Church-Slavonic word "nyne" as "nonji" — a small detail which serves to distinguish them from their neighbours to the East.

the basic premises of which were developed during the last century. The rusinophile movement possessed, however, inherent weaknesses. It was able to construct neither a standard literary language nor a solid literature; both important criteria in nation building. Later the "Uhro-Rusins" compromised themselves somewhat with the Hungarian regime and the movement was viewed with suspicion by more nationalistically minded Ruthenians.

In general the Ruthenian peasantry in Hungary and later the Subcarpathian peasant emigrant in America possessed an even less developed sense of nationality as one understands the term today, than did his Galician counterpart:

> When the emigration started, and even until 1918, people from Uzhhorod and near-by territories had no perception of any nationality. It was just a question of belonging to a certain village. Even today, many immigrants still refer to their native language as "po-nashemu" "in our way." At first I did not know which language it was. There are many circumlocutions. Sometimes they call themselves Slovak.[91]

This mention of Ruthenians who preferred to consider themselves Slovak brings to mind the so-called "Slovak Question" — a matter of mutual national assimilation and hotly disputed by both sides.[92]The term Ruthenian, however,with its religious and ritual connotations permitted some individuals to view themselves as members of the Ruthenian church but ethnic Slovaks at the same time.[93] An article which appeared in the 1909 edition of the Catholic Encyclopaedia took similar cognizance of this fact:

> Besides the Ruthenians there are also the Slovaks who live in northern and north-western Hungary, close neighbours to the Ruthenians, who are

[91] Omeljan Pritsak in *The Ukrainian Experience in the United States . . .* , pp. 30-31.

[92] The problem is especially ticklish, since in the nineteenth century both the Slovak and Ruthenian national consciousness were just in the process of formation.

[93] Bonkáló (p. 80) mentioned the fact that many Rusins who lived in eastern Slovakia became Slovaks as a "natural process" since "Slovak culture was more highly advanced than Rusyn." The Slovak language was viewed in Hungary as more aristocratic than Ruthenian by Magyar society and there existed more of a literature in Slovak than in Ruthenian. Slovak clergymen likewise conversed with the Ruthenian peasantry only in Slovak. The tendency among the Ruthenian youth was to attempt to speak as the better class spoke and this meant for some speaking in Slovak. On the other hand Bonkáló did not agree with those Ruthenians who thought that all Slovak Greek Catholics were assimilated Ruthenians. He pointed to the fact that during the Counter-Reformation several Protestant Slovak villages became Greek Catholic (p. 79).

> Greek Catholics, and who speak a language almost like the Bohemian, yet similar to the Ruthenian. It is written, however, with Roman letters and the pronunciation follows the Bohemian more than the Ruthenian.[94]

Greek Catholic Slovaks emigrated to the United States together with the Ruthenians. Their presence in America was noted by a document released by the Austrian Embassy in 1905:

> Contemporaneamente colla emigrazione degli Slovachi romano-cattolici dall'Ungheria ha comminciato anche quella degli Slovachi e Ruteni greci-cattolici, in parte misti con quelli, in parte contigui e abitanti nei comitati di Ungheria a Nord-Est confinanti con la Galizia e viventi in uguali condizioni economiche.[95]

Michal Lacko, a Jesuit defender of the cause of the Greek Catholic Slovaks, described their ecclesiastical fate in the New World:

> The well known Slovak Catholic leader in America, Stephen Furdek registered in 1893, that at that time, there were in the United States twenty Slovak parishes of Byzantine rite, and fifteen of the Latin rite. However, as in Slovakia, similarly, also in the United States the priests who came to serve in the Byzantine rite parishes were Ruthenians, or Ukrainians. Because the Slovak immigrants did not understand their preaching, many of the Slovaks of Byzantine rite preferred to join the Slovak parishes of Latin rite, where they found Slovak priests. In this way almost all Slovak parishes of Latin rite had, and have until now, a considerable number of parishioners, who originally belonged to the Byzantine rite. It is assumed, that their number is about 300. 000.[96]

All the various cultural currents discussed above, most of which were mutually exclusive, reappeared sometimes with added force among the Ruthenian emigrants in the New World. Even the Ukrainian author Lužnytskyj, who as most of his compatriots defended the thesis of a common ethnicity for all the emigrants, argued:

> . . . finding a common language for all these people which would unite them into one group, was indeed very difficult, and often even impossible.

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[94] Shipman, "Greek Catholics . . . ," pp. 745-746.

[95] Document of the Austrian Embassy describing the meeting of "Greek" clergymen in the United States. Dated 25 November 1905 and found in the Archive of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (AP): RUTENI Vol. 117, an. 1887-1906, N. 20103, p. 1.

[96] Lacko, "A Brief Survey . . . ," p. 222.

As a result, there appeared confrontations and dissensions which took place in the very churches themselves.[97]

Andrew Shipman, one of the first and few American authors to interest himself in the situation of the emigrants from Eastern Europe, compared the fractional disunity prevalent in Ruthenian emigrant circles to the troubles which afflicted the Irish emigrant community during the first half of the nineteenth century.[98] Ironically it was with the very same Irish community, now fully ensconced and in control of the American Roman Catholic Church establishment, that the Ruthenians were to clash.

UNITY AND DISUNITY IN "AMERICAN RUS'"

Generally speaking all of the first Ruthenian emigrants were "economic" emigrants,[99] poor both in the Old and New World and doomed to a life of menial labour. They arrived in the United States as despised strike-breakers ready for cheap labour in the American coal mines. They were content to accept a salary which had already been rejected as unfair by their more demanding predecessors — an indifference which did not raise their image among American proletarian circles. In some respects they resembled both the impoverished Irish and the Polish emigration "za chlebem" — to name but two similar emigrant groups. In this respect there was little outward difference between emigrants from Galicia or those who left Hungary.[100] Likewise they shared educational disabilities. According to

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97 Hryhorij Lužnytskyj, *Jepiskop-Pioner. Kyr Soter z Ortynyč Ortynskyj ČSVV* (Philadelphia 1963), p. 52.

98 Andrew Shipman, "Immigration to the United States," *A Memorial of Andrew J. Shipman* (New York 1916), p. 92.

99 The Ukrainian Soviet author A. M. Šlepakov called the emigration a "trudova emihratsija," since the emigrants were "labourers according to their social status and origin, who were forced to emigrate to America as a result of their dire economic position." A. N. Šlepakov, *Ukrajins'ka trudova emihratsija v SŠA i Kanadi, (Kyjiv 1960), p. 4.*

100 The first Galician emigrants were from the impoverished mountain "Lemko" region. Likewise in Hungary a turn for the worse in the economy and a decrease in the need for agrarian labourers had sent the first waves of Ruthenian emigrants, together with Slovak and Magyar peasants, to America in the 1880's, although sporadic emigration from the counties of Szepes and Sáros had already been noted by the Hungarian police as early as 1853. By the time of the First World War almost 150. 000 Ruthenians had emigrated, mainly from the mountainous counties of Szepes, Sáros, Zemplén and Ung. (Magocsi, *The Shaping . . .*, p. 66.) For the emigration from Hungary see G. Thirring, *A magyarországi kivándorlás és a külföldi magyarság* (Budapest 1904); I. Rácz, *A paraszti migráció és politikai megítélése Magyarországon: 1849-1914* (Budapest 1980);

some authors, about half the emigration was illiterate.[101] Probably the percentage of illiteracy was much greater. Those who could simply read or write were often selected by their compatriots to assume a leading role in the Ruthenian community's affairs.

Ironically, the first emigrants were united not by a sense of developed nationality but rather by the absence of such a feeling. This enabled the early emigrants:

> . . . to live together and share parishes, avail themselves of the same priest and the identical formularies and liturgical language, and to be joined for a time under the same bishop.[102]

Like the medieval Western European peasant, the average Ruthenian emigrant felt most of all an attachment to a village, estate or vague geographical region:

> The early emigrant was indeed, a man whose whole sense of self was limited to an identification with his village (or at best, a vague geographical region) and a religio-cultural heritage which despite centuries of foreign oppression, remained a primary symbol of ethnocultural unity.[103]

Like the Poles and other Slavonic emigrant groups, the Ruthenian peasant came with little knowledge or interest in the past of his nationality. Unlike the Poles or Magyars who possessed a well defined cultural identity and historical past, the Ruthenian was faced with several options for constructing or re-constructing his own ethnicity. The pluralism of American society, the presence of other national and linguistic groups, the feeling of alienation from his own homeland — all these factors — caused the Slav and more particularly the Ruthenian emigrant, to examine more closely his ethnic background in a way that may well have seemed preposterous to him, at home in eastern Europe.[104]

Alexander Baran, *Carpatho-Ukrainian (Ruthenian) Emigration 1870-1914* (Winnipeg 1983).

101 Lužnytskyj, p. 46.

102 V. J. Pospishil, *Ex Occidente Lex* (Carteret 1979), p. 17.

103 Kuropas, p. 40.

104 See in regard to the Poles, Victor R. Greene, "For God and Country: the Origins of Slavic Catholic Self-Consciousness in America," *The Other Catholics* (New York 1978), p. 447: "The emergence of their ethnic self-consciousness and that of their fellow Slavs was indeed a dramatic transition. Coming to America as peasants, unlettered, poor, and uninterested in past glory, they cared little for the romance of their national spirit . . . Yet after a few years in America, Polish immigrants all — religious, fraternal, and national minded — joined to exhort their patriotic ideals."

Another unifying factor was religion. Both the Ruthenians of Galicia and Hungary were Greek Catholics. Both groups tended to define their nationality by means of their religious affiliation — a phenomenon noted also among Russian peasants of the last century. Similarly, church ritual defined the various forms and seasons of village life. Yet here too American society proved a catalyst. Once in the New World, the interest of the emigrant in his religion was spurred to an almost inconceivable extent:

> The Russian ("ruska") church became a principle element and the core of the organization of the Ruthenians in America and likewise the centre of their nationality. As everyone knows, neither in Galicia, nor in Bukovina, nor in Hungary does the Russian church enjoy such significance in respect to national organization. There it has even lost its role in culture and education. In Orthodox Bukovina, just as in Uniate Galicia, the educational and popular movement and its instrument, the Russian popular reading room ("čital'nja") has been taken out of the hands of the church, and to a great extent has become hostile to it. In Hungary, the reason for this lies with the Russian church in the person of its representatives who remain idle and who do not even dare think about some time of national organisation, but simply magyarise the people. Only in the westernmost reaches of Galician Rus' where the populace lives in direct contact with the Poles ("Mazury") is it until now still the case that the Ruthenian people organise themselves around their Uniate church. Here the reading rooms and other cultural centres are connected with the church. Why has that very same Russian church become in America a factor for the improvement, organisation and education of that same Russian people, tossed across the ocean?[105]

The answer lay at least partially in the fact that in the New World the church provided at that time the centre point of an ethnic culture, which in Europe had been taken for granted but in America was already in danger of fading into the past. In the New World, the clergy — the only sector of the population which in any way could be described as an "intelligentsia" — assumed the leading role among the Ruthenian emigrants. The disputes and antagonisms which later so plagued Ruthenian cultural life in America were based likewise in the various clerical factions. The different rite which the Ruthenians practiced set them farther apart from mainstream American

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[105] Graf Leliva, "Položene Rusinov v Spelučenych Deržavach povnočnoi Ameriki," Peršii rusko-amerikanskij kalendar' (Mount Carmel 1897), pp. 60-61.

Roman Catholics than the Germans or Poles, who argued with the Irish bishops mainly over linguistic issues.[106]

The church worked as a unifying factor for the Ruthenians; yet it was here also that the first disagreements between those from Galicia and Hungary appeared. Still in 1899, the Subcarpathian priest Kornelij Lavrišin who later became a firm opponent of the Galician Ukrainophiles, spoke of the links which bound these "two sons of the same mother":

> The American Greek Catholic Russian ("ruskij") people, whose origin is exclusively in Galicia and Hungary are of the same faith, of the same nationality (of which only the dialects are different) and of the same language -- they are even one religion, one people and just because of that they can not split apart but rather are to stay together.[107]

Was such optimism justified? The emigrants early showed a tendency to form factions based on their place of origin. Already in 1889 the Ruthenian colony of Kingston in the state of Pennsylvania divided into Galician and Subcarpathian contingents, who fought for control of the parish church.[108] Similarly in 1894, in the hamlet of Hazleton, Pennsylania three conflicting Greek Catholic parishes were founded, each using its own church and anathematizing the other two.[109] The obviously Galician author of an article published in 1897 described the Ruthenian priests from Hungary in deprecatory language:

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[106] See Daniel S. Buczek, "Polish Americans and the Roman Catholic Church." *The Other Catholics*, p. 40.

[107] K. Lavrišin, "D'elo sorganizovanija našego naroda." *Amerikanskij Ruskij Vestnik*, 44 (7 December 1899), p. 2.

[108] According to the Subcarpathian *Listok*, the trouble began when Konstantyn Andruchovyč, the Galician parish priest, began to favour his compatriots over the "Ugro-Russian-Slovak" faithful. Andruchovyč closed the church and left the keys in the keeping of his Galician parishioners. When Nikolaj Stetsovič, a Mukačevo priest, appeared in Kingston, the Subcarpathians demanded that Andruchovyč hand over the keys to him. Andruchovyč refused. A court case followed which the Subcarpatians won, but a month later the troubles began again with new accusations and a monetary scandal. *Listok* ended with a sad comment: "Such is God's punishment. Wherever two Ruthenians ("rusiny") come together, there can be no agreement between them . . . Will that blessed time come, when Russians ("russkie") will throw aside their quarrels and mutual hatred and no longer occupy themselves with egoistic enterprises but with profitable work: i. e. the fostering of self-awareness and enlightenment of an impoverished people?" ("Greko-kafoličeskaja kolonija v Kingston-Pa.," *Listok*, 22 (15. 11. 1890), pp. 256-258.

[109] Luka Myšuha, "Jak formuvavsja svitohljad ukrajins'koho imigranta v Amerytsi," *Propamjatna Knyha* (Jersey City 1936), pp. 38-39.

> Unfortunately, the extremely low level of spiritual and moral development of the great majority of "Ugro-Russian" priests, their only temporary sojourn in America used as an excuse to fill their pockets, all this holds back general work for all purposes. Their submission to various "Ugro-Russian" wealthy peasants ("kulaki"), their inclination to gossip, intrigue and fraud — all these things present great obstacles to the realisation of the first steps toward an independent clerical and popular organisation and administration of the Russian Greek Catholic church.[110]

A further sign of lack of unity may be glimpsed in the divisions which arose among the various fraternal organisations which sprouted among the Ruthenian emigrant labourers. These organizations provided insurance benefits to their members and included a strong religious and/or ethnic component. They likewise served as a cohesive force among the emigrants, sponsoring social events and keeping the community together when a priest was not available. Some were limited to members of the same nationality; others to those of the same religion. Their origin was both indigenous to America and foreshadowed in the guilds and "tserkovnye bratstva" of the European past. The first such association on the parish level was founded in 1885 by the Galician Ruthenian community of Shenandoah in the state of Pennsylvania. In 1887 an attempt was made at uniting seven Ruthenian church brotherhoods, all in Pennsylvania, into a short lived organisation which its founders named the "Spolučenje Bratstv rus'kich." Other national groups likewise formed usually more stable associations of this type. In 1890, the Slovaks formed their own organisation: the Katolicka Jednota.[111] Together with Roman Catholic Slovaks, Ruthenian Slovak speakers became members of the "Pansylvanicka gr. kat. i rim. kat. Jednota" (Pennsylvania Greek Catholic and Roman Catholic Union), founded in 1892, and formed one third of its membership.[112]

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[110] Graf Leliva, "Položene . . . ," p. 57. An article which appeared in the ukrainophile newspaper *Svoboda* 44 (1894) entitled "Do vsich Rusyniv v kraju i v Amerytsi" expressed a similar opinion.

[111] M. Mark Stolarik, "Building Slovak Communities in America," *The Other Catholics* (New York 1978), p. 77.

[112] Bačynskyj (p. 313) thought that Ruthenians formed at one time the majority in these two Slovak associations, as well as in the "Narodny Slovensky Spolek." Participation in Slovak national life induced the Ruthenian emigrants to attend Roman Catholic churches and gradual abandon their own ritual tradition. According to Bačynskyj, this factor caused the Ruthenian clergyman, fearful of losing their parishioners on whom they were economically dependent, to promote the founding of Ruthenian associations which would accept only Greek Catholic members. This was, however, not the case with the

At Wilkes-Barre in February of 1892, the Ruthenians founded their own organisation which they called the "Soedinenie Greko-Kaftoličeskich Russkich Bratstv," although in English it is usually known as the "Greek Catholic Union."[113] The "Union" adopted a mostly hostile stance toward Orthodoxy but was a friend of Russian culture and the Russian language. According to the ukrainophile Bačynskyj, this stance was a ploy used by the magyarone clerics from the Mukačevo diocese in control of the "Union" to lure Ruthenians away from the Slovak organisations and into the ranks of the "Union."[114] In 1894 the "Russkij Narodnij Sojuz" was created by Galicians and Prešov Ruthenians who claimed that the "Union" was controlled by magyarone clerics of the diocese of Mukačevo.[115] Gradually the "Sojuz" was "purged"[116] of non-ukrainophile elements and adopted a totally ukrainophile programme. It was, however, not until 1914 that it changed its name to "Ukrainskyj Narodnyj Sojuz."[117] With the growth of the Orthodox movement within the Ruthenian emigrant community, two other organisations were founded. In 1895 a third organization was founded upon the initiative of the Orthodox activist Aleksij Toth. Toth, in spite of his already having converted to Orthodoxy, had figured in the founding of the "Sojuz", which later embarked on an ideological course diametrically opposed his own movement. The third organisation founded by Toth and his associates was Russian and Orthodox in its scope and adopted the name "Russkoe Obščestvo Vzaimopomošči".[118] A fourth organisation was founded in 1900. Called the "Obščestvo Russkich Bratstv" it was composed

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Greek Catholic Union which accepted members professing different nationalities and rites.

[113] Nestor Volenszky, "Istorija Greko Kaft. Sojedinenija." *Zlato-Jubilejnyj Kalendar' Greko Kaft. Sojedinenija v SŠA* (Munhall 1942), pp. 39-78.

[114] Bačynskyj, p. 415.

[115] For the ukrainophile version of the founding of the R. N. S. see Luka Myšuha, "Ukrajins'kyj Narodnyj Sojuz," *Propamjatna Knyha*, pp. 193-207. The russophile version is given in "Osnovanie Russkago Narodnago Sojuza." *Načalo istorii amerikanskoj Rusi* (Trumball 1970), pp. 497-498.

[116] This was the description given by Myšuha, "Ukrajins'kyj . . ." p. 200 = "čystka."

[117] See "Ot izdatelja" *Načalo*, p. 531. The author traces the evolution of the name "russkij" to "ukrajins'kyj" in 1914. In 1898 the name "russkij" began to be written "ruskij." In 1907 with a soft "s" = "rus'kij."

[118] "Osnovanie Russkago Pravoslavnago Obščestva Vzaimopomošči," *Načalo*, pp. 499-503.

mostly of Galician Russophiles dissatisfied with the growing ukrainization of the "Sojuz".[119] Both Greek Catholics and Russian Orthodox were free to join the "Obščestvo Russkich Bratstv" with the exception of clerics, who were banished in 1902, since their presence had been the cause of too much dispute.[120] The number of associations of this type continued to grow among the emigrants and by 1914 there were at least ten of them.[121]

The ukrainophile movement, at first weak even among the Galician element, was strengthened by the arrival in 1895 of the "popyky radykaly." Branded radicals by their enemies, the Russophiles and the Magyarisers, they formed a set of eight clerics, who in 1891 while studying at the Seminary of L'vov formed the so-called "Amerykans'kyj Kružok." In accordance with the Roman instruction permitting only celibates to work in the United States, the eight, ardent Ukrainophiles and Populists, decided to accept this condition in order to go to America. All of them succeeded in getting to America. On their arrival, they immediately entered the lists as champions of the Galicians against the clergy from Hungary, who just before had dominated the Ruthenian cultural scene, outnumbering the Galician clerics in 1894 by sixteen to four. One of them, Ivan Ardan, a cleric with mitigated socialist leanings, led the "Los von Rom" movement among the Galician emigrants which erupted after his excommunication by the Roman Catholic bishop of Scranton in 1902. Nevertheless, the coming of the "popyky radykaly" seemed to tilt the balance among the Galicians in favour of the ukrainophile movement.

For the Poles, Germans and several other emigrant groups a common language united their communities. Among the Ruthenians, language divided rather than united. At least four modern languages were spoken by different members of this group (Russian, Hungarian, Slovak and Ukrainian) as well as several dialects of the same. An example was the language of the organ of the Greek Catholic Union, the *Amerikansky Russky Viestnik (Amerikanskij Russkij Vestnik)*. The *Viestnik* began to be published in 1892

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[119] "Osnovanie Obščestva Russkich Bratstv," *Načalo*, pp. 510-514.

[120] Dryud, p. 134.

[121] Bačynskyj (pp. 330-331) noted the following in addition to the above four: 1) *Sobranije gr. kaf. tserkovnych Bratstv* founded in 1900 2) *Russkoe narodnoe Soedinenije* (1909) 3) *Rus'kyj narodnyj Sojuz (novyj)* (1910) 4) *Hajdamaky* (1910) 5) *Provydinje* (1912) 6) *Pravoslavnaja Ljubov'* (1912).

in two versions: Russian and Slovak.[122] The language of neither section was of literary standard. The "Slovak" of the *Viestnik* was actually a Carpatho-Rusin dialect, greatly influenced by Eastern Slovak dialects and printed in Latin script. The "Russian" was even worse. One observer described it as follows:

> To speak of this language as Russian is hardly possible. It is a wild mixture of Church-Slavonic with newly coined words, taken from Holy Scripture or Old Slavonic literature. Further it includes Slovak, Great Russian, Little Russian and Hungarian words, but most of all Little Russian and Great Russian words used in Little Russian and Great Russian literature, pilfered from these sources without any system whatsoever.[123]

The editors of the *Viestnik* had themselves expressed the desire to publish their newspaper in "Russian, but in Russian with a Slovakian accent."[124]

Such a vague concept of language and nationality thickened as one went down the social ladder. Ruthenian unlettered peasant emigrants had difficulty stating their nationality to American customs officials. Adding to this difficulty was the fact that until much later none of the representatives of the European shipping companies nor any of the American emigration officials were Ruthenian or knew much about the various peoples of eastern Europe. All these factors led the Ruthenians to their being classified as belonging to several different ethnicities:

> Upon their arrival, almost none of the early immigrants from Galicia or Transcarpathia were able to reply to the immigrant official's inquiries. . . . The best reply that these early immigrants . . . could offer was Rusyn or Rusnak . . . These terms could hardly have helped the immigration official, whose job it was to place all immigrants in a national identity category. Thus, many of those immigrants ultimately represented themselves as members of neighboring nationalities the Poles or the Russians. Others gave the state from which they came; thus, they became Austrians or Hungarians in the immigration records. Still others gave their religious membership as a means of identification: they consequently were referred to as

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[122] James M. Evans, *Guide to the Amerikansky Russky Viestnik*. Volume I: 1894-1914 (Fairview 1979), p. 5.

[123] Graf Leliva, "Položene . . . ," p. 64.

[124] Dryud, p. 132.

Greeks or Greek Catholics. Obviously the American immigration records are confusing and hardly a reliable source.[125]

"Tongueless" or "Bez Jazyka" was the title of a humorous novella by the Russian populist V. G. Korolenko. The fictional adventures of Korolenko's peasants from the South-West of the Russian Empire lost in America without knowing a word of English could serve as a parallel to the everyday reality of the first experiences of the newly founded community of "American Rus'".

Pontificio Istituto Orientale Constantine Simon, S.J.

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[125] Procko, "The Rise . . . ," p. 52. Magosci also describes the problems involved in obtaining statistics on the Ruthenian emigration: "One of the greatest problems of immigration studies concerns the number of people who actually came to this country. From the existing published sources there is no way to obtain exact figures on the actual number of members from any specific group who came to the United States . . . Until 1899 the Bureau of Immigration recorded the country of origin; thus we have no way of knowing whether an immigrant from Austria-Hungary was an Austrian, Hungarian, Italian, Rumanian, Jew, or any of the eight Slavic peoples living within the boundaries of the Hapsburg Empire. After 1899 the Commissioner on Immigration Reports did provide statistics based on the mother tongue of each immigrant, and there is an entry for Ruthenian/Russniak. The census reports beginning in 1910 employ the same principle. (Magocsi, "Problems in the History . . . ," p. 6).

COMMENTARII BREVIORES

Pieter W. van der Horst

A Note on the Judas Curse in Early Christian Inscriptions

In the first fascicle of volume 58 (1992) of Orientalia Christiana Periodica Bradley McLean republished a Greek Christian epitaph with the Judas curse.[1] His translation of the text runs as follows:

> The tomb of Andrew and Athenaïs and their child Maria, those who finished life virtuously. And if anyone should dare to open (this tomb) also to (the) sun, he will share the lot of Judas (Iscariot) [ἔχι τὴν μερίδαν τοῦ Ἰούδα], all things will become darkness to him and God will destroy him on that day.[2]

This inscription from Attica was published for the first time exactly 100 years ago.[3] In 1877 and 1878 two other inscriptions threatening the tomb violator with the punishment of Judas had already been published, the first one (also from Attica)[4] with the imprecation that the one who would dare to open the grave would undergo the condemnation of Judas (τὸ κατάκριμα τοῦ Ἰούδα), the other one (from Argos) with the threat that the trespasser would receive the lot of Judas the traitor (τὴν μερίδα τοῦ Ἰούδα τοῦ προδότου).[5] McLean remarks that "it is difficult to know precisely what punishment is intended," because the New Testament records only that Judas committed suicide.[6] It is certainly true that this curse is difficult to interpret if one has only the New Testament texts on the death of Judas (Mt 27:5; Acts 1:18) to go by. There is, however, extra-canonical evidence that clarifies the issue at hand here.

In the early post-NT period we find an extra-canonical tradition about the fate of Judas that is very different from what we find in the New Testament. In

[1] B. McLean, "A Christian Epitaph: The Curse of Judas Iscariot," OCP 58 (1992) 241-244.

[2] The words between brackets are McLean's additions.

[3] K. G. Zesios, *Σύμμικτά*, (Athens 1892), 13-4.

[4] Ch. Bayet in *Bulletin de correspondence hellénique* 1 (1877) 410 no. 12 (= IG III^2 1428).

[5] J. Martha in *Bulletin de correspondence hellénique* 2 (1878) 320.

[6] A Christian Epitaph 243.

OCP 59 (1993) 211-215

the second quarter of the second century Papias, bishop of Hierapolis (according to Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* II 15, 2; III 36, 2), wrote five books *Expositions of the Words of the Lord* (Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις). This work is now lost, but a number of quotations from these books by later authors have been preserved. For the present purpose, fragm. 3[5;6], containing his comments on Mt 27:5, is of interest.[7] In this fragment Papias seems to make an attempt to harmonize the divergent reports on Judas' death in Matthew and Acts, and he does so in the following remarkable way, as reported by Apollinaris of Laodicea:[8]

> Judas did not die by hanging, but he lived on because he was taken down before he suffocated. The Acts of the Apostles make that also clear because (it says): 'swelling up he burst open in the middle and all his bowels gushed out' [Acts 1:18]. But Papias, the disciple of John, puts this even clearer when he says in the 4th book of his *Expositions of the Words of the Lord*: "Judas lived in this world as a terrible paragon of ungodliness. His flesh was swollen up[9] to such an extent that he could not pass where a chariot could pass easily, yes that not even the bulk of his head alone could pass there. For it is said that his eyelids were swollen up to such an extent that he was not at all able to see the light and that not even a doctor could see his eyes with the aid of an optical instrument; so deep-set and removed from the outside they were [τὰ μὲν γὰρ βλέφαρα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ φασι τοσοῦτον ἐξοιδῆσαι, ὡς αὐτὸν μὲν καθόλου τὸ φῶς μὴ βλέπειν, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδὲ ὑπὸ ἰατροῦ διόπτρας ὀφθῆναι δύνασθαι· τοσοῦτον βάθος εἶχον ἀπὸ

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[7] The passage has been (re)printed frequently; see, *inter alia*, E. Preuschen, *Antilegomena. Die Reste der außerkanonischen Evangelien und urchristlichen Überlieferungen*, (Gießen 1901) 61-2. 2nd ed. (Gießen 1905) 97-8; F. X. Funk, K. Bihlmeyer, W. Schneemelcher, *Die Apostolischen Väter*, (Tübingen 1956) 136-7; J. Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, (Berlin 1957) 47-8; K. Aland, *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*, (Stuttgart 1985[13]) 470; J. Kürzinger, *Papias von Hierapolis und die Evangelien des Neuen Testaments*, (Regensburg 1983) 104-5 [no. 5]; U. H. J. Körtner, *Papias von Hierapolis. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des frühen Christentums*, (Göttingen 1983) 59-60 [no. 6]; H. J. Klauck, *Judas – ein Jünger des Herrn*, (Freiburg 1987) 110-1.

[8] The Greek catenae, from which this passage has been taken, here quoted from a lost work by Apollinaris of Laodicea, who lived from ca. 310-390; see B. Altaner & A. Stuiber, *Patrologie*, Freiburg 1966, 313-5. For a discussion of the textual and tradition-critical problems the reader is best referred to Körtner, *Papias* 26-30.

[9] Here Papias takes the difficult expression πρηνὴς γενόμενος in Acts 1:18 to mean 'swollen up' (from πίμπρημι), although it probably means 'falling headlong'; see W. Bauer, K. Aland, B. Aland, *Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Berlin – New York 1988, 1404.

> τῆς ἔξωθεν ἐπιφανείας]. His sexual organ appeared more disgusting and bigger than any other shameless thing, and out of all parts of his body there flowed pus with worms through it which caused pain when bodily necessities were fulfilled. After many torments and plagues he died, so they say, in his own estate, and up till this moment that estate has been left desolate and uninhabited because of the stench; yes, up till the present day nobody can pass that place without stopping up his nose with his hands. So big was the efflux of his flesh that spread out also on the earth.

This text helps to clarify the Judas curse in the tomb inscriptions in various ways. First, if we assume that the authors of the inscriptions had in mind a tradition like the one in the Papias fragment, it is no longer a problem that the transgressor is threatened with 'the lot of Judas'; that would be a problem if only suicide could be meant, which would be a very improbable curse; but, when a terrible and very disgusting disease is meant, the problem disappears. There can be little doubt that this tradition had a much wider currency than only in second century Hierapolis, for it is quoted not only by Apollinaris in the fourth century but also by several later authors such as Oecumenius (6th cent.) and Theophylact (11th cent.).[10] Second, this solution is made all the more probable when we take into account that the inscription published by McLean so explicitly says that the curse implies that "everything will become darkness to him." McLean does not comment on this element, but it may be clear that the reference is to the fact that Judas was no longer able to see the light. The element of his unability to see anything because of the extremely swollen state of his eyelids is heavily stressed in the Papias fragment: not even a doctor with his optical instruments was able to see Judas' eyes; they were completely hidden! Hans-Josef Klauck has convincingly demonstrated that this element is due to the influence of some scriptural passages.[11] In Luke's description of Judas' end he quotes Ps 69:26: "Let his homestead become desolate and let there be no one to live in it" (Acts 1:20a; this passage is elaborated upon in the final paragraph of Papias' fragment). In the same Psalm, however, we also find the following passage (69:23a): "Let their eyes be darkened so that they cannot see." It is clear that Luke's application of a verse from this Psalm to Judas evoked further speculation concerning Judas' end in the light of the same Psalm. This led to the tradition of his blindness. The cause of this blindness, namely the extreme swelling up of his body, is a stock item in the description of the death of enemies of God. Of several 'Gottesfeinde' Jewish and Christian traditions tell us that swelling up and bursting, as well as worms, led to their

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[10] See Preuschen and Funk-Bihlmeyer *ad loc.*

[11] *Judas* 112f.

death (e.g. Nathan, Antiochus Epiphanes, Herod the Great, Herod Agrippa, the emperor Galerius).[12]

There is a further reason why the threat with Judas' blindness may have been chosen as an apt imprecation against tomb violators in epitaphs. In Jewish epitaphs one sometimes finds the threat that the transgressor will be punished with "all the curses that have been written *against his eyes* and his entire body" (*CIJ* 770, Phrygia, 3rd cent. CE).[13] The 'written curses' are not specified, but in another Phrygian epitaph the riddle is solved (*CIJ* 760): "(. . .) If, after they have been deposited here, someone buries another dead person here or commits injustice by buying (the place), the curses that are written in Deuteronomy will befall him" (cf. MAMA VI 335: ". . . whosoever dares to inter here someone else, (. . .), such a one will be accursed, and may all the curses that are written in Deuteronomy befall him and his children and his descendants and all his family").[14] There can be no doubt that the curses referred to are those in Deuteronomy 28, esp. vv. 22 and 28-29:

> (22) πατάξαι σε κύριος ἀπορίᾳ καὶ πυρετῷ καὶ ῥίγει καὶ ἐρεθισμῷ καὶ φόνῳ καὶ ἀνεμοφθορίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὤχρᾳ, καὶ καταδιώξονταί σε ἕως ἂν ἀπολέσωσίν σε. . . . (28) πατάξαι σε κύριος παραπληξίᾳ καὶ *ἀορασίᾳ* καὶ ἐκστάσει διανοίας, (29) καὶ ἔσῃ ψηλαφῶν μεσημβρίας *ὡσεὶ ψηλαφήσαι ὁ τυφλὸς ἐν τῷ σκότει*. καὶ οὐκ εὐοδώσει τὰς ὁδούς σου. καὶ ἔσῃ τότε ἀδικούμενος καὶ διαρπαζόμενος πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ οὐκ ἔσται σοι ὁ βοηθῶν (May the Lord smite you with distress, fever, cold, inflammation, murder, blighting and paleness, and they shall pursue you until they have destroyed you. . . . May the Lord smite you with insanity, *blindness* and astonishment of mind; and then you will grope at midday, *as a blind man would grope in the darkness*, and you will not prosper in your ways; and then you will be unjustly treated and plundered all your days, and there will be no helper).

We see how the element of blindness, that is also stressed in the curse in Deuteronomy 28:28-9, is taken up in the Jewish epitaph as an imprecation against potential tomb violators. So there may have been a Jewish tradition to use biblical curses in epitaphs, in which blindness was a favourite item. It is not improbable that Christians were influenced in this matter by Jewish customs.

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[12] See W. Nestle, "Legenden vom Tod der Gottesverächter," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 33 (1936) 246-69; also Klauck, *Judas* 116-121. Also the terrible stench is a recurrent motif in these traditions.

[13] J.-B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum* II, (Rome 1952) 30-2.

[14] These inscriptions are discussed in my book *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, (Kampen 1991) 56-7.

This might account for the fact that Judas was used as a terrifying example of what would happen to the transgressor, because Judas was cursed with a disgusting disease which led to his living in darkness: 'everything will become darkness to him,' as it was for Judas in the days after his betrayal of Jesus.

Universiteit Utrecht
Theologische Faculteit
Postbus 80.105
3508 TC Utrecht, Holland

Pieter W. van der Horst

Michel van Esbroeck

Peter the Iberian and Dionysius the Areopagite:

Honigmann's thesis revisited

My intention in this paper is not to challenge the view that Peter the Iberian was the principal author of the Dionysiac Corpus, but to discuss some points which were not raised when Honigmann's hypothesis, published in 1952, met strong criticism. We will examine the objections made by Hieronymus Engberding in 1954, by Irénée Hausherr in 1953 and by René Roques in 1954.[1] We will also provide some new information on the author's background.

First we have to recall the central argument of E. Honigmann. He first observed what was said about Peter the Iberian by John Rufus, his successor to the see of Maiuma, in his biography of Peter. This biography is preserved only in a Syriac translation, and the original of it must have been made around 500 A.D.[2] Here, Peter the Iberian appears as the companion of John Mithridates, also known as John the Eunuch, or John of Lazika. Both came to the Holy Land to consecrate their entire lives to God, where our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ lived and died. Peter always considered himself a disciple of John the Eunuch. About 444, after a serious illness, John Mithridates had a vision which brought him insight into the divine hierarchy. This could be the original experience out of which developed the *Treatise on Divine Hierarchy*, which was later attributed to Dionysius the Aeropagite.

About twenty years later, John the Eunuch died on October 4, 464. Peter the Iberian commemorated the death of John every year until his own death. So Peter showed a reverence for the man who received such a heavenly vision, second in its profundity only to that of Paul. This fact cannot be overestimated. Peter the Iberian was nearly 84 years old when he died on December 1, 491.

The Syriac calendars constitute the second major piece of evidence for Honigmann's hypothesis. The old Monophysite tradition celebrated the feasts of Dionysius the Aeropagite and of the fictional Hierotheus one right after the

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[1] E. Honigmann, *Pierre l'Ibérien et les écrits du pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite*, Bruxelles 1952; H. Engberding, "Kann Petrus der Iberer mit Dionysius Areopagita identifiziert werden?" OC 38 (1954) 68-95; I. Hausherr, "Le pseudo-Denys est-il Pierre l'Ibérien?" OCP 19 (1953) 247-260; R. Roques, "Pierre l'Ibérien et le 'Corpus' dionysien," *Revue d'Histoire des religions* 145 (1954) 69-98.

[2] R. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer. Ein Charakterbild zur Kirchen- und Sittengeschichte des fünften Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1895.

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other on successive days, on 3rd and 4th of October. This cannot be a pure coincidence. Perhaps some good friends of Peter put their feasts next to each other in the calendars, because of the warm relationship which bound Hierotheus or John the Eunuch to Dionysius the Areopagite or Peter the Iberian. As all know, no other person than Hierotheus could have inspired Dionysius. The relationship between Peter and John has been patterned on the relationship between Dionysius and Hierotheus. As Peter was introduced by John into the knowledge of the celestial hierarchy, so Dionysius was by Hierotheus. The coincidence of the commemorations of these two apocryphal personalities requires an explanation. No better solution can be proposed, than that Peter was considered the author of the Corpus Dionysiacum, and that he had been inspired by John the Eunuch, that is Hierotheus.

This relatively simple solution was immediately rejected by three prominent specialists. First Hieronymus Engberding argued that the Syriac calendars used by Honigmann really depended on Greek Orthodox models, and thus cannot be considered to affirm the Monophysite milieu as the source of the establishment of the feast. Secondly, I. Hausherr stressed the fact that, according to John Rufus, Peter was a disciple of Isaias of Gaza. Isaias was so opposed to Greek philosophy that it seems impossible that such a highly Neoplatonic work could have come from the pious ascetic Peter. Thirdly, René Roques observed that the order of the celestial powers is not the same in the vision of John the Eunuch and in the Corpus Dionysiacum. He would hold this to be a sufficient argument to reject the view that the Dionysiac Corpus was based on John's visions. I wish to throw some new light on these three points.

First, we need to remember what kind of personality John Rufus was, the author of the Syriac life of Peter the Iberian. We know him especially through the *Plerophories*, an aggressively Monophysite work, written around 500 A.D. It is preserved in Syriac, Armenian and Coptic, and the first editor of the Coptic fragments thought that perhaps Peter the Iberian was the author of the *Plerophories*.[3] Indeed, in that work, the principal personality alluded to is Peter. He was scandalized at Nestorius, when the heresiarch delivered his sermon about the Virgin in the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Constantinople. He testified how Nestorius was suddenly struck by an angel for his shameful blasphemy.[4] Several other anecdotes of the *Plerophories* form a sort of ḥadīṯ-collection of

[3] Jean Rufus, *Plérophories*, ed. F. Nau, PO 8 (1912) 4-208. W.E. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca from the Collection of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, London 1902, No 459. Cf. T. Orlandi, "Koptische Papyri theologischen Inhalts," *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien 1974, p. 110-120.

[4] Jean Rufus, *Plérophories* (see note 3 above) 11-12.

the Monophysite faith. No wonder that Honigmann made the attempt to view the calendar problem in the context of a Syriac Monophysite tradition. However, the problem is that the *Life* in Syriac, which is so important for our knowledge about Peter the Iberian, was written by that same truly militant Monophysite propagandist.

I do not deny that Peter was anti-Chalcedonian. There is no doubt that he ordained Timotheus Aelurus, who wrote a treatise against the council of Chalcedon, and who also became the monophysite patriarch of Alexandria.[5] But surely, Peter himself had never sought to be ordained a bishop. His ordination occurred in an unusual context. At the time, Juvenal had just come back from Chalcedon, where he had given his approval to the Leonine christological formula. The opposition was so great, that he was not allowed to enter the city of Jerusalem. For twenty months, the anti-patriarch Theodosius ruled the ecclesiastical destiny of the holy city. One of his first activities was to ordain a series of new bishops. Peter was among the unwilling recipients of the episcopacy, since his spiritual influence was great in Jerusalem at the time. In the midst of such circumstances, Peter was named Bishop of Maiuma, and surely, he must have been astonished to find himself within the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Next, in 453, with the help of the imperial police, Juvenal returned to the see of Jerusalem. Some days after the celebration of the Baptism at the Jordan a clash occurred. The believers who were returning to Jerusalem found the gates of the city closed. They celebrated a liturgy in Gethsemani, in the Church of the Dormition of Our Lady. The police attacked them there. There were victims on both sides.[6] Since then, the Copts celebrate the earthly departure of the Virgin on the 21st Tobi or the 16th of January, leaving the feast of the Assumption of Mary into Heaven for August 9th, 206 days later.[7] Theodosius fled first to Mount Sinai, where he was held by the officers of Emperor Marcianus, and next was jailed in Antioch. He finally died in Constantinople. All the bishops who had been ordained by Theodosius were deposed. All the bishops, with one exception, and that was Peter the Iberian. The reason for such an unexpected

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[5] R. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer* . . . (see note 2 above) p. 63 (Syriac) and p. 66 (German).

[6] On this topic, I delivered a paper at the Colloquium on Coptic Studies in Louvain-la-Neuve in 1988, still to appear: "La Dormition chez les Coptes." See D.W. Johnson, *A Panegyric on Macarius Bishop of Tkôw, attributed to Dioscorus of Alexandria*, Louvain 1980, 53 (textus) and 41 (versio); Nicephori Callisti Xanthopouli *Ecclesiasticae historiae libri XVIII*, PG 147 (1865) col. 9-115, especially liber XV, chapter 9, col. 32.

[7] M. de Fenouyl, *Le sanctoral copte*, Beyrouth 1960, 117 and 181.

development was given by Zacharias Rhetor: Empress Eudocia was responsible for the benevolent treatement of Peter and the definitive legitimacy of his episcopacy.[8] This is not mentioned in the Syriac *Life*. Zacharias — who does not like to emphasize Visions — explains how Peter, when celebrating the Eucharist, had a vision. In this vision he was told not to leave his brothers isolated in Egypt. So he went on his own accord to Egypt,[9] where he was the only legitimate bishop among the anti-Chalcedonian Monophysites.

This seems to me why John Rufus was so interested in producing a *Life* of the only legitimate ancestor of the Monophysite hierarchy, and this precisely in the see of Gaza where he himself was bishop. Whenever he speaks about Peter, his aim is to assert that Peter undoubtedly remained strongly Monophysite until his death. John Rufus's interest in making Peter a Monophysite makes his account somewhat unreliable.

Let us now analyse how the interest of the Empress Eudocia in maintaining Peter as a Bishop in 453 could have developed earlier. This topic touches also the relationship between monasticism and philosophy. The friendship between Eudocia and Peter the Iberian was an astonishing one. The Empress was born in Athens as a pagan girl by the name of Athenais, and was brought up in the pagan Greek tradition of philosophy. She received baptism in order to become the wife of Theodosius the Less. Later, in 425 A.D., she was able to support the foundation of the philosophical school of Constantinople.[10] Nicephorus Callistes Xanthopoulos wrote no less than five chapters about Empress Eudocia. He relies on various sources, one of these probably the so-called Euthymiac history.[11] When about 444 A.D. Eudocia was forced to leave Constantinople by the intrigues of Chrysaphius, the minister of Theodosius, she went to Jerusalem, where she began to build hospitals and monasteries. Quoting Nicephorus, I wish to stress the words she uses to describe the practice of asceticism by the monks: "So for those who despise the vain appearence, that is the deadly cloth which the soul is born to leave, according to the sayings of Plato." [12]

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[8] K. Ahrens and G. Krueger, *Die sogenannte Kirchengeschichte des Zacharias Rhetor*, Leipzig 1899, p. 13, 29-31.

[9] Ibid., p. 14, 29-15, 5.

[10] Book 14, 23 (PG 146, 1129-1132), and 50 (PG 146, 1223-1240); Book 15,9 (PG 147,29-31); Book 16, 12 and 13 (PG 146, 40-41).

[11] G. Genz and F. Winkelmann, *Die Kirchengeschichte des Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos und ihre Quelle*, Berlin 1955, p. 136-139. A. Wenger, *L'Assomption de la T. S. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VIe au Xe siècle*, Paris 1955, p. 136-139.

[12] "Οὕτω τὴν κενὴν δόξαν περιφρονοῦσιν, ὃν τελευταῖον χιτῶνα Πλάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος φησιν ἡ ψυχὴ πέφυκεν ἀποτίθεσθαι." PG 146, 1237 A4.

That imprecise quotation of Phaedo 87 D-E to characterize the behaviour of the Palestinian ascetics shows clearly enough how monasticism and Platonism could have been joined. When the Council gathered in Chalcedon, the Empress, whose position raised her high above the waves of conflict, gave her approval to Theodosius. He was the man, as Nicephorus adds, who entrusted Peter the Iberian with the episcopal see of Maiouma. After the reaction against Theodosius, the Empress still favoured the Monophysites. Only in 456 was she converted by Symeon Stylites, and was reconciled with Juvenal of Jerusalem. She died on October 20, 460 in communion with the Orthodox Church.[13]

Let us now note how close a relationship obtained between Peter the Iberian and the Empress Eudocia. Peter had been sent to Constantinople as a hostage from the Georgian royal family. He lived at the court of Constantinople from his twelfth to his twentieth year, from 429 to 437, in close association with the Empress. John Rufus tells us that she was his teacher and provided him with the love of a mother.[14] As we already have seen, Zacharias attributes the continuance of Peter in the excercise of the episcopal office to the influence of Eudocia. The problem is to find out whether or not John Rufus is still relating the facts when he presents the various travels of Peter the Iberian to the cities of the coast as a necessity in order to defend the true faith against Chalcedon. It is difficult however to explain why, during the rule of Anastasius, or even during that of Zeno, he did not come back to his duties in Maiuma. Peter died at Iamnia in 491 on the private estate of the tribune Elias, an acquaintance of the late Empress Eudoxia. According to John Rufus, as Peter was dying in the house of the faithful servant of the Empress, he made a final profession of Monophysitism[15]; nevertheless we may entertain real doubts about Peter remaining an ardent Monophysite after the Empress converted to Chalcedonism in 456. In his narrative John Rufus is expressing his own position and wishes to promote his own see as a guarantor of pure Monophysitism. John Rufus does not tell us about the religion of the servant Elias, whom Peter had healed many years before from deafness. It seems to me highly probable, that he himself abandoned the Monophysitism as the Empress did. It should be evident, that the friends of Peter, who placed his liturgical feast on October 3rd just before that of Hierotheos on October 4th, were pure Orthodox believers. The claim of apostolic authorship for the writings of Peter could even be the best means to counter the reaction of the Monophysite side. They might have been offended at reading

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[13] PG 147, 40-41 and E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, Leipzig 1939, p. 3-85. (*Vita Euthymii*).'

[14] R. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer...* (see note 2 above) p. 49.

[15] Ibid., p. 123.

Peter in the hands of Chalcedonians, or even worse at seeing him compromise in the context of the rejected Greek philosophy.

This last argument has been stressed by I. Hausherr. However, I raise the question: What sort of relation was obtained between the great ascetic monk of Gaza Isaias and Peter the Iberian? A reading of the *Life of Isaias* and his *Treatise on Asceticism*, as well as the *Life of Peter* himself by John Rufus, shows that the spirituality which they developed is based entirely on mystical experiences and miraculous events, and is far removed from philosophical speculations. And one should also observe that John Rufus refers to the friendship between Isaias and Peter only in the last part of his *Life*, and makes no mention of it at all when Peter first settles in Maiuma as its bishop. John Rufus brings the two wonderworkers Peter and Isaias together at the end of their lives, as the result of a long movement towards a radical asceticism. We probably have to distinguish the personality of Peter in the 480s from that of the young bishop who took refuge in Egypt in the fifties. It is well known that the citations of Proclus in the Corpus Dionysiacum can only have been made after 462.[16] On the other hand, John the Eunuch had died about 464. During the rule of Emperor Leo some opportunities still arose to sketch out the visions and the experiences of the late mystic John Mithridates. Zacharias the Rhetor, who does not seem to be as militant a Monophysite as John Rufus, tells us that the philosopher Aeneas of Gaza once visited the ascetic Isaias to get some insights on the philosophies of Plato, Aristotle and Plotinus. In another place relates that somebody went to Peter the Iberian, the disciple of Isaias, for less philosophical matters. Lastly, he records that a certain John the Rhetor from Alexandria wrote some booklets under the name of Theodosius of Jerusalem and also under the name of Peter the Iberian.[17] To take the name of Peter in order to give credit to certain ideas makes no sense, if Peter were not known as the sort of man who could have authored this type of work. From these rumors, it seems more probable that John Rufus, in describing Peter as an anti-intellectual disciple of Isaias, presents us with his own thesis of the radical evolution of Peter as a pure Monophysite wonderworker. Zacharias also says that Peter the Iberian once had to deny the authorship of certain works circulating under his name.[18]

Finally let us consider the objection made by R. Roques. He stressed the vague connection between the vision of John Mithridates reported in the *Life of Peter the Iberian*, and the more correct systematisation in the Dionysiac Cor-

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[16] E. Honigmann, *Pierre l'Ibérien* . . . (see note 1 above), p. 4, No 1.

[17] K. Ahrens and G. Krueger, *Die sogenannte* . . . (see note 8 above) p. 17-18.

[18] Ibid., p. 18, 9-15.

pus. However, the vision of Mithridates had to be reported in the year 444, when the final synthesis surely had not yet appeared. It would be premature to seek for the three triads of the Corpus in it. In the *Plerophoriae* there is another vision which Peter himself had as a child. That vision was a symbolic one whose purpose was to justify the theopaschite expression of Peter the Fuller "one of the Trinity has been crucified."[19] Here we surely meet a thesis of John Rufus, since we know that Peter the Iberian in fact agreed to the henotikon of Zeno, who had not accepted the liturgical initiatives of Peter the Fuller.[20] The literary genre of the *Plerophoriae* and of the hagiographical *Life* does not admit of an exact reproduction of the complete treatises which were subsequently transmitted under the name of the Areopagite.

At this point, after having overcome the major objections to Honigmann's thesis, we wish to take up a question which has been received much less attention, that is the connection of the Corpus Dionysiacum with the feast of the Dormition of the Virgin. In a short passage which has been characterised by Bernard Brons as a Pseudo-pseudo Areopagite insertion,[21] the vision of the celestial hierarchy is attributed to Hierotheos at the very moment of the Dormition of the Virgin. Accordingly, in the orthodox versions of the Dormition, Dionysius and Hierotheus are regularly present with the Apostles alongside the couch of the Virgin. Indeed, the heavens opened to receive the body of the Virgin, and so Hierotheus was able to see their organisation. The episode, as Brons observed, was inserted somewhat later, probably by the same people who decided to make a Corpus of 14 epistles, in imitation of the Pauline Corpus, with four longer texts similar to the four long texts of Paul: Romans, the two Corinthians and the Galatians. Was Dionysius not the imitator of the great apostle of the Gentiles?

I should stress one fact mentioned in the *Life of Peter* by John Rufus. Peter the Iberian officiated as a bishop for the first time as a bishop "on the great feast of the 7th of August."[22] What could this phrase mean? We immediately recall that there is no great feast on that day. If it were on the 6th, then it might be the

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[19] Jean Rufus, *Plérophories* (see note 3 above) chapt. 37 p. 86.

[20] E. Honigmann, *Pierre l'Ibérien* . . . (see note 1 above) p. 13 and a less known passage in the *Panegyricon* of Theodorus of Petra on Theodosios Cenobiarchos, ed. H. Usener, Leipzig 1890, p. 66, 8-10: ἐπιτιμάτω τούτοις ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος "Χριστου παθόντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σαρκί" οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ "θεότητι" ἀποφηνάμενος a fine praise of Peter in a thoroughly Chalcedonian context.

[21] B. Brons, "Sekundäre Textpartien im Corpus Pseudo-Dionysiacum," *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* 5 (1975) 102-109.

[22] R. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer* . . . (see note 2 above) p. 56.

Transfiguration, which it surely is not if it is on the 7th. In reality, it is the first day of the week of the Assumption of the Virgin, which is normally observed in the Coptic church on August 9th. However, the occurrence of the number 7 in the *Life of Peter the Iberian* requires some explanation, which does not come easily. Nevertheless some elements from a short Armenian text, which uses many old Judeo-Christian traditions, give us some help.[23] The context is the old so-called sacerdotal calendar, which was in effect in Jerusalem in the time of Theodosius the anti-patriarch. In that calendar, the first days of January, April, July and October are Wednesday. Each trimester contains 91 days, in which the first two months of each trimester contain 30 days, and the third month 31, making 364 days with regular week-days. In this system, the Incarnation, as well as the creation of the World, occurs on Wednesday.[24] The system can be traced through certain passages of the *Chronicon Paschale*.[25]

The connection of Peter with Theodosius is so close that it would be surprising if the *Life* did not contain some trace of that system, which surely had not been in effect for a very long time. Let us consider, for instance, that in 452, a bissextil year, the first trimester amounted to 91 days, both in the Julian and in the sacerdotal system. The second trimester did the same. The third trimester counted one more day in August. Consequently, the Julian 31st July must have been counted as sacerdotal 1st August, and August 7th in Peter's *Life* is really August 8th. Since Peter celebrates at sunset on the 8th,[26] he is already celebrating the Assumption of the Virgin on the 9th.

Another consideration may enter here. Another difficulty in the dating system of Peter's *Life* exists. The saint is said to have died on a *Sunday*, December 1st, at the end of the *Life*, but some pages before the text has him dying on a *Friday*: (E. Schwartz had already written that we had to choose between Friday, December 1st, 489, or Sunday in 491; the latter is the correct solution).[27] In the so-called sacerdotal calendar, the weekdays also had to move

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[23] M. van Esbroeck, "Un court traité pseudo-basilien de mouvance aaronite conservé en arménien," Mus 100 (1987) 385-395. This text was written against the Council of Chalcedon.

[24] For a description of this calendar see A. Jaubert, *La date de la Cène. Calendrier biblique et liturgie chrétienne*, Paris 1957, p. 13-59.

[25] *Chronicon Paschale*, in PG 92, col. 496-497, where the Nativity and the Circumcision occur on a Wednesday; the first pages on the Creation are missing in the *Chronicon*.

[26] R. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer*. . . (see note 2 above) p. 56.

[27] E. Schwartz, "Publizistische Sammlungen zum acacianischen Schisma," *Abhandlunden der Bayer. Akad. der Wiss., phil.-hist.Abt*, N. F. X (München 1934) 111, note 2, where he corrects his previous statement in ID., "Iohannes Rufus, ein

in relation to the numbers of the days of the month. Moreover the Coptic-Arabic *Synaxarion* gives November 28th as the day on which Peter died.[28] At the end of the *Life*, John Rufus explains that three days were devoted to the memory of Peter the Iberian: the 29th, which was also the day of the departure of Peter Mongos of Alexandria, the 30th and 1st of December. Here he adds that the deposition of the saint occurred on November 28th, which seems to have been the reason for the date in the *Synaxarion*. The use of the old sacerdotal calendar can explain these anomalies. There is still another curious shift of two days: old Latin calendars placed the Dormition of the Virgin on the 18th of January,[29] instead of the 16th, or the 21st of the Coptic month Tobi. This too seems to result from the short average of days in the sacerdotal system. If April was the starting point in 451 (Theodosius remained 20 months in the see of Jerusalem), a shift of two days had to be observed in January 452, owing to the 31 days in July and in October. We do not know how the 365th and the 366th days found their place in the year. They probably fitted in as the last two days of the month of February, which comprised 30 days. In such a case, there still remained a shift of two days in August, which would have been caused by the days January 31st and July 31st. At this point there appears the number 7 for the ninth of August, mentioned above. In the same year, after October 31st, the shift amounted to three days, so that November 28th could be thought of as the Julian December 1st. John Rufus knew that the November 28th of his source was given in the sacerdotal system, an adjusted it so that if fell three days later. This solution is perhaps somewhat subtle. Nevertheless, it reconciles the otherwise very unintelligible dates of the sources.

Now it has never been observed that the first great feast Peter the Iberian celebrated as a bishop was August 9th, the feast of the Assumption of our Lady. This makes it clear that the connection of the feast with Monophysite anti-Chalcedonianism in 452 was independent of the tragic episode of the 21st of Tobi or January 16th in 453, about which we have already spoken. Now on the other hand, Honigmann noted that the Monophysite Arabic *Synaxarion* also preserved a feast for Hierotheus on the 21th of Barmudah, that is on April 16th.[30] So Hierotheus finds his place at the exact mid-point between January

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monophysitischer Schriftsteller," *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akad. der Wissensch., phil.-hist.* Kl. (1912) 16, p. 21.

[28] *Synaxarium Alexandrinum*, ed.I. Forget, Paris 1905, p. 132-133, on the first of Kihak (in Arabic).

[29] B. Capelle, "La Fête de l'Assomption dans l'histoire liturgique," *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses* 3 (1926) 35-38.

[30] E. Honigmann, *Pierre l'Ibérien* . . . (see note 1 above) p. 23 note 1.

16th and August 16th, at each of the extremities of the Coptic system for the Assumption. This cannot be a coincidence. Hierotheus is the true witness to the mystery of the *Thedochos*, which had been assumed, that is to the body of the Virgin, the true temple of Christ. This theological reflection on Mariology was already connected with Hierotheus before the time of Dionysius authorship.

This fact also confirms the orthodox origin of the identification of the feast of Hierotheus with that of John the Eunuch on October 4th. We can follow exactly the process of the conversion of Peter the Iberian from an absolute anti-Chalcedonianism. He was inserted into the calendar by people who did not accept the placing of Hierotheos on April 16th. Surely he himself did not achieve the pseudepigraphical attribution of the Corpus. One should note in this context, that the Monophysite narratives of the Dormition thought it best to avoid the presence of Dionysius and Hierotheus at the departure of the Virgin. They invoke the testimonies on the one hand of John, James, Peter and Verus, and on the other of Evodius, Peter, Alexander and Rufus.[31] The first group is probably linked with the Gaianites of Egypt, the other with the Severians of Antioch. But both show a reaction to the group Titus, Timotheus, Dionysius and Hierotheus. This reaction appears most clearly in so-called *Historia Euthymiaca* of the orthodox.[32] Here Juvenal gives an answer to Pulcheria, by pointing out the fact that there are no bodily relics of the Virgin, and by sending to the queen the clothes of the Virgin.

It therefore appears that a connection existed between Hierotheos and the Departure of our Lady, at a time when some writings already circulated under the name of Peter the Iberian. Why he denied the authorship of these booklets can be explained through completely extraneous factors. The speculations about Mary's vision gave birth to some heretical works, in which parallel methods were used. The first one is the *Book of Hierotheus*, the second one is the *Pistis Sophia*.[33] Its real title ΠⲰⲞⲬⲚⲈ ⲘⲠⲤⲰⲦⲎⲢ, or the *Recommendation of the Saviour*, is most probably furnished by John of Parallos,[34] and its composition involved the compilation of several different sources.

[31] M. van Esbroeck, "Les textes littéraires sur l'Assomption avant le Xe siècle," F. Bovon et alii, *Les Actes Apocryphes des Apôtres. Christianisme et monde païen*, Genève 1981, p. 283.

[32] A. Wenger, *L'Assomption* . . . (see note 11 above) p. 136-139.

[33] F. S. Marsh, *The Book which is called The Book of the Holy Hierotheos*, London and Oxford 1927; C. Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia*, Copenhagen 1925.

[34] A. van Lantschoot, "Fragments coptes d'une homélie de Jean de Parallos contre les livres des hérétiques." *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* 1 (Vatican 1946) 303.

The very Evagrian Treatise of Hierotheus already knows the Corpus. It testifies that a Gnostic interpretation of Platonic thinking was not at all impossible in the same milieu where the Corpus Dionysiacum was composed as a deutero-Pauline collection of letters. The letter of Philoxenos to the monks Orestes and Abraham shows that the Book of Hierotheus already existed. That letter must have been written between 494 and 518.[35] The death of Peter the Iberian in 491 occured before the Corpus Dionysiacum was made. It cannot have been made many years after his death. Most probably, the people who put the feast of Hierotheus on October 4th had also some reason to preserve that which was orthodox among those intellectual groups where Platonic philosophy could evolve into heresy. This was a sufficient motive to garner those views from the prior speculations of an originally Monophysite thinker and ascetic, and to mention the authorship in a discrete fashion, so that the anti-Chalcedonian party would not be provoked. In the field of Evagrian Origenism, both the Orthodox and the Monophysite parties professed the same views.

At the end of this brief exposition, I should like to mention Peter the Fuller. The portrait of Peter the Fuller at the end of the *Panegyric of Barnabas* by Alexander of Cyprus[36] corresponds to the portrait of Demophilus in Letter VIII. The author of the letter sees himself as sharing Demophilus's views, but urges him not to innovate in the liturgy: one thinks immediately of the famous expression "one of the Trinity has been crucified." The nickname Demophilus splendidly suits the character of Peter the Fuller. If Demophilus has any historical reality no better example can be found to show how distant Peter the Iberian is from Peter the Fuller. Of course, much remains here for further discussion.

Kaulbachstrasse 31a
D-8000 München-22
Germany

Michel van Esbroeck

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[35] A. de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog. Sa vie, ses écrits, sa théologie*, Louvain 1963, p. 260-261.

[36] *Laudatio Barnabaei* ab Alexandro Cyprio, in *Acta* Sanctorum, Iunii II (1698) 447-449.

Vincenzo Ruggieri, S.J.

Una nota sul *κοιμητήριον* monastico bizantino

Ho avuto modo di analizzare altrove l'origine e la funzione ideologica di un particolare monumento funerario presente nella capitale bizantina, come anche nelle Province meridionali dell'Impero (Siria, Palestina, Egitto). Dai testi da me analizzati, quel monumento era detto in lingua greca *κοιμητήριον* ed in siriaco bēṯ qᵉḇūrā (casa del seppellimento).[1] In quell'occasione analizzai testi appartenenti a date abbastanze alte, arrivando all'incirca all'anno 800. Vi trovai che mentre la *Vita Stephani junioris* (anno 806) persevera nell'uso antico del termine, un carme di Teodoro Studita chiama *κοιμητήριον* il dormitorio monastico.[2] P. Speck, nel suo eccellente commento ai carmi studiti, riconosce quanto poco terreno vi sia perchè si possa speculare sull'origine e motivazione di questa composizione da parte di Teodoro. Avesse lo Studita in mente di chiamare simbolicamente l'estrema dimora — visto l'uso del dormitorio nella vita quotidiana del monaco studita — francamente mi sembra debole il dirlo con l'appoggiarsi su questo solo testo,[3] né voglio ritenere questa sede il luogo per una siffatta analisi.

Nei secoli che seguono, con l'avvento degli estesi *Τυπικά*, i Bizantini recuperano quasi appieno[4] il senso funerario di *κοιμητήριον*. Vorrei fermarmi

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[1] V. Ruggieri, "A proposito di sepoltura monastica: bēṯ qᵉḇūrā, *κοιμητήριον*" in stampa in JÖB 1993; cf. anche le mie osservazioni in OCP 57 (1991) 417-421.

[2] P. Speck, *Theodoros Studites, Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände* (Berlin, 1968) 154.

[3] Teodoro usava, negli stessi carmi, il più noto termine di *κοιτωνίσκος* per indicare il dormitorio: Carme XVI, 6, Speck 146.

[4] Κοιμητήριον come dormitorio (= κοιτωνίσκος): P. Gautier, "Le Typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôménè", REB 43 (1985) 127, 1907-1908 et passim; *κοιμητήριον ταφεῖον*, *ib.* 131, 1967 (115, 1710; 1712-1731 ove si fa menzione di uno ξενοταφεῖον, 1724); di tradizione siriaca era il bēᵉqaḇrē per gli stranieri a Costantinopoli: John of Ephesus, *Lives of Eastern Saints*, ed. E. W. Brooks, PO XVIII, 422; la sepoltura di Simeone il Folle avviene in uno *ξενοτάφιον*: L. Rydén, *Das Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis* (Stockholm-Göteborg-Uppsala, 1963) 168, 13). P. Gautier, "Le Typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator", REB 32 (1974) 107, 1324-109,1344 ove si nomina la fossa comune (1326-7), i cimiteri urbani (1328) e quello monastico esteso su una superficie di ca. 1600 m^2 (1330). Ancora come comune cimitero in L. Petit, "Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotire près d'Aenos (1152)", IRAIK 13 (1908) 46, 20; 46, 35; 66, 18 e 75, 1-10. In questi ultimi casi l'esistenza di un εὐκτήριον accerta l'ufficiatura liturgica nel cimitero. Inteso come τάφος nella chiesa, sembra essere

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brevemente su un paio di testi per illustrare alcuni tratti di questa evoluzione. Il primo documento è il *Synaxarion-Typicon* dell'Evergetis, a suo tempo edito dal Dmitrievskij.[5] Si tratta d'una pagina di natura liturgica che riporta la celebrazione da farsi nel giorno dell'anniversario dei santi fondatori. Il testo scorre come segue:

> di poi discendiamo verso il cimitero (*κατερχόμεθα εἰς τὸν κοιμητήριον*), e facciamo la pannychis presso i santi sepolcri dei fondatori, cantando due canoni . . .; (terminato ciò) si va via. (Abbiamo poi la pannychis dell'agrypnia, ma non sappiamo esattamente dove. Mentre l'orthros si sta svolgendo, certamente in chiesa) scende (*κατέρχεται*) il parekklêsiarchês (detto anche tafiôtês[6]) e prepara giù (*κάτω*) tutto bene a puntino, accende i ceri e le lampade, ed incensa tutto il cimitero. Dopo la fine della Ode Nona, fatta la piccola synaptê, si comincia senz'altro l'exapostcilarion[7] . . . Terminato il canto, uscendo tutti per le porte reali,[8] discendiamo al cimitero cantando (un tropario), e di seguito cantiamo qui le Laudes . . . La liturgia eucaristica si ufficia *ἐν τῷ κοιμητηρίῳ*.

Non starò a parlare della evidente liturgia stazionaria, quanto piuttosto conviene ritenere ciò che il testo illustra apoditticamente: la diversità di strutture edilizie ove sono condotte differenti celebrazioni.

Processionalmente si passa dalla chiesa al *κοιμητήριον*, luogo dove i monaci continuano un'ufficiatura e celebrano anche l'eucaristia. Inoltre, marcato ripetutamente dal testo (*κατερχόμεθα, κάτω*), appare evidente che il *κοιμητήριον* è una costruzione a sè stante, situata probabilmente più in basso rispetto al livello della chiesa citata. Questa testimonianza non rappresenta una copia perfetta del monumento antico, che prevedeva il sepolcro dei fondatori (ed egumeni celebri) quale elemento importante della struttura edilizia del monastero. Tutto il contentuto, o, per meglio dire, gran parte del contenuto liturgico (quello stazionale dell'ufficiatura e dell'eucaristia) è un *novum* dovuto all'incremento storico-ideologico che il monachesimo ha avuto nei secoli e che differenzia notevolmente il nuovo edificio dal suo predecessore siriaco e bizantino tra la fine del IV secolo e gli inizi del V secolo.

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la testimonianza di P. Gautier, "La Typikon du Sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos", REB 42 (1984) 21, 19; 31, 204 et passim.

[5] A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie. Τυπικά* (Kiev, 1895) I, 446-7 (=*Athen. Bibl. Nat. 788*).

[6] Ἐ' ὁ τῶν τάφων λειτουργός: Gautier, REB 40 (1982) 79, 1112.

[7] È il tropario che si canta tra la fine del Canone e l'inizio delle Laudes.

[8] Queste sono le porte della chiesa, in quanto l'ufficiatura è celebrata in chiesa, e non nel santuario.

Il secondo testo ci offre delle similari informazioni sul monastero di Grottaferrata. Queste si evincono dal Γ. α. I, Typicon del monastero stesso.[9] Un appunto di carattere storico si trova al f. 40:

> (Memoria della dedicazione = *ἐγκαίνια* della chiesa della Madre di Dio sotto Papa Giovanni, durante l'egumenato di Bartolomeo il Giovane, nel 6533 = 1024/5[10]). Nell'anno 6639 della creazione del mondo, nel 1131 dell'Incarnazione di N. S. Gesù Cristo, ind. 9, nel suddetto 17 di Dicembre viene dedicato il divino *ναός τοῦ καπιτολίου* (=templum Capituli)[11] nel quale giacciono le sante reliquie dei santi e venerabili nostri Padri Nilo e Bartolomeo, e v'è il *κοιμητήριον* dei fratelli al tempo (*ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις*) dell'egumenato del venerato abate Nicola.

A questo *καπιτόλιον* (*καπίτουλον*), appellato *παρεκκλησία* al dire di Rocchi, "si accede da una porta sotto la navata laterale destra della chiesa".[12]

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[9] La data di confezione di questo Typicon, rinnovamento di un più antico esemplare attribuito a Bartolomeo, è 1299/1300. Sul MS, A. Turyn, "Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourtheenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy", DOP 17 (Washington, 1980) I, 96-98; A. Rocchi, *Codices Cryptenses seu Abbatiae Cryptae Ferratae in Tusculano digesti et illustrati* (Tusculani, 1883) 209-211; P. Rougeris, "Ricerca bibliografica sui 'Typiká' italo-greci", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s. 27 (1973) 12-13; da ultimo S. Parenti, "La celebrazione delle Ore del Venerdì Santo nell'Eucologio G.b. X di Grottaferrata", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s. 44 (1990) spec. 117-121. Per il nostro testo, cf. A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* I, 899 e ss. Con piacere ringrazio la gentilezza del Dr. Stefano Parenti che non solo ha richiamato la mia attenzione su questo MS, ma mi ha altresì supplito le parti non edite con la sua paziente lettura del MS.

[10] Per la data, cf. anche A. 3. V. (Rocchi, *Codices* 21); A. Rocchi, *La Badia di Grottaferrata* (Roma, 1904[2]) 43. Giovanni Papa era Giovanni XIX (=ἐνδεκάτου del Γ. α. I).

[11] A. Rocchi, *De Coenobio Cryptoferratensi eiusque Bibliotheca et Codicibus praesertim Graecis Commentarii* (Tusculi, 1893) 26-7.

[12] T. Minisci, *Santa Maria di Grottaferrata. La Chiesa e il Monastero* (Grottaferrata, 1955) 47. Minisci (*ib.*) continua: "questa capella era dedicata in origine ai santi martiri Adriano e Natalia (forse in memoria del primo Cenobio fondato da S. Nilo in Calabria) e aveva proporzioni molto ridotte. Nel 1131 l'abate Nicolò II la ingrandì e la prolungò nella forma che tuttora conserva, dedicandola ai santi fondatori Nilo e Bartolomeo dei quali racchiudeva le preziose reliquie. Oggi viene chiamata Farnesiana per essere stata ornata artisticamente a cura del cardinale commendatario Odoardo Farnese tra il 1609 e il 1610". Cf. Rocchi. *La Badia di Grottaferrata*, 48-9; indicazioni bibliografiche sulla chiesa del monastero, ultimamente in V. Pace, "La chiesa abbaziale di Grottaferrata e la sua decorazione nel Medioevo", *Atti del I Colloquio Intern.* (Grottaferrata, 26-28 Aprile 1985) = *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s. 41 (1987) 47-87.

Ἐγκαινίσθη riferito a *καπιτόλιον* si riferisce molto realisticamente ad una ristrutturazione dell'edificio funerario, conservante non solo le reliquie dei fondatori, ma anche i resti mortali dei fratelli defunti (forse egumeni o persone di una certa considerazione).[13] Inoltre l'accesso a questo blocco significava *scendere* dal corpo centrale della chiesa verso il *κοιμητήριον*. Il Γ. α. I ci propone dei momenti celebrativi:

1) nella commemorazione dei defunti (2 Nov.) abbiamo una parte del clero che tiene la prescritta acolutia nella grande chiesa (= basilica), ed un'altre parte che si avvia[14] verso il *καπιτόλιον* ove tengono la *νεκρώσιμον ἀκολουθία* (f. 24; Dmitrievskij 905);

2) nel mercoledì della Tirofagia, dopo l'Ora Prima: *τὸ τρισάγιον καὶ ἡ ἀκολουθία τῶν κεκοιμημένων εἰς τὸ καπίτουλον* (f. 107ᵛ);

3) nel primo lunedì di Quaresima, dopo l'Ora Prima: . . . *ψαλλομένου δὲ τοῦ τρισαγίου πορευόμεθα εἰς τὸ καπίτουλον* (f. 111ᵛ), ove segue il salmo 69, il Credo, le Litaniae Sanctorum (alla Grande Compieta), il Trisagion, il Pater noster, lettura di Giacomo, vangelo di Marco, lettura patristica, congedo (non v'è la Messa perchè in Quaresima);

4) nei vespri della Domenica di Pentecoste: μετὰ τὴν ἐκφώνησιν ἄρχεται ὁ ἡγούμενος· Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν (Troparion del giorno), καὶ ψάλλοντες αὐτὸ πορευόμεθα εἰς τὸ καπίτουλον (f. 144ᵛ).

Sembra, da quanto detto, che il *κοιμητήριον* era inglobato nel καπιτόλιον. Vien da pensare che tutta questa costruzione è chiamata dal MS καπιτόλιον perchè in esso avvengono celebrazioni liturgiche; direi che la dimensione cimiteriale come tale fu traslata nella funzione cultica e liturgica ad un certo momento della vita del monastero. Questo tipo di evoluzione all'interno di un centro monastico avente un κοιμητήριον si deve essenzialemente alla nuova lettura storico-ideologica che i monaci dell'inizio del XII sec. fanno sulla presenza e funzione delle reliquie.

Pontificio Istituto Orientale Vincenzo Ruggieri, S.J.

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[13] Il κοιμητήριον a Grottaferrata aveva decisamente il carattere peculiare di struttura sepolcrale adibita per un gruppo ristretto di persone. Ciò risulta più chiaro quando si prenda in considerazione la differenza marcata dal MS a proposito di camposanto e cimitero: (nel Mattutino di Pasqua) . . .ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ἐξερχόμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς πύλης τοῦ καπιτούλου μετὰ τῶν φατλίων ἀπτομένων . . . καὶ εἰσερχόμεθα διὰ τῆς πύλης τοῦ καμπουσάντου καὶ ἀπερχόμεθα ἕως τῆς μεγάλης πύλης τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας (Γ. α. I. f. 133v). La trascrizione di Dmitrievskij I, 911) è errata; cf. il fòlio in A. Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts* II, tav. 75.

[14] Il verbo πορεύομαι, inutile dirlo, è un pattern processionale-liturgico.

Giorgio Ziffer

La tradizione classica e la civiltà letteraria russa medievale

A proposito di un recente lavoro di D. M. Bulanin

Il volume di Dmitrij M. Bulanin costituisce la versione ampliata di una dissertazione ("doktorskaja dissertacija") difesa nell'ottobre del 1989 presso il Puškinskij Dom a Leningrado.[1] L'*avtoreferat* della dissertazione, unitamente ad alcuni articoli usciti a ridosso della sua presentazione,[2] avevano delineato i contorni di un lavoro di cui non era difficile intuire l'enorme rilievo. La sua pubblicazione consente oggi una conoscenza assai più completa dei risultati delle ricerche condotte da Bulanin, e una verifica della prima impressione che aveva suscitato la lettura delle pagine surricordate. Anticipando fin d'ora il giudizio complessivo sul lavoro — un giudizio che argomenterò più in dettaglio dopo averne riassunto il contenuto —, mi pare di poter affermare senza esagerazione che ci troviamo di fronte a un'opera capitale: per gli studi dedicati alla letteratura russa antica e, in virtù dell'importanza delle tematiche affrontate, per l'interpretazione storica dell'intera civiltà letteraria slava ecclesiastica.

L'ampia introduzione, lunga almeno il doppio di ciascuno dei quattro capitoli che seguono, illustra il quadro concettuale e storico in cui si inserisce la problematica indagata (pp. 9-95). L'autore ripercorre in poche pagine la storiografia della questione relativa all'influsso del mondo classico sulla cultura antico-russa, sottolineando assai opportunamente come per molto tempo il problema si sia legato, nella coscienza storica russa, al rapporto fra la Russia e l'Europa (p. 9). La caratteristica comune più evidente dei lavori elencati risiede anzitutto nel loro carattere compilativo, che non li ha preservati da un diffuso pregiudizio europocentrico (p. 17), e che soprattutto li ha portati a eludere proprio le questioni di fondo su cui è imperniato il presente studio: qual è la differenza esistente nei rapporti con la cultura antica fra Bisanzio e la Slavia ortodossa, e in particolare le terre slave orientali? Quale fu il principio che regolò la

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[1] D.M. Bulanin, *Antičnye tradicii v drevnerusskoj literature XI-XVI vv.*, München: Verlag Otto Sagner 1991, pp. 465.

[2] Vd. D.M. Bulanin, *K interpretacii "Narodnogo" žitija Ioanna Ril'skogo*, «Palaeobulgarica» 11 (1987), n. 3, 57-67; id., *Rekonstrukcija drevnerusskogo sbornika XIII v.*, in *Issledovanija po drevnej i novoj literature*, Leningrad 1987, 342-345; id., *Neizvestnyj istočnik Izbornika 1076 g.*, «Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury» 44 (1990), 161-178.

scelta dei motivi classici che vennero assimilati? Chi definì l'ambito tematico e cronologico delle opere che dovevano circolare in Russia? Quali furono gli ostacoli frapposti a una più articolata conoscenza dell'antichità classica? E, infine, come mutò il rapporto con l'eredità classica nel corso dell'intera letteratura russa antica? Già dalla formulazione di tali fondamentali quesiti emerge uno dei meriti maggiori dello studio: la ricerca di una prospettiva ermeneutica che non corra il rischio di proiettare sui fenomeni letterari osservati schemi precostituiti e allotri, ma che al contrario miri a una loro comprensione dall'interno del sistema letterario cui essi appartennero. Il lavoro di Bulanin non fornisce tra l'altro solo una risposta alle questioni suelencate, ma fa anche piazza pulita di alcuni miti storiografici che hanno inquinato gli studi storico-letterari russi quale, per limitarmi a un solo esempio, quello che si riferisce alle tendenze anticheggianti del cosiddetto, da alcuni studiosi, Rinascimento russo (pp. 21-22).

L'accentuato carattere confessionale della civiltà letteraria sviluppatasi nelle terre slave ortodosse determinò l'impossibilità di una ricezione puramente estetica (o storica) dell'eredità classica, dove tanta parte aveva il politeismo. Da questa premessa discende l'assenza nei Balcani come nella Slavia orientale del maggior canale attraverso il quale Bisanzio continuò ad attingere alle fonti classiche, quella scuola di stampo ellenistico che il mondo bizantino non avrebbe mai rinnegato lungo tutto il corso della propria storia.[3] Nonostante il conseguente tacito divieto elevato contro una conoscenza diretta dell'eredità greco-romana, diversi suoi elementi penetrarono ugualmente nella cultura slava ecclesiastica, e quindi anche russa. Allo scopo di comprendere in quale modo avvenisse tale assimilazione, l'autore si sofferma su quattro aspetti principali che sembrano esaurire le possibilità di cui il Medioevo slavo ecclesiastico si valse per conoscere almeno in parte la cultura classica: le vie attraverso le quali i letterati slavi avvicinarono la religione e la mitologia degli antichi; il ruolo svolto dal mondo classico nella coscienza storica del Medioevo slavo; i princìpi che guidarono la ricezione di testi classici, sia autentici che pseudepigrafi, nella letteratura slava ecclesiastica; quali lacerti della retorica antica, racchiusi in testi bizantini, poterono raggiungere la civiltà letteraria slava ecclesiastica.

Già per questa prima parte del lavoro riesce difficile riassumere la ricchezza e la profondità delle osservazioni di cui l'autore ha disseminato le sue pagine. Senza la pretesa di seguire nei dettagli le argomentazioni sviluppate dall'autore, mi limito a sottolineare alcuni punti di particolare rilievo. Il paragone qui isti-

[3] Sul sistema educativo bizantino vd. ora la sintetica esposizione di R. Browning, *L'insegnante*, in *L'uomo bizantino*, a cura di G. Cavallo, Roma-Bari 1992, 129-164, in particolare 131-147.

tuito fra la polemica condotta contro la mitologia nella Slavia ortodossa e a Bisanzio permette p. es. all'autore di dimostrare come non si possa contrapporre in maniera troppo rigida le due culture l'una all'altra, ma come invece si tratti di cogliere le affinità e i legami della civiltà letteraria slava ecclesiastica con una particolare sfera del mondo bizantino, e più precisamente con la cultura religiosa espressa non già dalle sue *élites,* bensì dal monachesimo, assai più sospettoso verso l'intera eredità classica.

Il posto occupato dal mondo classico nella coscienza storica slava medievale viene indagato non solo sulla base della letteratura cronografica e cronachistica, ma anche con l'ausilio di opere quali il *Romanzo di Alessandro* o la *Storia giudaica.* Assai interessanti risultano qui p. es. le considerazioni svolte a proposito dell'opera storiografica di Giuseppe Flavio. Bulanin avanza l'ipotesi che la *Storia giudaica* sia stata tradotta e letta inizialmente alla stregua di un racconto di guerra ("voinskaja povest'"), e solo in seguito reinterpretata in chiave storica. I famosi inserti cristologici, che come è noto sono documentati solo nella traduzione slava del testo, sarebbero, secondo l'autore, da collegarsi a questa rinnovata lettura dell'opera, e risulterebbero quindi del tutto secondari. Lo studio delle sentenze conservate all'interno di svariati florilegi (p. es. la *Pčela*) consente all'autore di correggere precedenti interpretazioni date da altri studiosi sui rapporti fra i modelli bizantini e le rispettive traduzioni slave, di cui vengono qui giustamente sottolineate le differenze sul piano funzionale.

Il riesame delle numerose opere su cui Bulanin basa il proprio ragionamento nella lunga introduzione conferma, al di là delle molte precisazioni fornite dall'autore intorno a singoli problemi, come l'immagine che del mondo classico ebbero i letterati slavi, dalla Bulgaria del secolo d'oro fino alla Russia moscovita del '500, fosse sempre parziale, perché condizionata da una pregiudiziale avversione per tutto ciò che era pagano. Se nell'introduzione lo studioso russo si sofferma su testi largamente noti e già oggetto di più o meno approfondite ricerche, i quattro capitoli che seguono sono invece dedicati a opere slavo-ecclesiastiche assai meno conosciute e comunque poco studiate.

Il primo capitolo è interamente dedicato alla traduzione slava del *Manuale* di Epitteto (pp. 96-137). Conservata da otto codici russi, di cui solo uno è anteriore al XV secolo,[4] questa traduzione assume un'importanza particolare nell'intera tradizione slava ecclesiastica, in quanto, seppure in una forma cri-

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[4] Delle tre copie delle *Velikie Minei-Čet'i* Bulanin prende giustamente in considerazione solo la più antica, la *Sofijskaju.* Occorre però aggiungere che anche il ms. S. Pietroburgo, GPB, codice Soloveckij monastyr' 930/1040, rappresenta un *descriptus* (p. 301), e che pertanto i testimoni operanti per la costituzione del testo sono in realtà solo sette.

stianizzata, conserva un'opera di uno dei maggiori rappresentanti dello stoicismo antico. Dopo aver rapidamente schizzato la fortuna del *Manuale* (pp. 98-103), Bulanin passa a occuparsi più in dettaglio della traduzione slava, che risale a una parafrasi cristiana sorta in ambiente monastico in epoca imprecisata. La traduzione slava riveste un certo interesse anche per la tradizione greca in quanto assai vicina al suo archetipo (pp. 106-107). Essenziale è però soprattutto la questione cronologica: quando è stata eseguita la traduzione? Il suo esame permette all'autore di collegarne la genesi con la cosiddetta scuola di Preslav e di datarla quindi al X secolo (pp. 106-114). Vi è poi una prova supplementare che in maniera incontrovertibile conferma la datazione proposta dall'autore. Nella sezione *Nakazanie bogatym* dell'*Izbornik* del 1076, risalente per la massima parte all'*Esposizione di capitoli ammonitori* del diacono Agapeto, è infatti contentuto anche un breve estratto del *Manuale* di Epitteto, finora mai identificato, che deriva dalla stessa traduzione attestata solo da più tardi codici slavi orientali. Dopo aver quindi discusso la possibilità che l'attribuzione a Massimo il Confessore della parafrasi qui studiata non sia arbitraria, e possa anzi rispondere a verità (pp. 118-123) — ma occorre ricordare a questo proposito che il numero di testi che nella tradizione greca viaggiano sotto il (falso) nome di Massimo il Confessore è assai elevato —, e dopo aver fornito nuove precisazioni sui rapporti esistenti fra le prime due versioni cristianizzate del *Manuale* (pp. 123-124), l'autore passa a esaminare il contesto ("konvoj") in cui il *Manuale* è trasmesso nelle *Velikie Minei-Čet'i* sotto la data del 29 febbraio. Le conclusioni cui giunge Bulanin sono di enorme rilievo per tutto l'insieme di florilegi slavo-ecclesiastici: egli dimostra infatti l'esistenza di uno *sbornik*, che viene ricostruito nelle sue linee essenziali, preesistente all'*Izbornik* del 1076, e dal quale il compilatore di quest'ultimo ha tratto i brani di Agapeto ed Epitteto, oltre a due estratti di Massimo il Confessore che non erano finora mai stati identificati. L'indagine si allarga qui anche ad altre consimili compilazioni sia slave meridionali, sia slave orientali che contribuiscono tutte ad arricchire in misura sostanziale il quadro tracciato da Bulanin. Il legame testuale che lo studioso individua fra la traduzione slava ecclesiastica dell'*Esposizione* di Agapeto e del *Manuale* di Epitteto permette infine di chiarire come anche la traduzione dell'opera di Agapeto fosse stata dettata da una sua lettura in chiave edificante e moraleggiante, e non già da un interesse per il suo contenuto politico.[5]

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[5] Sui problemi sollevati dalla tradizione slava di Agapeto, vd. anche la mia recensione a I. Ševčenko, *Byzantium and the Slavs*, Cambridge, Mass. – Napoli 1991, «Annali del Dipartimento di studi dell'Europa orientale. Sezione Slavistica» 1 (1992), in corso di stampa.

Il secondo capitolo è dedicato ai soggetti mitologici nella raccolta di omelie di Gregorio di Nazianzo con gli scolii di Niceta di Eraclea (pp. 138-172). L'autore riassume dapprima la storia degli studi consacrati alla tradizione slava di Gregorio, un campo di ricerca finora alquanto trascurato e che in futuro meriterà senza dubbio di essere esplorato più a fondo. Anche in questo caso Bulanin non si limita però a ripetere le conclusioni (in parte del resto provvisorie) cui sono giunti gli studiosi che lo hanno preceduto, ma suggerisce nuove proposte interpretative. Egli illustra p. es. i motivi che sembrano giustificare la datazione della terza redazione della traduzione slava di Gregorio, finora legata al nome del patriarca Eutimio, a un periodo anteriore (p. 141-142).[6] Dopo essersi inoltre soffermato sulle caratteristiche del commento di Niceta, l'autore elenca i brani a contenuto mitologico presenti nelle omelie di Gregorio (pp. 147-153). Il costante interesse dei letterati slavi medievali per le reminiscenze mitologiche che essi trovavano nelle omelie e nei relativi scolii di Niceta è confermato dai numerosi luoghi in cui, fin dai tempi più antichi, la tradizione letteraria slava ecclesiastica fa esplicito riferimento al testo di Gregorio (pp. 154-172): dalle glosse marginali conservate nell'unico testimone che raccoglie tredici, e non sedici, omelie di Gregorio e che è datato all'XI secolo, si giunge fino alla raccolta di omelie di Simeon Polockij, *Večerja duševnaja*. Impossibile o quasi, qui come altrove, riassumere in maniera adeguata la dovizia di spunti e di considerazioni innovative presentate dall'autore. Ricorderò però almeno le interessanti osservazioni su alcuni scolii inediti alle omelie 9ª e 10ª conservati in due codici serbi del XIV e XV secolo; sull'influsso esercitato dagli scolii di Niceta sul *Russkij Chronograf*, e in particolare sulla *Povest' o sozdanii i poplenenii Trojskom*, e attraverso di esso sulla *Kazanskaja istorija*; sul *Pochval'noe slovo Vasiliju III* che l'autore attribuisce qui per la prima volta a Fedor Karpov; e poi ancora su Maksim Grek, Ivan il Terribile, Zinovij Otenskij, Ivan Rykov, sull'*Azbukovnik*, ecc., per concludere, come si è detto, con Simeon Polockij. L'indagine, che future ricerche potranno sì arricchire, ma non modificare nelle sue linee essenziali, permette di scorgere una prevalente lettura "attualizzante" dei riferimenti mitologici del Nazianzeno in cui questi vengono p. es. equiparati alle sopravvivenze del paganesimo slavo, o invece vengono utilizzati per muovere accuse di idolatria, come p. es. fa Ivan il Terribile con il principe Kurbskij. Sarà solo in una seconda fase, che si annuncia all'epoca del patriarca Eutimio e che diventerà più evidente soprattutto a partire dal XV-XVI secolo, che

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[6] Vd. però la p. 158 dove, probabilmente per una svista, tale redazione viene ancora definita eutimiana.

l'interesse per le reminiscenze mitologiche qui indagate acquisterà invece sempre più carattere storico-culturale.

Il terzo capitolo è dedicato all'epistolografia russa nei suoi rapporti con la teoria epistolare antica (pp. 173-216). In particolare l'autore studia la "lettera di amicizia" ("druženskoe pis'mo"), fiorita soprattutto fra IV e V secolo e la cui composizione doveva rispondere a ben precise regole retoriche. Ebbene, per la Russia medievale Bulanin dimostra che non vi è nessun valido motivo che permetta di parlare di un vero e proprio genere epistolografico russo nel solco di quello bizantino, e che il modello predominante è semmai quello delle lettere apostoliche, oppure addirittura di generi del tutto diversi (pp. 184-185).

Un'evidente eccezione è costituita da una lettera, che si finge indirizzata da un tale Sosipatro ad Assioco, del famoso storico bizantino del VII secolo Teofilo Simocatta, recata da quattro codici slavi orientali (di cui due già incontrati in precedenza fra quelli che conservano la traduzione slava di Epitteto). Tradotta in Bulgaria all'epoca dello zar Simeon — un'epoca che giustamente Bulanin interpreta non solo come il "secolo d'oro" della letteratura slava ecclesiastica, ma anche come un periodo di sperimentazioni, alcune delle quali non ebbero in seguito sviluppo (si pensi p. es. anche ai componimenti poetici in metri sillabici che videro allora la luce) —, la lettera di Teofilo Simocatta, che costituisce un tipico prodotto dell'epistolografia bizantina, rimarrà del tutto isolata nel sistema letterario slavo ecclesiastico per mezzo millennio. Solo nel XV secolo Vasilij D. Ermolin mostrerà, con la sua lettera a Jakov, segretario di Casimiro IV, re di Polonia e gran principe lituano, nota col titolo convenzionale, e con ogni probabilità spurio, di *Poslanie ot druga k drugu*, di sapersi ricollegare a quella specifica tradizione retorica. Non a caso, come ricorda assai opportunamente Bulanin, la lettera è opera di un autore imbevuto di cultura occidentale, mediata in questo caso attraverso quella polacca. Dopo aver analizzato la corrispondenza di Ivan il Terribile e del principe Kurbskij, e essersi soffermato su Maksim Grek, l'autore concentra la propria attenzione su Fedor Karpov (pp. 200-209), uno degli scrittori russi del XVI secolo forse più interessanti in assoluto. Il magro catalogo delle opere sicuramente composte da questo autore viene qui addirittura raddoppiato: ai quattro testi che gli erano stati in passato attribuiti, Bulanin è infatti in grado di aggiungere il *Pochval'noe slovo Vasiliju III*, finora rimasto anonimo, e ben tre nuove lettere.[7] Il capitolo si chiude infine

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[7] In questo modo l'autore arricchisce in misura notevole l'immagine dello scrittore che egli stesso aveva delineato nello *Slovar' knižnikov i knižnosti Drevnej Rusi, vyp. 2 (vtoraja polovina XIV-XVI v.)*, č. 1: A-K. Otv. red. D.S. Lichačev, Leningrad 1988, 459-461, s.v. *Karpov Fedor Ivanovič*.

sull'esame di una serie di testi che fuoriescono dall'ambito cronologico in cui si muove la ricerca e che mostrano la progressiva diffusione di esempi del genere epistolografico sempre più aderenti ai modelli classici. Ma si tratta di fenomeni che riflettono le modificazioni cui nel '600 va incontro il sistema letterario russo antico e che non intaccano affatto le conclusioni cui l'autore è pervenuto: così come gli Slavi ortodossi non hanno conosciuto la poesia profana, allo stesso modo essi, tranne le eccezioni suddette, non hanno frequentato la "lettera d'amicizia" di tipo bizantino.

Il quarto capitolo è dedicato all'esame di due motivi nella topica anticorussa relativi all'immagine che l'autore trasmette di sé e che risalgono entrambi all'antichità (pp. 217-263). Si tratta da un lato della frequente precisazione dello scrittore antico-russo che sottolinea di non aver studiato nell'Atene pagana, e dall'altro del noto paragone fra lo scrittore e l'ape. Sulla base di una conoscenza impareggiabile dei testi, non solo slavi e non solo medievali, e grazie a un'acuta sensibilità storica, l'autore illumina il significato e l'evoluzione dei due luoghi letterari.

Le brevi considerazioni finali offrono l'occasione per ricapitolare i principali risultati emersi dall'indagine compiuta dallo studioso (pp. 264-276). Egli sottolinea così la validità dell'interpretazione avanzata da Riccardo Picchio, che vede nella letteratura bulgara prodotta nella Bulgaria del IX-X secolo sotto l'egida di Simeon una "letteratura paradigmatica", capace di dar forma compiuta a quel sistema letterario slavo ecclesiastico che sarebbe durato, con alcune differenze a seconda delle diverse zone della Slavia ortodossa, almeno fino al XVIII secolo. La decisione di chiudere la nuova civiltà letteraria slava all'influsso della cultura classica fu presa allora, dalla seconda generazione di letterati slavi che si trovarono di fronte all'impegnativo compito di completare e rinsaldare l'opera avviata da Costantino e Metodio e dai loro più immediati discepoli. Fu sempre allora che la parte della civiltà slava destinata a dar presto vita alla Slavia ortodossa decise di non trapiantare sul proprio suolo quella scuola bizantina che risaliva all'epoca ellenistica, e che avrebbe permesso al mondo bizantino di non recidere mai i suoi legami diretti con la cultura classica. Una volta delineato il quadro generale, l'autore si sofferma poi su due periodi in cui la tradizione classica sembra (almeno in parte) superare gli ostacoli frapposti a una sua più piena conoscenza. In quella stessa Bulgaria dello zar Simeon che crea il nuovo sistema letterario slavo ecclesiastico su basi esplicitamente confessionali, ripudiando quindi in sostanza l'eredità classica, alcuni singoli frammenti di quella tradizione vengono però ugualmente assimilati. Sarà in seguito solo nella Russia moscovita, tra la fine del XV e l'inizio del XVI secolo, che le reminiscenze classiche si presenteranno talvolta di nuovo prive di

quella particolare connotazione negativa che è loro di solito peculiare nella tradizione letteraria slava ecclesiastica: ma si tratta oramai di uno sviluppo che sembra preludere alle profonde trasformazioni che il sistema letterario russo subirà nel corso del '600 quando, nella nuova temperie barocca, sempre più spesso gli elementi mitologici si intrecceranno con quelli cristiani.

Le tre appendici contengono le edizioni dei principali testi cui sono dedicati i primi tre capitoli del libro, dal *Manuale* di Epitteto fino alle tre lettere inedite di Fedor Karpov (pp. 301-369). Basate sull'esame critico della tradizione, le edizioni hanno l'unico inconveniente di presentare l'apparato critico e scritturistico non nel basso della pagina, bensì in fondo a ogni singolo testo pubblicato; per il resto si aggiungono ai molti pregi che il volume già offre. Seguono infine la ricca bibliografia, la lista delle abbreviazioni, l'elenco dei manoscritti utilizzati e l'indice dei nomi.

Ho già anticipato fin dall'inizio il giudizio su un volume che, non è difficile prevederlo, è destinato a diventare un'opera fondamentale nel campo degli studi storico-letterari russi, e slavo-ecclesiastici in genere. Uno dei meriti maggiori del libro consiste innanzitutto nella ricca messe di nuovi dati documentari che esso presenta. E non mi riferisco qui soltanto ai testi che sono al centro del lavoro, dal *Manuale* di Epitteto alle omelie di Gregorio di Nazianzo e ai nuovi testi attribuiti a Fedor Karpov, quanto alle innumerevoli osservazioni critiche che gettano nuova luce su un *corpus* di testi talmente vasto da coprire una buona parte della letteratura russa medievale, e tanto della letteratura originale quanto di quella di traduzione.[8] Non è purtroppo possibile riassumere qui la ricchezza e la profondità degli spunti offerti dal lavoro: il lettore ne troverà egli stesso conferma quasi a ogni pagina. Insieme a un'incomparabile conoscenza della sterminata documentazione manoscritta slava ecclesiastica — e lo studio di Bulanin mostra una volta di più, se pure ve ne fosse bisogno, che non è ancora possibile fare storia della letteratura russa antica senza un'adeguata conoscenza della sua tradizione manoscritta —, andrà sottolineata la sua familiarità non solo con gli studi prodotti in Russia o in altri paesi slavi, ma anche con la bibliografia critica occidentale.[9]

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[8] Lo studio di Bulanin mostra del resto nella maniera più evidente la necessità, ma anche i vantaggi, che allo storico della letteratura russa antica derivano dall'attribuzione di pari diritti alla letteratura di traduzione rispetto a quella originale, e dalla costante attenzione rivolta, al di là dei confini russi, alla restante tradizione slava ecclesiastica.

[9] Sono estremamente rare le integrazioni che possono essere segnalate a questo proposito: nel primo paragrafo del IV capitolo può p. es. essere aggiunto il riferimento all'importante saggio di R. Picchio, *L''intreccio delle parole' e gli stili letterari presso gli slavi ortodossi nel tardo Medio Evo*, in *Studi slavistici in ricordo di Carlo Verdiani*,

I pregi del volume di Bulanin non si esauriscono però qui, poiché ciò che forse più avvince nello studioso è la capacità di ordinare la sua brulicante materia in un chiaro disegno storico in cui ogni fatto, anche se apparentemente minore, o addirittura minimo, riceve una spiegazione insieme chiara e persuasiva. Una risposta esauriente trova soprattutto la questione principale posta all'inizio del lavoro: il Medioevo slavo ecclesiastico ebbe un rapporto piuttosto episodico e superficiale con la tradizione classica non perché sprofondato nelle tenebre dell'ignoranza o per via di una congenita impossibilità ad accostarsi a tale eredità, quanto a causa delle proprie basi dottrinali, e in primo luogo confessionali, che gli impedivano un approccio puramente storico o estetico al mondo classico.

In altre parole, Bulanin è riuscito con questo suo studio davvero esemplare a fornire, dei rapporti fra la civiltà letteraria russa antica (e slava ecclesiastica) e la tradizione classica, una lettura estremamente convincente, dalla quale nessuno studio incentrato su questi temi potrà in futuro prescindere. Altre ricerche verranno senza dubbio ad arricchire e approfondire le nostre conoscenze sulla tradizione antica nella letteratura russa medievale, ma difficilmente troveranno, per usare le parole di A.S. Puškin, evocato in apertura e a conclusione del libro, "una formula o un pensiero diversi" da quelli proposti dallo studioso russo.

Università degli Studi di Udine Giorgio Ziffer
V.le Ungheria, 18
I-22100 Udine

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a cura di A.M. Raffo, Pisa 1979, 245-262. Ma si tratta, è bene sottolinearlo, non di una lacuna che corra il rischio di intaccare il ragionamento dell'autore, quanto di un lavoro che offre un'ulteriore conferma della giustezza del metodo e dei risultati cui perviene l'autore. Pochi anche gli errori di stampa o le semplici sviste in cui mi sono imbattuto: a p. 37, l. 7 *ab imo*: *Vizintinocentristskoj* (per *Vizantinocentristskoj*); a p. 101, l. 1: *kotoryj* (per *kotoraja*, trattandosi di una donna, Mercedes Piscopo); a p. 267, l. 13 *ab imo*: *nazyvaet* (per *nazyvaem*); a p. 378, l. 4 *o* (per *i*).

Edward G. Farrugia, S.J.

Una storia della filosofia russa[1]

L'autore di questo volume, il padre Gino Piovesana, S.J., ha ricoperto incarichi di responsabilità che gli hanno consentito di sviluppare una grande e diuturna sensibilità per le cose russe. Così, oltre ad essere stato rettore della comunità e cancelliere della Sophia University di Tokyo, dove ha fondato un Istituto di studi russi, egli ha soggiornato alcuni anni alla Fordham University, direttore del Centro di studi russi presso quella università. Il Papa lo nomina rettore del Pontificio Collegio Russo nel 1979, e, dopo sei anni, lo fa rettore del Pontificio Istituto Orientale, dal 1986 al 1990. Il suo acume critico e le sue capacità sintetiche G. Piovesana li aveva già messi alla prova in un libro, divenuto classico, *Recent Japanese Philosophical Thought (1862-1962)*,[2] tradotto in varie lingue, incluso l'italiano.[3] D'altronde egli ha incominciato a interessarsi al pensiero russo fino da giovane gesuita quando studiava il russo e frequentava il Russicum dal 1946. Piovesana è la persona indicata per intraprendere un progetto così impegnativo come la storia millennaria del pensiero filosofico russo, mai prima d'ora affrontata direttamente in italiano. L'opera è risultato di molti anni di insegnamento a Tokyo, New York e Roma.

SUDDIVISIONE DELL'OPERA

L'A. articola il suo lavoro in dodici capitoli, con una prefazione all'inizio (pp. 5-7), una nota sui segni diacritici in ordine alla pronunzia (p. 8) e un riassunto alla fine (pp. 401-407). Come rileva la prefazione, l'attualità di tale opera appare dal dibattito, tuttora in corso, sul destino della Russia, un dibattito che ha diviso le opinioni attraverso i secoli (p. 7). Il primo capitolo, "Un lungo prologo: secoli x-xvii," (pp. 9-41), cerca di cogliere i frammenti, talvolta aurei, del pensiero russo ai suoi inizi, fino alla soglia dell'illuminismo, trattato nel secondo capitolo, "Illuminismo russo: Radiščev e Skovoroda"[4] (pp. 42-76). Una filosofia più autonoma si sviluppa, paradossalmente, attraverso l'influsso di filosofie occidentali, come quelle di Schelling e di Hegel. L'A. ne discute rispet-

[1] G. Piovesana, *Storia del pensiero filosofico russo (988-1988)*. Ed. Paoline, Milano 1992, pp. 415.

[2] Enderle, Tokyo 1968[3].

[3] *Filosofia giapponese contemporanea*. Patron, Bologna 1968.

[4] Cfr G. Piovesana, "G. S. Skovoroda (1722-1794), primo filosofo ucraino-russo," OCP 55 (1989) 169-196.

tivamente nei capitoli tre e quattro, "Inizi dell'Ottocento: Schelling in Russia; Čaadaev" (pp. 77-105) e "Hegel negli anni '40: Slavofili e occidentalisti" (pp. 106-134).

Seguono quattro capitoli su diversi movimenti intellettuali, cioè su "Radicalismo materialista e nichilismo negli anni '40" (pp. 135-159), "Anarchismo, positivismo e populismo degli anni '70" (pp. 160-186), "Intellighentsia. Turgenev, Dostoevskij e Tolstoj" (pp. 187-212), "Panslavismo: Danilevskij e Strachov, Leont'ev e Rozanov" (pp. 213-240). Con Solov'ëv, il pensiero filosofico russo raggiunge il suo vertice, in contrapposizione al pensiero scolastico delle accademie ecclesiastiche, di cui A.M. Bucharev è insieme eccezione e conferma della regola.[5] Il pensiero di Solov'ëv contrasta pure con quello di N. Fëdorov, la cui "filosofia dell'opera comune"[6] ha del resto grande successo (pp. 241-278). Il liberalismo e l'idealismo nel diritto vengono analizzati a proposito di B. Čičerin e di di P. Novgorodstev (pp. 279-303). Nell'11° capitolo l'A. spiega alcune tendenze filosofiche sviluppatesi fino al 1917 (pp. 304-343), mentre il 12° si occupa dei movimenti filosofici fino a M. Gorbačev e del risveglio della filosofia in Russia dopo lunghi anni di esilio (pp. 344-394). Le ultime pagine (pp. 401-407), a mo' di conclusione, aiutano a caratterizzare sinteticamente il pensiero filosofico russo.

ALCUNE SCELTE PRELIMINARI

Già il titolo pone l'A. davanti ad una scelta. Data la brevità della storia della filosofia vera e propria, che non va oltre gli ultimi due secoli, non volendo mettere tra parentesi tanti elementi emblematici per la ricostruzione di una filosofia genuinamente russa, l'A. è cauto nell'usare la parola "filosofia", che potrebbe prestarsi all'ambiguità. D'altro canto, anche la filosofia strettamente detta viene considerata nel suo contesto più ampio (p. 6), per poterne restaurare lo sfondo sociale-politico, indispensabile per afferrare la portata di un'idea. Perciò l'opera contiene molti elementi che non appartengono strettamente alla filosofia (in senso occidentale). Questa scelta si rivela saggia, perchè consente di riconoscere un filo conduttore, a tratti tortuoso nella sua carica speculativa, come nel caso della sofiologia di Vladimir Solov'ëv (1853-1900), o del pensiero di Pavel Florenskij (1892-1937) e di Sergej Bulgakov (1871-1944). Ma a volte questa preoccupazione corre il pericolo di perdersi in quei panorami immensi, che

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[5] Ma non la sola eccezione. Come fa notare F. Copleston (*Philosophy in Russia: From Herzen to Lenin and Berdyaev*, Search Press/Notre Dame, 1986, p. 401), le Accademie teologiche avevano anche degli studiosi insigni, come V. L. Nesmelov (1863-1920), M.N. Tareev (1866-1934) e V. Bolotov (1859-1900).

[6] G. Florovskij, *Vie della teologia russa*. Marietti, Genova 1987, pp. 256, 261-262, parla di "causa comune."

formano il *milieu* naturale di pensatori così diversi come Dostoevskij e Fëdorov. Questa storia della filosofia è veramente — storia! Infatti il suo discorso rintraccia cause, prossime e remote, seguendole fino al loro sfociare in altri movimenti. La continuità è garantita da costanti, come il dibattito sull'appartenenza all'Oriente o all'Occidente (p. 6), ma anche attraverso le caratterizzazioni del pensiero russo, proposte alla fine del libro.

Come ho detto, un'opera simile non era mai stata scritta originariamente in italiano. Se la paragono con l'opera di un altro professore del PIO, p. Bernhard Schultze, *Pensatori russi di fronte a Cristo*,[7] se ne vedono le divergenze di metodo. Ambedue offrono ricchi cenni biografici, ma mentre Schultze dà molti testi con ritratti o medaglioni di pensatori, piuttosto isolati l'uno dall'altro, la storia di Piovesana, meno ricca di testi, è tuttavia più scorrevole e più continua.[8] Piovesana tesse la trama storica via via, attorno a temi speculativi, personalità o gruppi di pensatori russi. Così, per esempio, si rifà al romanzo di Ivan Turgenev (1818-83), *Padri e Figli*, almeno sei volte.[9]

Forse il porre l'accento sulla narrativa,[10] contrasta con le problematiche meno gratificanti di un'esposizione filosofica. Ma in Russia, una netta distinzione tra filosofia e teologia non è di casa, almeno in via di principio. Promuovere una tale distinzione, sia pure per motivi metodologici, rischia di cadere nell'astratto e di falsificare il pensiero russo, che consiste nell'essere concreti e personalizzati. Certo, lo scrittore deve distinguere tra principio teoretico e realizzazione fattuale; deve diversificare, a seconda degli autori e delle fasi del pensiero. Intanto, il principio enunciato resta almeno criterio di interpretazione. Ma Piovesana scrive per lettori occidentali, abituati a concetti chiari e distinti, mancando i quali il lettore dubiterebbe che si tratti di filosofia.

GIUDIZIO ATTRAVERSO COSTANTI

La prima costante è quella del dialogo Est-Ovest. Ha segnato di continuo il destino della Russia fino ad'oggi, anche nelle brusche svolte in favore dell'una o dell'altra parte. Non per niente il più grande filosofo russo è da ritenersi Vladimir Solov'ëv, con la sua visione pan-unitaria, che include la riconciliazione tra Est e Ovest. A causa di questa lotta e tensione, mai risolta del tutto ma che, come le oscillazioni del pendolo, condiziona tutta una società, nell'una o nell'altra direzione, la storia del pensiero filosofico russo si può considerare da questo punto di vista. Il confronto Est-Ovest si può seguire attraverso tutto il

[7] I-III, Firenze 1947.

[8] Piovesana ha d'altronde preparato un'antologia di testi (non ancora pubblicata).

[9] Pp. 141, 154, 158, 187, 191 e 192.

[10] Vedi anche pp. 77-78.

percorso della storia di Piovesana, nei singoli suoi momenti; da quello che inizia col battesimo del principe san Vladimiro nel 988, con la sua opzione per Bisanzio; al rilevamento dello stendardo bizantino da parte di Ivan III (1462-1505), suggellato nel matrimonio con Zoe, figlia dell'ultimo imperatore bizantino, fino alla concezione di Mosca, quale Terza Roma; alla nuova orientazione verso Bisanzio insita nelle riforme del patriarca Nikon, con il risultato dello scisma dei Vecchio-Credenti, paladini dell'autonomia russa; alla occidentalizzazione intrapresa da Pietro il Grande e Caterina II (1762-1796); al conflitto tra slavofili e occidentalisti, che più tardi sfocerà nel panslavismo e nel comunismo, suggellati contro l'Occidente, come pure nell'eurasiatismo, di cui sarà membro G. Florovskij. E' significativo che Berdjaev, divenuto acerrimo nemico del comunismo, dirà che almeno un suo apporto positivo consiste nell'aver impedito l'europeizzazione della Russia.[11]

Più che altro, questo dato di fatto spiega, secondo l'A., l'isolamento e il secolare ritardo russo (p. 401). Questa presa di posizione spiega anche la discussione di G. Florovskij, che, con la sua accentuazione della ricchezza culturale bizantina, può interpretare questo secolare ritardo nel progresso, solo come crisi del bizantinismo russo (p. 10; cfr p. 39). Alla critica di Florovskij che l'influsso occidentale abbia cagionato una "pseudo-morfosi" o deformazione del pensiero ortodosso, facendolo deviare dalla genuina tradizione patristica (p. 25), l'A. ribatte mostrando l'influsso benefico delle scuole sul modello dell'Accademia Moghiliana di Kiev, citando a sostegno della sua tesi il già rettore di Saint-Serge, A. Knjazeff: la scolastica di Kiev creò un pensiero chiaro e disciplinato, perchè, invece di mettersi sulla difensiva contro le idee provenienti dall'Occidente, seppe sfruttarle a proprio vantaggio (pp. 40-41).[12]

Da una lettura del lavoro si può desumere che la storia del pensiero russo si rivela anche nei generi letterari. Infatti, Fëdor Dostoevskij (1821-81) e Lev Tolstoj (1829-1910) sono grandi letterati; i simbolisti Andrej Belyj (1880-1934), Aleksander Blok (1880-1921) e Vjačeslav Ivanov (1866-1949) sono poeti, come Radiščev e Skovoroda. Sorprende dunque che Piovesana non abbia fatto più ampio ricorso ad un'analisi dei generi letterari, quando si tratta di Dostoevskij e di Florenskij. Certo, egli fa riferimento frequente alla letteratura e specialmente alla teologia; manca comunque un rinvio adequato ad un mezzo di comunicazione così potente come le icone, riscoperte non solo quale parte integrante di un patrimonio ricuperato, ma anche come oggetto di riflessione generale; basta pensare, in proposito, a Evgenij Trubetskoj (1863-1920) e a

[11] F. Rouleau, *Ivan Kiréievski et la naissance du slavophilisme*. Brepols, Turnhout & Paris 1990, p. vi.

[12] Per altri giudizi (talvolta severi) di Florovskij cfr Piovesana, *ibid*, pp. 65, 276.

Pavel Florenskij. Così pure, l'A., seguendo A. Walicki[13] è assai critico nei confronti di una «fantomatica» anima russa, perchè ascrive il mancato evolversi di una coscienza giuridica allo stato poliziesco instaurato da Pietro il Grande (1672-1725).[14] Anche il periodico riaccendersi dell'idea della "terza Roma" è legato a fattori empirici-euforici, come alla vittoria su Napoleone e sul nazismo (pp. 301-303, 403-404).[15]

Piovesana individua invece idee russe destinate ad arricchire gli stessi occidentalisti: la conoscenza integrale di Ivan Kireevskij (1806-1856?); la Sobornost' di Aleksej Chomjakov (1804-1860) e la Sofia di V. Solov'ëv (p. 404; cfr p. 407). La lotta tra Occidente e Oriente si sposta su binari secondari: nella lotta tra intuizionisti e sistematici (p. 405) e nell'antinomismo palamitico di John Meyendorff (1926-1992) (pp. 405-406).

In sostanza, Piovesana ci dà un libro, denso e chiaro, con scelte metodologiche che spiegano questa chiarezza, con equilibrio di giudizio, benchè non sempre privo di unilateralità. Dal punto di vista formale ci sono delle mancanze. Oltre all'assenza di indici dei nomi,[16] restano errori tipografici talvolta singolari (pp. 78, 103, 278). Nella bibliografia manca il riferimento al secondo libro che Frederick Copleston ha scritto sulla filosofia russa, questa volta dal punto di vista religioso.[17]

Direi che il merito maggiore di questo libro — la ricerca di individuare, al di là di un linguaggio simbolico, l'esatta portata dei concetti — si accompagna a un limite di principio, cioè al mancato superamento di certa infatuazione occidentale per la chiarezza, a scapito di adeguato spazio al linguaggio metaforico, pregno anch'esso di significato concettuale. La carenza di una teologia delle iconi fa trascurare la domanda se ciò che cercano i sofiologi col loro linguaggio simbolico-iconico non si debba mettere a confronto, all'interno della tradizione

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[13] A. Walicki, *Legal Philosophies of Russian Liberalism*. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1987.

[14] G. Piovesana, *ibid*, pp. 301-303.

[15] E. Ch. Suttner mostra come nel contesto della restaurazione del patriarcato nel 1943 Stalin cercò di fare di Mosca una specie di "Vaticano ortodosso," idem, *Die katholische Kirche in der Sowjetunion*, Verlag "Der christliche Osten" Würzburg 1992, p. 45.

[16] L'A. ci informa che l'indice lo aveva fatto, ma la casa editrice ha detto di riservarlo per una seconda edizione.

[17] F. Copleston, *Russian Religious Philosophy: Selected Aspects*. Search Press, Notre Dame 1988.

occidentale derivante dalla comune tradizione della Grande Chiesa, con il "simbolo reale".[18]

Con tutto ciò l'opera fa onore all'A. Contribuisce anche alla teologia orientale. Benchè sia di indole filosofica, può completare — e così rendere più integrale — il punto di vista del teologo che vuol seguire lo sviluppo teologico in un paese così immenso ed attraverso un arco di tempo così travagliato come l'esistenza millenaria della Chiesa russa. Questo punto di vantaggio ha il risvolto negativo di non rendere in tutto giustizia a Dostoevskij[19] e a Florenskij.[20] Ma il risultato globale del libro è lodevole, tanto da raccomandarne la lettura a chiunque volesse familiarizzarsi col pensiero russo, anzi da auspicarne una seconda edizione con l'aggiunta degli indici.

Edward G. Farrugia, S.J.

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[18] Così, i sofiologi parlano di sofia creata e di sofia increata, ma per la tradizione occidentale derivante dalla tradizione patristica orientale e occidentale il Logos è il simbolo reale del Padre e l'umanità del Logos è il simbolo reale del Logos.

[19] Per un'interpretazione che mette al centro del pensiero di Dostoevskij un' "antropologia cristologica" vedi P. Evdokimov, *Le Christ dans la pensée russe*. Éd. du Cerf, Paris 1970, p. 95; R. Guardini, *Religiöse Gestalten in Dostojewskijs Werk*. Hegner-Bücherei bei Josef Kösel, München/Leipzig 1947 e Z. Maurina Raudive, *Dostoevskij: Creatore di uomini e cercatore di Dio*. Ed. Paoline, Milano 1992.

[20] Cfr Pavel Al, Florenskij, *Sol' zemli, to est', Skazanie o žizni Starca Gethsimanskago Skita Ieromonacha Avvy Isidora*, St. Herman of Alaska Monastery, Platina, Calif. 1984. P. Florenskij, *Il sale della terra: vita dello starec Isidoro*. Introduzione di Nina Kauchtschischwili, Ed. Qiqajon, Comunità di Bose, 1992.

RECENSIONES

Aethiopica

H. J. Polotsky (1905-1991), *Ausgewählte Briefe*. Introduced, edited, and annotated by Edward Ullendorff. With contributions by A. K. Irvine and Yoran Bronowski (= Äthiopistische Forschungen, Bd. 34), Stuttgart, Steiner Verlag 1992, pp. 145.

Il compianto Hans Jacob Polotsky, nato a Zurigo da genitori russi il 13.09.1905, morto a Gerusalemme il 10.08.1991, fu professore di egittologia e di lingue semitiche nell'Università di Gerusalemme, dove ebbe, tra i suoi primi studenti, E. Ullendorff, "his pupil". Il libro, dopo la presentazione di E. Hammerschmidt (pp. 7-8), dati biografici e cronologici di H. J. P. (pp. 9-11), una sua fotografia (p. 12) e l'introduzione di E. U. (pp. 13-17), riporta 137 lettere di H. J. P. al suo alunno prediletto E. U., scelte fra la corrispondenza di 53 anni, fino al 1990 (pp. 19-130). La pubblicazione è curata e annotata dallo stesso E. U., il quale aveva manifestato questo suo progetto a H. J. P. che, nel 1985, rivide le sue lettere e diede il consenso.

Le missive, scritte in tedesco, salvo rare eccezioni, danno la possibilità anche a chi non ha conosciuto personalmente il Polotsky, di constatare la vastità delle conoscenze e la scrupolosa serietà scientifica di lui, quale etiopista, egittologo, semitista e linguista tra i piú illustri di questo secolo. Nella molteplicità dei suoi interessi, da questi scritti, spicca nettamente la sua passione per l'etiopistica, specialmente quando egli si dedica "all'analisi delle lingue semitiche etiopiche, soprattutto dell'amarico e del tigrino . . ." (p. 11). "Egli inoltre diede un costante contributo alla fonologia e alla morfologia del gruppo guraghe" (ib.).

Nello scorrere l'epistolario, si passa in rassegna una folta schiera di studiosi dell'Etiopia, alcuni dei quali sommi, viventi e scomparsi. Vi leggiamo i nomi e i titoli delle opere di A. Z. Aescoly, Ghebre Jesus Afeworq, Aläqa Tayyä, D. Appleyard, C. Bezold, Blatta Heruy, C. Brockelmann, E. Cerulli, C. Conti Rossini, F. da Bassano, M. de Coppet, A. Dillmann, L. Fusella, F. Gallina, E. Gankin, Ghebre-Medhin Dinnei, G. Goldenberg, I. Guidi, E. Hammerschmidt, G. W. B. Huntingford, O. Kapeliuk, I. Kračkovskij, W. Leslau, J. Ludolf, E. Mittwoch, M.M. Moreno, Murad Kamil, Th. Nöldeke, F. R. Palmer, F. Praetorius, L. Ricci, R. Schneider, S. Strelcyn e, naturalmente, E. Ullendorff.

Vi si trovano ancora notizie riguardanti i Congressi Internazionali di Studi Etiopici di Roma (1959, p. 37) e di Manchester (1963, p. 49); la scomparsa di amici: "Der gute Pater Pohl [Alfred, gesuita, professore al Biblico] ist also doch gestorben" (p. 46) ecc.

Il libro continua con la riproduzione della copertina del volume "Lingua Sapientissima" (A seminar in honour of H. J. P. . . ., Cambridge, 1987, p. 131), prosegue con l'articolo *In memoriam* di H. J. P., in ebraico, scritto da Y.

Bronowski, accompagnato dalla traduzione inglese di E. U. (pp. 133-138) e si conclude con la recensione stesa dal "caro maestro" per *A tigrinya (təgrəñña) Chrestomathy* (= Äth. Forsch. 19), opera dello stesso Ullendorff.

E a proposito di testi in tigrino, ad utilità degli studiosi, cerco anch'io di contribuire alla memoria del Polotsky, riferendo qui delle caratteristiche e del contenuto del ms. "Comboniani D 5" della Vaticana, fondo non ancora catalogato di cui mi sto occupando, scritto nella stessa lingua tigrina:

Pergamenaceo, pp. 96, col. 1, cm. 13x10,5, copertina in legno, inchiostro rosso e nero: 1 (pp. 5-32) mistero della Trinità; 2 (pp. 32-35) mistero dell'Incarnazione; 3 (pp. 36-37) battesimo; 4 (pp. 37-43) eucaristia; 5 (pp. 43-46) risurrezione dei morti; 6 (pp. 46-55) bellezza della creazione (*sena feṭrat*); 7 (pp. 55-59) esortazioni (*me'dān*); 8 (pp. 59-82) penitenza (*nuzāzē*); 9 (pp. 82-91) calendario delle feste annuali (*qʷeṣeri ba'ālāt*); (p. 92) colofone: "Questo libro fu terminato nella pace del Signore nel 1929, anno di misericordia, il 5 di *pāgumē* (=10.09.1937 A.D.)".

Per la prestigiosa collana di *ÄthForsch*, ben meritatamente ci si può associare a quanto ebbe a scrivere lo stesso H. J. P., "A series which bids fair to become the home of Aethiopica" (p. 19).

O. Raineri

Armeniaca

Uwe Bläsing, *Armenisches Lehngut im Türkeitürkischen am Beispiel von Hemşin* (Dutch Studies in Armenian Language and Literature 2), Editions Rodopi B.V., Amsterdam-Atlanta (GA) 1992, pp. 144.

Tra i numerosi prestiti stranieri del turco (o, più precisamente, del «turco di Turchia»), i lemmi derivati dall'armeno sono rari. In effetti, sia il turco che l'armeno letterario sembrano esser stati poco 'permeabili' tra loro, per varie ragioni sia storiche che ideologiche. Lo stesso, però, non può dirsi per la lingua parlata e per i dialetti; infatti, nei contesti territoriali dove turchi e armeni convissero (ossia nelle grandi città e in molte aree dell'Anatolia orientale), si riscontrano testimonianze di un'interazione linguistica costante fra le due etnie, soprattutto per ciò che riguarda gli aspetti lessicali.

In questa ricerca, l'A. individua e analizza 173 lemmi di origine armena nei dialetti di alcuni villaggi del circondario di Hemşin (prefettura di Rize), città turca del Ponto orientale. Nel turco parlato in questa zona si può osservare un più consistente influsso dell'armeno rispetto al greco pontico o al lazico. Ciò è naturale, dato che fino al medioevo la regione fu essenzialmente controllata da armeni, mentre la turchizzazione avvenne solo intorno al XVI secolo.

Grazie ai lavori di Áčaryan e Dumézil avevamo già una buona conoscenza del dialetto armeno di Hemşin e dei suoi rapporti con il turco. Con questo libro, l'A. ci offre ora anche un utile strumento per indagare sulla presenza armena nei

dialetti turchi della regione, che integra le informazioni dei dizionari e repertori correnti. L'importanza della ricerca non si limita agli aspetti strettamente linguistici, ma comprende anche quelli etnografici e antropologici; di particolare interesse si rivelano infatti i lemmi legati alla cultura materiale.

A una breve introduzione (pp. 11-21) segue lo studio dei lemmi (pp. 22-95; alle pp. 90 ss. si esaminano alcuni toponimi); chiudono il libro l'indice lessicale (pp. 97-111), la bibliografia (pp. 113-25), e la parte illustrativa con le carte, e alcune immagini di carattere etnografico (pp. 129-42).

G. Traina

S. Peter Cowe, *The Armenian Version of Daniel*, Scholars Press, Atlanta, Georgia 1992 (University of Pennsylvania. Armenian Texts and Studies 9), pp. xviii + 490.

Già oggetto di una dissertazione dottorale scritta sotto la direzione di Michael Stone, l'edizione critica di Cowe segna un passo avanti per l'armenistica e gli studi biblici. All'introduzione (pp. 1-24) seguono tre capitoli strettamente filologici: il cap. I sulla tradizione manoscritta (pp. 25-57), il cap. II sulla storia della trasmissione (pp. 59-81) e il cap. III (pp. 83-142) che spiega i criteri adottati nella costituzione del testo critico; quest'ultimo occupa le pp. 143-227. All'edizione vera e propria seguono due capitoli di analisi della stratificazione testuale (cap. IV, pp. 229-310; cap. V, pp. 311-56); due contributi più brevi sono il cap. VI (pp. 357-87), sulla tecnica di traduzione, e il cap. VII (389-418). Chiudono l'opera una conclusione generale (pp. 419-53), la bibliografia (pp. 455-63) e gli indici (pp. 465-90).

La tesi di fondo del lavoro consiste nell'individuazione di due «strati» di traduzione; il primo risulta affine alla versione georgiana della Bibbia e alla *Pešītta*, il secondo sembra dipendere da una versione greca. La tradizione relativa ai primi traduttori armeni allude effettivamente a un simile procedimento nel lavoro di traduzione delle Scritture sotto la direzione di Sahak e Mesrop. L'A. ha cercato di inquadrare storicamente questi dati, propendendo per una conferma generale dello stretto rapporto iniziale fra cultura religiosa armena e siriaca. Le sue considerazioni — sostenute da un rigoroso metodo analitico — meritano senz'altro la massima attenzione, non solo presso gli specialisti, ma anche presso tutti gli studiosi dell'Oriente cristiano; infatti, nonostante il taglio specialistico, il lavoro rimanda anche a più generali problemi culturali e ideologici, mostrando come non sia impossibile — anche nel caso degli studi armeni, coltivati da un numero ristretto di studiosi — risalire al generale dal particolare.

G. Traina

Raymond H[arut'iwn] Kévorkian, Paul B[ołos] Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire Ottoman à la veille du génocide*, Les Éditions d'art et d'histoire ATHIS, Paris 1992, pp. 605.

Accompagnato da un ricco apparato fotografico (925 illustrazioni), costituito essenzialmente da ritratti e cartoline illustrate conservate in collezioni private, il volume offre agli storici e alle persone di cultura una raccolta documentaria di grande interesse. Il titolo è leggermente sviante, dato che il libro si limita al territorio dell'attuale repubblica turca (con la sola eccezione del vilayet di Aleppo), e non a tutte le province controllate dalla Sublime Porta, dove pure si trovavano importanti colonie armene. D'altra parte, questa limitazione è giustificata: i curatori si rivolgono essenzialmente alla diaspora armena di lingua francese, in gran parte di origine anatolica; K. e P. hanno «songé à offrir aux générations nées en exil, dont la recherche des racines est une exigence personnelle, un instrument susceptible de répondre au moins partiellement à leurs attentes» (p. 4).

A una prima parte introduttiva a carattere storico-politico (pp. 7-83) segue la descrizione delle comunità armene nei singoli vilayet (pp. 85-564). La documentazione fotografica (a cui si affiancano utili e chiare cartine), è corredata da alcuni cenni storico-geografici, integrati da una buona bibliografia e da molti documenti a stampa o d'archivio; notevole lo sforzo di riportare, quando possibile, anche i dati demografici. Concludono l'opera l'indice dei nomi e l'indice analitico (pp. 569-603). Un leggero tocco di originalità è conferito al libro dall'*yišatakaran* di chiusura, (p. 605) redatto in armeno classico.

Pur senza pretese di novità e completezza, il libro ha un livello decisamente superiore rispetto ai numerosi album documentari dello stesso genere apparsi negli ultimi anni. Non bisogna, peraltro, ricercarvi un alto grado di riflessione storica: quest'ultima è stata lasciata espressamente agli specialisti. D'altronde, gli studi storici sull'argomento non coprono ancora a sufficienza tutte le aree geografiche interessate per consentire una sintesi. Pertanto, i curatori hanno preferito presentare il materiale 'positivamente', secondo un modello che — *mutatis mutandis* — richiama la tradizione delle monografie fine-ottocentesche del Mechitarista P. Łevond Ališanean.

L'immagine in sovracopertina, che raffigura un fiero montanaro, simboleggia in qualche modo il messaggio ideologico — e forse politico — lanciato più o meno coscientemente dagli autori, che mira a evidenziare le sopravvivenze etniche nei territori dell''Armenia storica'; e indubbiamente questo libro, con il suo esauriente repertorio geografico, aiuterà a preservare la memoria di un popolo costituito non solo da commercianti, borghesi e intellettuali, ma altresì da «montagnards accrochés à leur terroir».

G. Traina

J. J. S. Weitenberg, *Parallel Aligned Text and Bilingual Concordance of the Armenian and Greek Version of the Book of Jonah* (Dutch Studies in Armenian Language and Literature 1), Editions Rodopi B.V., Amsterdam-Atlanta (GA) 1992, pp. iv + 174.

Per inaugurare la collana armenologica da lui diretta insieme a Theo van Lint, Jos Weitenberg ha prodotto un'esercitazione di linguistica informatica, analizzando il breve libro di Giona e fornendone la concordanza bilingue completa. Il testo dei Settanta è confrontato con la versione in *grabar* della Bibbia, edita a Venezia nel 1805 da Yovhannēs Zohrapean. Il lavoro, svolto nel quadro del progetto *Armenian Database* curato dalle università di Leiden e Gerusalemme, è suddiviso in sei capitoli: 1. Introduzione (pp. 1-6), comprendente un piano generale dell'opera, una breve bibliografia con i riferimenti ai testi, il prospetto della traslitterazione adottata (Hübschmann-Meillet-Benveniste), e le abbreviazioni. 2. Testi affrontati greco e armeno (pp. 9-15). 3. Testi affrontati greco e armeno, incolonnati e allineati secondo «unità minime» (pp. 19-53). 4. Lemmario armeno-greco in ordine alfabetico (pp. 45-53). 5. Lemmario greco-armeno in ordine alfabetico (pp. 57-64). 6. Concordanza armeno-greca (pp. 67-173).

In questo primo saggio, da cui traspare solo una minima parte dell'assidua attività dell'A., nondimeno appaiono evidenti il rigore del metodo e lo sforzo di assicurare alla comunità scientifica solidi strumenti di ricerca. Concordanze del genere richiedono un'analisi particolarmente delicata, in quanto non sempre la lingua armena può essere del tutto sovrapposta all'originale. La conseguenza più problematica di questo confronto è la mancanza di un effettivo equivalente greco per certi lemmi armeni, nel contesto specifico del libro di Giona. Generalmente ciò è dovuto a ragioni sintattiche, che andranno indagate dai linguisti; a volte, però, la discrepanza è dovuta a ragioni culturali, e ciò richiede un diverso approccio analitico.

Notevole, ad esempio, è il modo di designare il mostro marino; nel libro di Giona armeno, il greco κῆτος è generalmente tradotto con il calco (destinato a scarsa fortuna) *kēt*; a 2.11, però, è usata l'espressione *višap jkan*, «višap-pesce» o più liberamente «dragone di mare», dove è ovvio il riferimento alle celebri creature mitologiche dell'Armenia precristiana, che spesso venivano effigiate in forma di dragone. Nella concordanza, il lemma *višap* figura tra quelli senza equivalente greco: esso è in qualche modo un'aggiunta del traduttore. Un'analisi del testo analoga a quella ora prodotta da Cowe per il libro di Daniele [si veda la recensione in questa fascicolo] permetterà forse di verificare se ciò si debba a una stratificazione testuale, oppure al coesistere di una tendenza 'armeno-classica' accanto a una tendenza 'proto-ellenofila', di cui va certo tenuto conto per rivedere in chiave meno schematica la difficile questione delle tecniche dei primi traduttori armeni.

La scelta di una simile espressione era però dovuta anche alla consapevolezza che il κῆτος dei Settanta non si limitava a tradurre, come nel caso in questione, l'ebraico *dg* («pesce»); infatti, vari passi biblici mostrano come il termine sia uno dei modi (accanto al più usato δράκων) di rendere il ben

più significativo *tnyn* (sir. *tnyn'*), che designa ogni tipo di serpenti e dragoni, sia terrestri che marini, e che è senz'altro più vicino alla sfera semantica dell'arm. *višap*. Il *t'argmanič'* doveva aver presente, se non l'originale ebraico, almeno una versione siriaca della Bibbia [e, del resto, il ricorso al genitivo per creare il nesso fra i due sostantivi è un evidente siriacismo].

La suggestione esercitata dall'immagine del *višap* doveva essere forte, e ciò giustifica la resa di κῆτος in *višap jkan*. Del resto il libro di Giona esercitò, grazie alle sue forti immagini (quali quella del mostro marino), un forte stimolo sull'esegesi patristica. Anche se, come si è visto, il testo non ha riferimenti diretti al *tnyn'*, nondimeno fu questa immagine a prevalere nelle successive versioni bibliche (a cominciare già dal κῆτος dei Settanta). L'immaginario tardoantico finì per identificare il «pesce» del testo con i mostri marini descritti in altri libri della Bibbia; ne è riprova l'erronea denominazione di «balena» data volgarmente al mostro. Basti questo esempio per mostrare come, da simili lavori di concordanze, possano affiorare numerose e notevoli suggestioni non solo per i linguisti e i biblisti, ma anche per gli storici della cultura e delle religioni. Resta il problema della base testuale del testo armeno, dove il supporto utilizzato (la c.d. Bibbia di Zohrab) forse andrebbe ulteriormente verificato con l'edizione meno 'corrente', ma non per questo meno importante, di Bagratuni.

G. Traina

Canonica

Bibliographie zur Rezeption des bizantinischen Rechts im alten Rußland sowie zur Geschichte des armenischen und georgischen Rechts. Unter Mitwirkung von Azat Bozojan, Igor' Čičurov, Sulchan Goginava, Kirill Maksimovič und Jaroslav Ščapov, zusammengestellt von Ludwig Burgmann und Hubert Kaufhold (Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte. Band 18), Lövenklaw-Gesellschaft E.V., Frankfurt am Main 1992, pp. x + 278.

Si tratta di un utile strumento di ricerca, che riempie una lacuna avvertita da tempo. Il volume raccoglie tre bibliografie autonome, relative alle fonti giuridiche rispettivamente per i contesti anticoslavo, armeno, georgiano. Ognuna delle tre parti comprende una bibliografia ragionata, con i lemmi numerati suddivisi secondo particolari rubriche, cui seguono l'indice degli autori e, per le sezioni armena e georgiana, la chiave delle abbreviazioni di periodici.

L'opera è di particolare interesse per le sezioni armena (pp. 91-187) e georgiana (pp. 191-276), in quanto comprendono un insieme di tutta la bibliografia giuridica medievale, senza limitarsi al solo aspetto del diritto bizantino come nella sezione anticoslava (pp. 7-87). I titoli in armeno e

georgiano sono tradotti in tedesco; per quelli delle pubblicazioni sovietiche si sono però mantenuti gli estremi del relativo riassunto in russo, in inglese o in francese. Manca purtroppo un prospetto della traslitterazione adottata per i nomi degli autori, che per l'armeno presenta 'contaminazioni' orientalistiche abbastanza infelici (ḫ invece di x, ġ invece di ł) e altri tipi di 'soluzioni' a mio parere fuorvianti (dž per ǰ, ma anche per č!, č per č').

G. Traina

John D. Faris, *The Eastern Catholic Churches: Constitution and Governance According to the "Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches"*, Saint Maron Publications, New York, 1992, pp. xxvii + 731.

This commendable work will be welcomed by pastors and canonists of the Eastern Churches as a first handbook dealing with the matters of Church governance under the new *Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* (CCEO). Chorbishop John D. Faris is Adjunct Professor of Eastern Canon Law at the Catholic University of America. Also Chancellor of the Maronite Archdiocese of St. Maron of Brooklyn, U.S.A., Chorbishop Faris is experienced in eparchial governance. Consequently, this commentary is especially good for the practical and pastoral details it offers in the following chapters: ch. 8 — Membership in an Autonomous Church (canons 29-38); ch. 28 — Bodies Assisting Eparchial Bishop in Governance (canons 235-278); and ch. 29 — Parishes, Pastors and Parochial Vicars (canons 279-303).

The author's commentary, also the product of much hard work, is prefaced by four chapters. After indicating the origins of the Catholic Churches in chapter 1, Faris sketches the history of the Eastern non-Catholic Churches in chapter 2 and that of the Eastern Catholic Churches in chapter 3. The attempt to briefly trace this history is both ambitious and helpful. Chapter 4 carefully details the codification procedure that led to the promulgation of the *Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches*. The author's remark that the new Eastern Code is "not truly a product of the Eastern Churches" (p. 91) should probably be read in the context of his previous references to input by various consultative bodies of the Eastern Churches regarding the Code's formulation.

The commentary on CCEO canons 1-322 begins in chapter 5 and considers the material in 28 chapters instead of following the Eastern Code's division of the subject-matter into Preliminary Canons and its first 9 Titles. The author states that the commentary is not intended to serve as a "critical analysis" (p. xxi) but, rather, as a practical guide for those entrusted with the pastoral care of Eastern Catholics. For those interested in a more critical analysis of the canons, Faris provides the predecessor canons in the Eastern legislation as well as the corresponding canons in the 1983 Latin Code. Regarding the formulation of the canons, the author also gives valuable references in his "endnotes" to *Nuntia*,

which recorded the proceedings of the Pontifical Commission for the Revision of the Eastern Code of Canon Law. A future commentary might co-ordinate this information and integrate it into a fuller discussion of the canons which sometimes are simply rephrased (see: canons 109, 121, 131, 175, 197, 230). For example, the author raises questions (endnotes 13&14, p. 181) on the interpretation of canon 32 §2 regarding the transfer to another Church *sui iuris*. *Nuntia* 22: 27-28 discloses that the application of §2 is "restricted only to those cases that deal with two eparchial bishops of a different rite (Church *sui iuris*) who have jurisdiction over the same territory". In that context, it is evident that "territory" means "eparchial territory" and that §2 is speaking of overlapping eparchies. Referring to the observations of Commission Members in *Nuntia* 28: 25 will reveal that canon 32 §2 also means to include the Latin Church.

An area which Faris' commentary does not cover is the question of whether an ecclesiastical authority is able to vote in cases that require the consent of a group of persons as regulated by CCEO 934 §1. This is particularly important regarding Church governance under the Eastern Code. With respect to the similar norm in the Latin Church (CIC 127 §1), the Pontifical Commission for the Authentic Interpretation of the Code of Canon Law has responded that the ecclesiastical authority has no right to vote with the others [*Communicationes* XVII (1985) 262]. However, as the Commission's name then indicated, it was interpreting the norm in the Latin Code, which preceded the 1990 promulgation of CCEO. Since the Eastern Code is to be interpreted mainly with reference to the ancient Eastern traditions of the sacred canons (canon 2), the right of the ecclesiastical authority to vote persists. This represents a significant difference between the Eastern and Latin Codes.

Perhaps because of a certain haste on the part of the author, some of the canons treated might need further clarification. Regarding the interpretation of canon 6, n.2º, the author states that customs remain unaffected "if the CCEO makes no mention of a matter relating to a certain custom and, thus, there is no conflict with the law; or the custom is centenary or immemorial" (pp. 114-115). Canon 6, n.2º revokes all customs which the CCEO canons reprobate, *or which are contrary to them, and* (emphasis added) which are neither centenary or immemorial. Since the Congregation for the Eastern Churches no longer has "all the faculties of the other Congregations" (*Regimini Ecclesiae Universae*, art. 45 §1), its competence may not be said to "remain fundamentally the same" under art. 58 §1 of *Pastor bonus* (p. 204). Reliance upon the CLSA translation of canon 28 §1 suggests wrongly that historical and cultural circumstances of a Church *sui iuris* are components of a rite (p. 149). In fact, a rite is the liturgical, theological, spiritual and disciplinary heritage *which is distinguished by* (emphasis added) the culture and the historical circumstances of peoples. Though a pastor's recourse against an eparchial bishop's decree may be made to the Congregation for the Eastern Churches if there is no intermediate authority between the bishop and the Roman Pontiff (p. 606), that is not the procedure if such an authority does exist as in the case of a patriarchal Church (CCEO canon 997 §1).

In spite of these few improvements left for a second edition, Chorbishop Faris' commentary constitutes a significant and valuable first step towards a better understanding of the canonical norms regarding the constitution and governance of the Eastern Catholic Churches. The author is also to be commended for the quickness with which he has produced this substantial volume intended mainly as a pastoral guide to the implementation of these norms.

J. Abbass, O.F.M. Conv.

Carl Gerold Fürst, *Canones Synopse zum Codex Iuris Canonici und Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium*, Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1992, pp. x + 214.

This book which presents tables of the corresponding canons between the 1983 Latin *Code of Canon Law* and the 1990 *Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* is a timely and valuable instrument for the comparative study of both Codes. As Professor Fürst indicates in his preface, Pope John Paul II has urged the comparative study of both Codes which His Holiness regards as parts of one *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [AAS 83 (1991) 490]. The detailed and thorough comparison of the canons of both Codes is, itself, the product of a painstaking and comparative study by the author.

The Synopsis is particularly helpful in the precision with which the comparable canons of the Codes are identified. The respective canons as well as their paragraphs and numbers are carefully compared. The result is that, for example, CCEO 1015 is more specifically identified with §1 of CIC canon 1265 and not simply CIC 1265. In the same way, CIC 1264 is more accurately compared with §1 of CCEO 1013 rather than the entire CCEO 1013. Then, instead of just equating CCEO 1016 with CIC 1267, the tables more precisely state that CCEO 1016 §§1, 2, 3 are comparable with CIC 1267 §§3, 1, 2.

Professor Fürst mentions that he might be criticized on the question of his selection of canons that refer to "identical matter". On the contrary, one can generally depend on the choices that the author has made. To give one example, a territorial prelature or territorial abbacy (CIC 370) and an apostolic administration (CIC 371 §2) would be identified as exarchies in the Eastern Code (CCEO 311 §1, 312). One might, however, question the "identical matter" between CCEO 46 §2 and CIC 346 §§1, 2, 3. Since the participation of patriarchs in the synod of bishops is regulated by special norms established by the Roman Pontiff, there are no stated norms in CCEO 46 §2 with which one could identify §§1, 2, 3 of CIC 346.

The author also makes some very fine and reasoned distinctions while identifying comparable canons. For example, the civil law registration of temporal goods prescribed by CCEO 1020 §1 is equated more with CIC 1284

§2, n. 2º than CIC 1284 §2, n. 3. Then, recourse against a judicial decree to a higher authority under CCEO 1487 §1 is not the same as the petition to the one who made the decree seeking its revocation under CIC 1734 §2. These distinctions reflect Professor Fürst's knowledge both of the canons and the matters treated there. This is particularly true regarding the canons *De delictis et poenis*. For example, a person's ineligiblity to vote because of excommunication under CIC 171 §1, n. 3º is identified precisely with CCEO 1434 §3.

There are a few cases in which comparable canons might be added to the Synopsis. Regarding apostolic works entrusted to religious by bishops, CCEO 415 §3 is similar to CIC 681 §1. Resolving a controversy through arbiters under CIC 1713 is comparable to CCEO 1168 §1. With respect to the deposition of a cleric under CCEO 1433 §2, CIC 292 should be added to the reference to CIC 1336 §1, n. 5º.

Of course, no human work is perfect. The corresponding canon given on page 192 to CCEO 1229 §2, n. 2º should read CIC 1548 §2, n. 2º and not CIC 1548 §2, n. 1º.

The fact that the columns on each page are rather far apart often makes it difficult to line up the canon numbers for comparison. One solution, however, would be to fill the spaces with two other columns for the relative predecessor canons of the Eastern and Latin Codes. That project would certainly complement the Synopsis that has already contributed to a better knowledge of the one *Corpus Iuris Canonici* of the Catholic Church.

J. Abbass, O.F.M. Conv.

Dimitri Salachas, *La normativa del concilio Trullano commentata dai canonisti bizantini del secolo XII Zonaras, Balsamone, Aristenos*. Oriente cristiano 2-3/1991, Palermo, pp. 104.

Il concilio Trullano fu conosciuto come "Πενθέκτη" (Quinisesto) solo molto dopo il suo svolgimento, perchè per secoli fu conosciuto come complemento del quinto e sesto concilio (p. 5). Godendo di larga diffusione in Oriente, esso fu respinto in Occidente a causa di canoni come il 36º, che ribadiva il canone 28º di Calcedonia (pp. 1, 19), o dei canoni da cui traspare una certa ostilità contro i Latini e gli Armeni. Mentre Sergio (papa, 687-701) rifiutò di firmare, i papi Costantino (708-715), Giovanni VIII (872-882) e Adriano I (772-795) l'approvarono sotto condizione (p. 6). Ma non si può negare che un buon numero di canoni fossero citati da canonisti occidentali (p. 6). C'è discussione sulla rappresentanza del papa a questo concilio (pp. 6-7). Resta l'indirizzo dei padri conciliari all'imperatore Giustiniano II, la motivazione nel convocare, i 102 canoni, senza ordine speciale, e le firme (p. 7). S. vuol seguire le divisioni stabilite dal metropolita Menevissoglou (pp. 8-9). Insieme, con le

abrogazioni, modifiche e nuovi canoni, il Trullano costituisce un "codice" di legislazione ecclesiastica che ha ricevuto conferma dal primo canone di Nicea II. S. si attiene al testo riportato da G. A. Rhallis – M. Potlis, tenendo però conto delle varianti di P. P. Joannou (pp. 6-9), in vista dei commenti dei tre canonisti del 12º secolo Zonaras, Balsamone e Aristenos (PG 137 e 138).

Il libro di S. distingue canoni di contenuto dottrinale (pp. 10-18); canoni di strutture ecclesiastiche (pp. 19-23); di ordine ecclesiastico (pp. 33-59); canoni circa la conversione e il ritorno alla Chiesa (pp. 60-64); sui beni ecclesiastici (p. 65); sul culto divino e la vita liturgica (pp. 66-81); sulla vita monastica (pp. 82-89) e sulla vita cristiana (pp. 90-102). Il libro finisce con una breve bibliografia (p. 103).

I canoni che più ci interessano sono quelli a contenuto dogmatico. Il 1º (testo a pp. 10-12) è una vera e propria sinossi di cristologia (p. 12); ne emerge la premura dei Padri di non cambiare nulla in materia di fede. Il canone 79º proibisce che si celebri una festa del parto della Vergine, perchè sembrerebbe contro la verginità (pp. 13-14), come rileva anche Zonaras (p. 14). Se il canone 81º proibisce di aggiungere la frase "che sei stato crocefisso per noi" all'inno del Trisagio Balsamone spiega che tale aggiunta equivarrebbe ad affermare una quarta dimensione nella Trinità (p. 15). Il tanto commentato canone 82º — la proibizione di dipingere Cristo nella figura dell'agnello — trova la spiegazione in Balsamone che la venuta del Cristo rende superflua le prefigurazioni e i simboli (pp. 15-16). Zonaras, Balsamone e Aristenos esigono il battesimo, se c'è dubbio che uno sia stato battezzato, ma senza qualificarlo come "sotto condizione" (pp. 16-17). Di estrema importanza, in vista di uno sviluppo di un codice di diritto canonico, è il canone 102, che nell'inculcare l'esame delle disposizioni del peccato elenca due metodi per aiutare il penitente a guarire: quello della esatta osservanza dei comandamenti (*akribeia-akrótes*) e quello della consuetudine (*synetheia*), che si rifà al canone 3 di s. Basilio (*oikonomía-akribéia*) (pp. 17-18).

Molto rilevante, per lo sviluppo di ecclesiologie differenziali in Oriente e in Occidente, è il canone 36, che parla di Costantinopoli come seconda sede dopo Roma. P. P. Joannou spiega l'opposizione di Leone I al canone 28 di Calcedonia, non tanto perchè vedeva lesi i diritti di Roma, quanto perchè questo canone rovesciava la gerarchia delle grandi sedi, stabilite dalla tradizione (p. 20). Di massima importanza, per la creazione di un diritto canonico orientale, si rivela il canone 2, che ha redatto per la prima volta, in modo ufficiale, un elenco dei santi canoni (p. 25). Nella costituzione apostolica *Sacri Canones* con cui Giovanni Paolo II promulga il nuovo codice orientale egli cita questo canone, dandogli così nuova autorevolezza.

Quanto ai canoni di indole disciplinare, si può menzionare i canoni 12 e 13, che stabiliscono la prassi diversificata di un episcopato celibe e preti e presbiteri sposati. È da notare che la legittimazione spirituale e teologica di un episcopato sposato, praticata nell'antica Chiesa viene ormai proibita in pratica (p. 47). Tra gli altri canoni notiamo quello sul laicato (canone 64, p. 57), quello che impone di mescolare acqua al vino nel sacrificio eucaristico (canone 32, p. 69; per la

polemica di Balsamone sullo *zeon* contro gli Armeni e i Latini, cfr p. 71). Si noti inoltre il nesso tra ammissione alla vita religiosa e allo stato delle diaconesse, espresso nel canone 40 (pp. 82-83).

S. ha una facilità di scrivere che rende accessibili anche questioni complicate di diritto canonico. Manca semmai, in vista del salto dello stile tra oggi e allora, un piccolo commento sull'ermeneutica di Zonaras, Balsamone e Aristenos, anche perchè i fondamenti del diritto sono dogmatici. Ma, in sostanza ci congratuliamo con S. per averci fornito un eccellente commento.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Spyros N. Troianos, *Ἡ Πενθέκτη Οἰκουμενική Σύνοδος καὶ τὸ νομοθετικό της ἔργο.* EEk Athena 1992, pp. 113.

The celebrations for the thirteenth centenary of the Second Council *in Trullo*, also known as Penthekte, is for the history of the Orthodox Church, and especially for that of canon law, a unique opportunity to reflect on this event, at once fundamental and controversial. Among the host of publications we have a number of translations of the texts of the canons as well as commentaries and essays. S. Troianos, professor at the University of Athens, Athens, Greece, presents us here with the text of the 102 canons (pp. 46-113). The introduction, "The Penthekte Ecumenical Council and Its Legislative Work," was initially delivered as a lecture on November 12, 1991 (here pp. 5-45). The purpose of the Synod was to complete by means of canons the fifth and sixth ecumenical councils, both held in Constantinople in 553 and 680/681, whence its name. It thus covered a gap of 240 years from the last promulgation of canons at Chalcedon (451) (p. 8). There is hardly an aspect of Church life which is not covered: e.g., Church Constitution (canons 8, 25, 36 and 38) (p. 12). Thus, canon 36 stands in relation to canon 3 of Constantinople I (381) and canon 28 of Chalcedon, never approved by Leo I (p. 12-13). In canons 60, 61, 62, 65, 71 and 94 all magical practices are condemned (pp. 16-17). Canons 31, 59, 64, 70, 75, 78-81, 84, 90 and 95 dwell on liturgical practices in general (p. 17), whereas canons 28, 32, 52, 57, 58, 83, 99 and 101 refer to the liturgy as such (the Mass) (p. 18). Canons 53, 54, 72, 87, 93 and 98 regulate married life; e.g. marriage impediments (p. 28); canons 87, 93 and 98 treat of adultery (p. 30). The council gave us canons 44, 67, 86 and 91 for the regulation of sexual ethics (p. 31); and, against fornication, canons 44, 67 and 86 (p. 31). Canons 7, 9, 10, 14-18, 21-24, 27 and 34 describe the qualities of clerics (p. 34). Matters pertaining to bishops are mentioned in canons 19, 20, 35, 37 and 39 (p. 37). Canons 46 and 47 regulate the life-style in monasteries (pp. 39-40). Canon 73 forbids depiciting the cross on pavements (p. 41), and canon 82 forbids depicting Christ as a lamb (p. 42).

We may well ask ourselves whether these divisions are watertight. However that may be, the chief merit of Troianos' presentation is the way he groups canons according to themes. As he himself notes, it is difficult to group the canons into meaningful units because a canon such as 85, concerned as it is with the freeing of slaves, has no counterpart (pp. 10, 41). It may be further asked whether other more meaningful sub-divisions could not be employed. Thus, in a recent conference in the Symposium held at the PIO, Prof. Anna Kartsonis argued that canons 81-83 refer to three separate moments of the Byzantine liturgy: the *Trishagion* sung during the Liturgy of the Word, the *Agnus Dei* and communion. But as with any text open to various interpretations, the variety of interpretations shows that we are confronted with something massive. Be it as it may, Troianos' presentation is useful and goes to show why this synod was bound to have such a tremendous impact.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Ecclesiologica

Filippo Carcione, *La genesi storico-teologica del monotelismo maronita*. Unitor, Roma 1990, pp. 77.

L'A., antico studente della Pontificia Università Lateranense e del Pontificio Istituto Orientale, si è laureato in lettere presso la II[a] Università di Roma (Tor Vergata), dove, dal 1987, è ricercatore di storia. Nel presente studio affronta l'antica accusa rivolta ai Maroniti di essere stati monoteleti.

Dopo la prefazione (p. 7), la spiegazione delle sigle (pp. 9-10), la Bibliografia (pp. 11-20) e l'Introduzione (pp. 21-23), la trattazione vera e propria si articola in quattro capitoli. Il primo tratta del monotelismo etico della tradizione cristologica antiochena (pp. 25-32); il secondo (pp. 33-42), del dibattito cristologico in Siria nei secoli VI-VII; il terzo (pp. 43-54), del monotelismo come tappa del passaggio maronita da comunità melkita a Chiesa autocefala e il quarto (pp. 55-62), dell'eco del monoteletismo maronita in Occidente. Vengono poi la Conclusione (pp. 63-68) e l'Indice dei nomi (pp. 69-74), con un'utile carta geografica del Libano a p. 77.

Quanto all'ipotesi del Dib, secondo il quale, invocando Michele il Siro, la questione se accettare una o due volontà in Cristo sarebbe stata introdotta in Siria da prigioneri bizantini degli Arabi nel 727, Carcione la impugna e fa risalire tutto al monoteletismo etico di Teodoro di Mopsuestia. Comunque, il monoteletismo resta verbale, perchè la tradizione dei Maroniti è saldamente legata all'ortodossia calcedonese.

Studi patristici promossi da studiosi accreditati ci hanno abituato a sfumare valutazioni talvolta inveterate ma che nuovi documenti, o almeno una nuova lettura di testi già noti, mettono seriamente in crisi. Lo studio di Carcione s'inquadra in tentativi di questo genere. Resta d'altronde il compito non facile

di tirare le somme e di mettere tutto insieme in un quadro comprensivo. Infatti, se tentativi moderni di rileggere Nestorio hanno suggerito di vedere l'unione, da lui proclamata, delle due nature in Cristo, come non meramente morale, ricorrere in appello a Teodoro di Mopsuestia e alla sua interpretazione morale dell'unica volontà in Cristo per allontanare l'accusa di monotelismo richiede anzitutto una disanima imparziale di cosa significhi "unione morale." Sarebbe stato opportuno fare di tale "unione morale" un'analisi storico-teologica più esauriente. Ciononostante, auguriamo all'A. di proseguire in questo campo di specializzazione (cfr la recensione di V. Poggi dell'opera dell'A., *Sergio di Costantinopoli ed Onorio I nella controversia monotelita del VII secolo*. Roma 1985, in OCP 53 [1987] 220).

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Paolo Prodi et alii, *L'Europa Crocevia: Memoria — Cultura — Responsabilità delle Chiese*. Introduzione di Giulio Conticelli. Edizioni Studium, Roma 1992, pp. XXI + 343.

Come dice bene G. Conticelli nella Introduzione, appositamente intitolata, "Per il bene comune dell'Europa," la teologia si trova oggidì provocata da un pluralismo di interrogativi umanistici, con un impegno accresciuto di assicurare una koinè culturale antropologica (p. XIX). Dal bisogno della "nuova evangelizzazione," che l'Assemblea speciale per l'Europa del Sinodo dei vescovi del 1991 ha sottolineato, scaturisce una responsabilità ecumenica, ma anche la testimonianza della carità (p. XX). E' con queste prospettive che il Movimento Ecclesiale di Impegno Culturale ha tenuto, ad Assisi, dal 2 al 5 gennaio 1992, il suo quarto congresso sul tema, "Sapere, potere, fede nella transizione verso la nuova Europa" (p. XXI). Oltre all'Introduzione ci sono diciassette saggi che richiamano l'attenzione e provocano interrogativi. Ne scegliamo alcuni che interessano l'Oriente più da vicino.

Il p. Vincenzo Poggi, S.J., incomincia il suo saggio, "La nuova Europa vista da Oriente" (pp. 23-33) con la frase perontoria: "L'Oriente si distingue dall'Occidente per il suo pluralismo" (p. 23). Cerca di mostrare questa tesi all'interno del fenomeno cristiano attraverso il pluralismo linguistico (p. 24) e ecclesiale (p. 27) delle autocefalie, e così via. Gli esempi che offre per la tolleranza nell'Islam sono illuminanti (pp. 28-29), ma purtroppo non offre esempi contrari. Ancora più significativo è l'ecumenismo *ante litteram* del beato Pietro Fabro (pp. 32-33). Prendendo spunto dalla metafora usata da Michail Gorbachiov e da Giovanni Paolo II della "casa comune europea" (p. 70), Franco Casavola vede nella rivoluzione bolscevica dell'Ottobre 1917 non solo la data della separazione moderna dell'Europa dell'Est dall'Europa dell'Ovest, ma anche un evento che ricalca quello del 1054, che doveva a suo tempo sfociare nella teoria di "Mosca, terza Roma" (pp. 66-67). Però, dato che

la storiografia bizantina odierna vede continuità piuttosto che interruzione nella data del 1054, sarebbe stato opportuno cercare se esista continuità anche dopo il 1917 tra Est e Ovest. Il saggio di Georges Cottier, "La teologia," mette il dito sulla piaga quando addita l'illuminismo come grande sfida per il cristianesimo (p. 237), anche se questo rilievo non viene sfruttato in tutta la sua carica esplosiva nei confronti della teologia orientale (cfr il libro di Ch. Yannaras, *Ortodossia e Occidente nella nuova Grecia* (Athina 1992, specialmente pp. 210-239).

Nonostante il valore indiscusso del libro mi pare che l'Oriente non sia adeguamente rappresentato. Manca, ad esempio, un saggio che rilevi quei fattori capaci di creare ponti tra Oriente e Occidente, come lo sono il monachesimo, qui usato nell'accezione orientale della parola per includere tutti i celibi per il Regno, non invece nel senso del monachesimo spirituale come ricerca della perfezione; poi, l'iconografia, il cui fascino su scala mondiale potrebbe avverarsi provvidenziale; e poi la liturgia come linguaggio universale capace di trascendere le barriere.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Hagiographica

Giovan Battista De Lectis, *Tutti gli scritti*, Revisione del testo e introduzione di Dino Pacaccio, Editrice Soc. Coop. Iniziativa Cristiana, Ortona, 1988, pp. xiv + 183.

G. B. De Lectis is the first Ortonan writer to attain some notoriety in the sixteenth century. Our interest in him is linked chiefly to his book on Saint Thomas the Apostle. Four of his works make up a one-volume *opera omnia* : 1) *Vita del Glorioso Apostolo di Cristo S. Tomaso, con la Traslazione et Miracoli in esso, per virtù d'Iddio, operati;* 2) *La Vita di Santo Gioseppe Sposo della Sempre Intatta Vergine Maria;* 3) *Un Sermone della Terribilità della Morte;* 4) *Un Trattato della'umana Felicità, secondo i Filosofi in che differiscono dalli Teologi, et come si possono concordare insieme.*

The revision of these texts by the editor Dino Pacaccio consists in the correction of typographical errors and the wrong punctuation in the original. The editor deserves our gratitude for making De Lectis available in a very readable, handsome, modern edition. Indeed the original of *Vita-Traslazione* is rare to find; the present writer while preparing the article, "St Thomas the Apostle and Hosios Thomas of Ortona," OCP 38 (1972) 388-407, could only use the third edition (1879) found in the Apostolic Vatican Library. But both the third edition and the second edition of 1687 were partial, containing only *Traslazione et Miracoli* without the *Vita*, as pointed out in the introduction to the present edition by Pacaccio (p. ix). The original was dated by De Lectis and

dedicated in March-April 1576 (pp. 3, 9) but it was *published* only in 1577; so, OCP 38, p. 403 "published in 1576" is an error that may be corrected.

Pacaccio makes Ughelli (in his *Italia Sacra* of 1647) responsible for the wrong identification of De Lectis as a Canon of the cathedral, but this same qualification "Canonicus Cathedralis Ecclesiae Ortonensis" may be found already in Consalvus Durantus' second edition (in 1628; also in the first edition of 1606 ?) of *Revelationes Sanctae Brigittae* (see art. cit., OCP 38 [1972], p. 403, n. 2). As a matter of fact, De Lectis was a pious and learned layman, a doctor of philosophy and of medicine, married thrice (since his first and second wife died), father of one son, a patriot and zealous devotee of St Thomas the Apostle, as Pacaccio has pointed out (pp. vi, x). As a historian, he may have been good for his times, but lacking in critical sense by today's standards, a defect which his editor does not mention explicitly. Hence the value of his writings, especially as a "historian" of St Thomas the Apostle, is not to be exaggerated.

G. Nedungatt, S.J.

Antonio Politi, *Ortona*, Editrice Itinerari, Lanciano, 1974, pp. 351.

The author wrote this book in his hard won spare time as parish priest of the cathedral of Ortona. Written with palpable devotion to St Thomas the Apostle venerated as the patron of Ortona, it is a book that is on the whole popular in character, though it also aims at scientific historiography by publishing some documents. These latter in particular may be of some interest to the readers of OCP.

The book first gives a "biography" of St Thomas the Apostle, which can nourish piety. Then there is a brief account of the historical background of Ortona. More important is an "Appendice di documenti" (pp. 291-346) containing 28 documents regarding the relics of Hosios Thomas of Ortona, who is popularly identified with the Apostle Thomas. The documents are either translations from Latin into Italian or reproductions of the Italian original. A significant omission is the document published by F. Ughelli in his *Italia Sacra* (vol. VI, 1659) about the translation of the relics to Ortona. This omission is not an oversight, since the author refers to Ughelli on p. 105, n. 1. Instead a notary deed dated 1259 is given in Italian translation (pp. 293-294) and is used as *the* document about the translation of the relics from Chios to Ortona. The author takes it to be genuine without asking if it could be a fraud, as it would seem to be from its internal evidence. The Greek inscription on the marble tombstone is reproduced erroneously as O OCLOS ΘOMAC (with an L instead of an I) so as to read "Ho Hoclos Thomas;" it is rendered as "Pius (Divus) Thomas: il pio (il santo) Tommaso" (p. 67). The author does not suspect that the correct Greek word *Hosios* cannot designate a martyr saint, though it may refer to a confessor

saint, as had been shown by the present writer, "St Thomas the Apostle and Hosios Thomas of Ortona," OCP 38 (1972) 388-407. This article was unknown to the author when he published his book in 1974 ("*con assoluta buona fede*," Preface, p. 8). Indeed, it is known to have remained beyond his reach even afterwards owing to language barriers, which create difficulty also for several others at Ortona who have recently written about the relics of Hosios Thomas, still mistaking them for those of Saint Thomas the Apostle.

G. Nedungatt, S.J.

Ricognizione scientifica delle ossa dell'Apostolo Tommaso. ATTI, ed. by Curia Vescovile and Associazione Frentana, Ortona, Azienda Autonoma di Soggiorno e Turismo, 1988, pp. 143 with illustrations.

In 1984 five experts examined scientifically the relics which are kept in the cathedral of Ortona, Italy, and are believed to be those of St Thomas the Apostle. The purpose of the experts was to assure their better preservation. The present book contains their findings and the measures adopted. Two introductory essays present the Apostle Thomas in the Gospel (pp. 11-17) and the relics venerated at Ortona (pp. 18-23). Then follow a number of canonical notary reports as to how the bones were removed, consigned to the team of experts for scientific study, and finally collocated in improved conditions of safety under the altar in the crypt. The results of the scientific observations, tests and findings of the experts, who are all well qualified scientists, professors or doctors (pp. 49-63; 79-113), make up the most important part of the book. Forty-two splendid photos (pp. 127-141) illustrate the work done with meticulous care and outstanding expertise over two years.

By assembling innumerable fragments of bones the experts were able to reconstruct a skeleton (p. 65), recognizably human and representing almost the entire body (the two arms and almost all the ribs are missing). The skeleton belongs to an individual of male sex, between 50 and 70 years of age, 160 + — 10 cm in height (pp. 56-57; 99). The cranium, robbed of the lower frontal parts, shows a lesion on the zigomatic bone above the right ear, caused by a sharp object; the lesion occured neither too long before nor too long after the death of the individual, though it is not possible to establish a causal relation between the lesion and the death of the individual (pp. 97-98). But the shape of the lesion, which is horizontal and seems to be about 7 cm long as seen in the photo, suggests an axe (p. 87). Whereas in the *Acts of Thomas* the Apostle is killed by soldiers with lances, this lesion seems to have given rise to an Ortonan version of the death of the Apostle: he was struck on the right ear by a pagan priest swinging a hatchet (G. B. De Lectis, ". . . uno delli sacerdoti . . . alzando una scure . . . percosse Tomaso nella testa della orechia destra, et amazollo." *Vita del glorioso Ap. S. Tomaso*, p. 48; see review above on page 261).

Apparently antiquity had no monopoly of apocryphals. The bones came under the action of high temperature for a brief time (as in an explosion) and then of moderate temperature (like ashes) for a relatively long period (p. 61, 81). This indeed coincides with the knowledge of history: in 1566 the Turks sacked Ortona and exploded the tomb in the cathedral and reduced it to ashes (p. 80). The present improved conditions are designed to be proof against the ravages of the elements and burglary by men whether marauders or devotees.

For the last seven centuries the presence of these relics has influenced the religious and cultural life of Ortona (p. 18). The very mention of Apostle Thomas sends tremors of tenderness in the Ortonans, as His Excellency Enzio d'Antonio, the bishop of Ortona, avows : "brivido di tenerezza che ti attraversa le carni al solo nominare San Tommaso" (p. 20). Hence it would have been outrageous to ask for a carbon test to ascertain whether these relics date from the first century A. D., as they should if they are of St Thomas the Apostle. Although the team of experts was at first asked to ascertain the date of the relics ("epoca della morte" — p. 49), second thoughts seem to have prevailed, and permission for a C 14 test was refused. So, it is frankly avowed in the combined report of four experts, "Non abbiamo potuto procedere alla datazione con il metodo del C 14 in quanto i resti scheletrici non potevano venire sacrificati" (p. 55). An appreciable amount of the relics would have been used up in the carbon test. Over and above the devotional reluctance to "sacrifice a portion" (which was after all not allowed to prevail in the case of the Shroud of Turin) another reason of a purely scientific character was mentioned to the present writer (who had suggested a carbon test: OCP 38, 1972, pp. 388-407, see p. 397) by the bishop of Ortona. Leading scientists had told him, he said, that in the case of the relics of Ortona, which had long been exposed to the atmosphere and been subjected to the action of intense heat there was simply no chance of a C 14 test yielding reliable results — a scientific counsel that, unfortunately, does not seem to have been given or heeded in the case of the Turin Shroud, which, since its 1988 declaration as a medieval fraud, is still the object of lingering controversies, not religion versus science, but science versus science.

In the present state of our scientific knowledge, then, the Ortonan relics cannot be dated. However, historical criticism has often concluded to their medieval origin, as does also the above mentioned article by the present writer. The tombstone with the Greek inscription *Hosios Thomas* gives the lie to the relics. The Greek word "Hosios" designates a confessor (not a martyr) saint. The present relics are claimed to have been found on the island of Chios in the Aegean Sea under a tombstone with that inscription. If Thomas the Apostle died a martyr's death, then the Ortonan relics cannot be his. In the worst hypothesis, they are a fraud, as the Bollandists hold. At best, they are the remains of a saintly Greek monk, venerated locally as a confessor, Hosios Thomas, but unknown to the rest of the world. The Ortonan sailors, for whom *Hosios Thomas* was as good as *Hagios Thomas*, mistook him for St Thomas the Apostle.

Years after the publication of his article the author could ascertain that it was unknown at Ortona (which need not be a matter of surprise : in fact an offprint of it handed to a leading Ortonan exponent was useful to him only through an Italian translation). Even the educated people of Ortona do not advert to the difference between "hosios" and "hagios." So, the learned ignorance about the real identity of Hosios Thomas, and, as a pious consequence, the mistaken belief that the Ortonan relics are of St Thomas the Apostle would seem to be destined to have a long future. The recent publication of the *Atti* is entitled "scientific examination of the bones of the Apostle Thomas," which does not mean to leave any room for doubt. Though the scientists prescind from pronouncing on the identity of the individual whose relics they examined, the *Atti* will help, with all solemnity and circumstance, to reinforce the traditional belief. If science has served to discredit, however unwarrantedly, the shroud of Turin, at Ortona it is made to serve, however unknowingly, the cause of the faith that the remains of an unknown Hosios Thomas are the relics of the Apostle Thomas.

G. Nedungatt, S.J.

Iconica

Papàs Vito Borgia, *Our Lady of Damascus. The Story of an Icon*. The Incorporated Truth Society, London 1992, pp. 12.

The author, parish priest of the Greek-Catholic church in Valletta, Malta, which bears the name of the icon known as "Our Lady of Damascus" that it houses, was moved to do research on it after its restoration (1963-1966) brought to light quite a different icon from the one painted over it. It was the Knights of St John who, in 1530, brought with them the icon from Rhodes to Malta. It is in the same style as the Vladimir Madonna — that of "Eleousa" or "Umelenie" (= "Our Lady of Tenderness") —, and it may actually be older than its Russian counterpart, according to art historian David Talbot Rice. Peculiar to "Our Lady of Damascus" is the representation of two full-life archangels, a trait it shares only with the Virgin of Tolga (Moscow).

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Michel Quenot, *The Icon: Window on the Kingdom*. Translated from the French by a Carthusian Monk. Preface by Boris Bobrinskoy. St Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, N. York 1991, pp. 176, with 33 color photos and 32 black and white illustrations.

In the present work Michel Quenot, an Orthodox layman who teaches modern languages in Switzerland, provides the reader with basic information about the origin, history and meaning of icons. He concentrates on what is essential: the theology of glory as the *raison d'être* of icons.

"Window or portal to the divine glory promised to us" (p. 7): so B. Bobrinskoy describes the icon in his preface (p. 7; on the theme of icon as window see pp. 70, 83, 165), adding his reservations about attaching the tag "Orthodox" to icon. It is namely one of the main points underscored by Q. in the present work that the icon, springing from a genuine spiritual experience, was common to East and West till the iconic experience was lost over the Renaissance in the West (pp. 72, 163), opening the sluice-gates of secularization soon to overrun Byzantium itself. But after the tragic fall of Byzantium, for which the West bears a great part of the responsibility, Russia continued the iconic tradition (p. 32), till Russia herself (as the author does not add) was in danger of losing her tradition, saved more by those who were emarginated like the Old Believers.

Among the several points of reflection well worth mentioning is a certain pluralism, since Q. does not restrict himself to Greek and Russian iconography, but includes also Coptic and Ethiopian (p. 32). Besides, the present-day iconographic renewal may be associated to Russian immigrants in France, represented by such experts as Gregory Kroug (d. 1969) and Leonid Ouspensky (d. 1987). He notes, too, that Greece, represented by Photius Kontoglou, is actually doing better in avoiding the kind of kitsch Russians give to tourists (p. 164).

Q.'s *The Icon* is written in a simple style so that even a beginner can understand much of what is being said. It is packed with information, entering into detail and admirably managing to relay the Orthodox viewpoint on icons. However, on two points I should beg to differ. Quenot does not introduce the reader to the results of modern research concerning the development of the icon, giving perhaps unwittingly the impression that the icon is coterminous with the Early Church and not the result of a concrete process of evolution, which took various forms, and which perhaps might have taken several others. Secondly, his attitude towards Western art is somewhat simpliste. He does not consider the part played by Byzantine models in the emergence of Western art, including Giotto (cfr G. Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics*. London 1960), nor does he differentiate between Western art which is religiously decadent and other sorts of Western art, intent on thwarting human logic in an effort to relay the experience of the transcendent; or even to build bridges, as in those mixed types like El Greco's. The comparison between Eastern and Western art is overdrawn, because it fails to ask whether, as in scripture itself so in art, the Johannine approach to God's glory manifested in Christ is not compatible with, or even

needs to be complemented by a more experiential approach from below, as found in the Acts, the Gospels and St Paul's letters. Significantly, Q. remarks that there is something iconic about Islamic calligraphy because it evokes limitless space (p. 66).

In brief, though not completely free of one-sidednesses, Q. has given us an excellent presentation of the Orthodox approach, clear, readable and full of information.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Islamochristiana

Giulio Cipollone, O.SS.T., *Cristianità — Islam. Cattività e liberazione in nome di Dio. Il tempo di Innocenzo III dopo 'il 1187'.* (= Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana. Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae, 60), Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Roma 1992, pp. 554.

Per studiare l'atteggiamento di papa Innocenzo III verso l'Ordine Trinitario, nato in contesto crociato per riscattare ostaggi o *captivi*, questo lavoro si basa sui documenti della cancelleria pontificia contemporanea e su cronache arabe. Vari testi vengono riportati nell'originale latino e in traduzione italiana nell'appendice documentaria che correda il volume (pp. 455-544).

La trattazione si articola in sei capitoli. Nel primo, l'A. esamina i due testi sacri del Corano e della Bibbia per appurare quale sia il coerente atteggiamento del musulmano e del cristiano di fronte all'altra religione. Il secondo capitolo chiede come sia concepita la guerra di religione dalle due parti. Il terzo affronta, ancora dalle due parti, il tema della cattività. Il quarto ricerca le condizioni della liberazione. Il quinto capitolo si occupa del papa Innocenzo III, rattristato dalla caduta di Gerusalemme in mano musulmana nel 1187 e intento a preparare la riconquista della Città Santa. Il sesto capitolo tratta dei rimedi alla cattività e dell'Ordine dei Trinitari, che se ne occupa istituzionalmente.

Il libro non si accontenta dunque di risalire alle origini di un Ordine religioso, rivisitando la figura di un grande papa, ma si occupa di temi molto vasti come il confronto islamo-cristiano, la guerra santa, le Crociate, la cattura a scopo di riscatto e la maniera di liberare chi soffre tale inumana condizione. Lo sforzo di contestualizzare storicamente, sia Innocenzo III, sia i Trinitari, è lodevole e il libro apporta senz'altro un suo contributo prezioso.

Il quadro però non è completo. Oltre a interrogare le cronache musulmane, testi cristiani e i documenti della cancelleria papale, bisognava sentire la terza parte in causa nella Crociata, cioè la cristianità locale dei paesi islamici. Infatti essa appartiene de iure et de facto a quel dār al-iṣlām che si oppone a dār al-ḥarb, donde provengono i Crociati. Saladino ha come segretario il cristiano copto Ibn Šarāfī. E sotto Safaddino i Crociati fanno i conti con un ministro della guerra che è cristiano, il copto Ibn al-Mīqāt. Questi dati si trovano in nuce

nel buon libro di Fattal che l'A. cita, ma sono sviluppati in altri libri che l'A. non cita. La presenza attiva e in qualche modo integrata di non musulmani all'interno della società musulmana è così importante che Cl. Cahen attribuisce il fallimento delle Crociate allo scontro di due società troppo diverse, la musulmana e la cristiana d'Occidente, l'una pluralistica, l'altra invece d'un solo colore. L'A. sembra ignorare Tritton, *Christian Subjects under Muslim Caliphs*; Khoury, *Toleranz im Islam*; e il suggestivo racconto autobiografico di Usama Ibn al-Munqid, musulmano prigioniero dei Crociati in attesa di riscatto, di cui esiste l'edizione del testo arabo, le versioni francese, inglese e tedesca, pur mancando tuttora una versione integrale italiana. Ma, soprattutto il libro avrebbe dovuto conoscere l'opera di A. D. von den Brincken, *Die Nationes Christianorum Orientalium im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie*, 1973.

L'ignorare questa e simile bibliografia si ripercuote nelle deficienze testuali e perciò nella stessa valutazione del fenomeno della cattività. Tanto più che il papa Innocenzo III, oltre che per l'appoggio dato ai Trinitari, per la sua ecclesiologia "romana", i suoi rapporti con Francesco e con Domenico, o la lotta contro gli Albigesi, deve ricordarsi per il suo interesse per i Cristiani di Oriente (cfr W. de Vries, *Innozenz III. und der christliche Osten*, *Arch. Hist. Pont.* 1965, 87-126) e per aver invitato il patriarca maronita al IV concilio lateranense del 1215. Infatti fra i documenti riportati in appendice ne figurano alcuni (per es. i documenti 33 e 35) che si occupano dei cristiani orientali. L'insistere del papa in *Operante divinae dispositionis clementia* del 1198, che i Trinitari cavalchino asini e non cavalli, potrebbe ispirarsi all'identica proibizione islamica che vieta al *dhimmī* di usare il cavallo. La costituzione di Innocenzo III del 1199, *Licet perfidia judaeorum*, che raccomanda un tratto più umano con gli Ebrei e vieta di forzarli alla conversione, potrebbe aver preso esempio dall'Islam, più tollerante con gli Ebrei di quanto non lo sia la cristianità d'occidente.

Simili considerazioni, pur nella stima globale di questo lavoro, ci fanno in qualche modo rammaricare l'occasione perduta di ulteriore approfondimento orientalistico e di quadro più completo rispetto alla comprensione storica delle interessanti problematiche studiate.

V. Poggi S.J.

Jean Damascène, *Écrits sur l'Islam*. Présentation, Commentaire et Traduction par Raymond Le Coz (= SC 383), Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 1992, pp. 272.

La dibattutta questione di due scritti sull'Islam attribuiti a San Giovanni Damasceno, risollevata nel 1961 da Abel, che ritarda di alcuni secoli il primo dei due, ripresa da Sahas e Khoury, che confutano gli argomenti di Abel,

compie un altro passo avanti. In questo volume delle SC, un'ampia introduzione ricostruisce l'ambiente politico-religioso siro-palestinese dei secoli VI e VII, traccia la biografia del santo, considera dapprima globalmente, quindi dettagliatamente i due scritti sull'Islam, ne affronta la paternità e ne ripercorre la tradizione manoscritta e stampata. L'attribuzione al Damasceno, già sostenuta con buoni argomenti da Sahas (cfr OCP 38 [1972] 514-516) si avvale oggi dei lavori critici del Kotter che nel frattempo ha edito il repertorio eresiologico damasceniano di cui quella degli Agareni o Saraceni è la centesima eresia (p. 191). Infatti l'edizione critica dei due testi greci curata da Kotter nell'ambito dell'edizione completa degli scritti del Damasceno, è qui riprodotta con permesso della casa editrice de Gruyter, corredata di traduzione francese a fronte e di breve commento esegetico.

Ma se il Damasceno è l'autore del primo scritto, allora il problema della sua conoscenza diretta dell'Islam attraverso la lingua araba e il testo coranico impone delle riflessioni. In tal caso, le poche pagine tracciate dall'antico funzionario alla corte omayyade rispecchiano un sorprendente compendio della dogmatica, della cristologia e della morale islamiche. Devo dire anzi a questo proposito che le citazioni coraniche di cui formicola lo scritto sono più numerose di quelle che l'A. segnala nelle note esegetiche. Come l'A. nota giustamente, possono fornire preziose informazioni sullo stato del testo coranico in quell'epoca e in quel territorio. Sembrerebbe perfino che il termine di lettura (*qur'ān*) non sia ancora consacrato, figurando invece presso il Damasceno i termini di Scrittura e di Libro (p. 100). Il nome e l'ordine di qualche sura potrebbero essere diversi da quelli poi canonizzati.

L'estremo interesse di simili considerazioni sollecitate dalla lettura di quest'opera non esimono dal constatare qualche disattenzione o mancanza. *Hobar*, invece che traslitterazione popolare di *kabar* o *akbar* (p. 121), potrebbe essere la divinità preislamica meccana *Hobal*, di cui riferisce Ibn al-Kalbī. Sul Cristianesimo in Arabia preislamica c'è molto più che la bibliografia di nota 1 a p. 96. I termini *rūm* e *monofisita* sono usati approssimativamente (pp. 14-15). Invece di Dionigi di Tell Mahre p. 38, sarebbe meglio parlare di Pseudo-Dionigi di Tell Mahre. La confutazione del Corano di Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, prima d'ora nota soltanto attraverso la versione greca di Demetrio Cidone (p. 62), è disponibile nell'edizione di Mérigoux, che ne ha ritrovato il testo originale latino in un manoscritto fiorentino.

Se dunque la nostra conoscenza del Damasceno e la sua competenza in fatto di Islam ricevono validi apporti da questo volumetto, non tutti i problemi vi sono risolti né ogni ricerca conclusa.

V. Poggi S.J.

Sidney H. Griffith, *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine*, (= Collected Studies Series CS380), Variorum, Ashgate Publishing L., Aldershot GB — Brookfield, Vermont 1992, pp. viii + 341.

Sono undici saggi apparsi tra il 1980 e il 1989 e qui raccolti insieme. I primi tre si occupano della polemica islamo-cristiana del primo secolo abbaside e del nascere di una letteratura arabo-cristiana tra i monaci palestinesi. Il quarto studia l'apologetica arabocristiana di Eutichio di Alessandria. nel secolo X. I saggi quinto e sesto trattano della giustificazione del culto delle immagini e della dottrina del libero arbitrio di Teodoro Abū Qurrah. Il settimo, l'ottavo e il nono saggio studiano un'anonima somma teologica cristiana in arabo (ğumlah), del nono secolo, che cita come predecessori gli apologeti Abū Rā'iṭah, 'Ammār al-Baṣrī e Teodoro Abū Qurrah. Scoperta nel 1903 da Louis Ma'lūf S.J. che ne pubblicò un piccolo saggio, edita in minima parte da Louis Cheikho S.J. nel 1906 e analizzata da G. Graf nel 1947, l'A., nel VII saggio sarebbe propenso ad attribuirla, se non altro quanto alla compilazione rimastaci, a Stefano di Ramlah. Ma nell' VIII saggio ritorna sulla questione per ammonire che prima di darne una completa edizione critica è prematuro deciderne l'attribuzione a questo o a quel teologo. Nella Summa si considerano pure i rapporti fra il patrimonio culturale in greco e la vita intellettuale monastica nella Palestina dell'epoca. Il X saggio, il più lungo, si concentra sulla storia di 'Abd al-Masīh al-Nağranī al-Ġassānī, musulmano convertito al Cristianesimo e divenuto monaco, anzi abate del monastero del Sinai, decapitato dai musulmani come apostata. L'A. edita e traduce il testo arabo della sua vita e del suo martirio, dopo aver premessa un'introduzione.

L'ultimo saggio è dedicato ad un altro melchita che scrive in arabo nel secolo IX, Antonio David di Bagdad, che ci fornisce alcuni suoi dati personali in due colofoni, editi da E. Tisserant e da I. Kračkovskij. Da quei dati e dai due manoscritti che Antonio ha copiato, abbiamo un'altra prova che in Palestina fiorisse allora un monachesimo arabo, ignorato invece dai pellegrini occidentali e dai bizantini contemporanei. E il frutto di questo ultimo saggio potrebbe considerarsi emblematico anche per tutti i saggi della raccolta, intenti ciascuno a riscoprire la vitalità di un Cristianesimo all'interno di una società che nella lingua era divenuta araba.

Le *Additions* dànno preziose integrazioni bibliografiche sia circa altri lavori dell'A., sia per scritti di altri. Ci auguriamo che l'A. continui a lavorare con altrettanta riuscita in questo campo così importante e in certo senso così nuovo della letteratura araba-cristiana. E chissà che lui stesso non ci dia finalmente l'edizione integra della Summa theologica araba cui dedica non solo i saggi VII-IX di questo volume, ma anche altri da lui pubblicati negli anni '90.

V. Poggi S.J.

Kenneth M. Setton, *Western Hostility to Islam and Prophecies of Turkish Doom*. (= Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 201), American Philosophical Society, Independence Square: Philadelphia 1992, pp. 64.

Sono quattro saggi, introdotti da una sapida, breve, *Preface*, dello storico statunitense, autore di numerose opere e curatore della *History of the Crusades*. Nel primo saggio, l'A. tratta di leggende cristiane anti-islamiche, come quella medievale su Muḥammad, studiata da d'Ancona e Mancini; e di ricorrenti scritti medievali sulla religione islamica. Trattando dell'*Improbatio Corani* di Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (p. 13), l'A. cita la versione greca di Demetrio Cidone (PG 154, 1035-1070), ma ignora l'edizione dell'originale latino. In realtà, un manoscritto fiorentino, dove il *Contra Legem Saracenorum* (titolo genuino) in parte autografo e in parte chiosato dallo stesso Riccoldo, è base della recente edizione di quel testo, curata da J. M. Mérigoux, *L'ouvrage d'un frère prêcheur à la fin du XIIIe s. Le Contra Legem Saracenorum de Riccoldo da Monte di Croce*, *Memorie Domenicane*, NS 17, 1986, 1-144.

Il secondo saggio attinge a letteratura apocalittica che predice la sconfitta turca, da fra Giovanni Stupan di Venezia, a Giovanni Nanni da Viterbo, al Savonarola, a Francesco da Meleto, all'Arquato.

Il terzo studio, *Bartholomaeus Georgievicz and the Red Apple*, ricorda che in turco *kızıl elma*, letteralmente mela rossa, e in arabo *rummān*, propriamente melagrana, significano indirettamente la Nuova Roma o Costantinopoli, forse per assimilazione dell'arabo *rummān* al termine al-Rūmān, proveniente per trafila dotta dal latino "romanus". La profezia cinquecentesca di Georgievicz, predice la rovina della melagrana, cioè di Costantinopoli o dell'impero turco. Lo scritto ha successo, e la profezia è popolare nel secolo XVII, quando inizia la parabola discendente della potenza strategica ottomana. Si doveva menzionare anche E. Rossi, "La leggenda turco-bizantina del Pomo Rosso", *Studi biz. e neoell.*, V (1939) 542-553. È un tema molto vasto attorno al quale si scoprono continuamente nuovi documenti. Cfr A. Carile, "Une prophétie inédite en Néo-Grec et en Vénitien sur la chute de l'Empire Ottoman", *Byz. Forschungen* XVII (1991) 31-45.

Nel quarto saggio l'A. studia l'evolversi dell'atteggiamento occidentale verso l'Islam, attraverso le varie traduzioni del Corano. Dalla *Doctrina Mahumet*, a Robert di Ketton, a Bibliander, ad Andrea Arrivabene, a Guillaume Postel, J. A. de Savary, W. Bedwell, M. Baudier, a E. Pococke, A. du Ryer, L. Marracci, H. Prideaux, J.H. Hottinger, R. Simon, Voltaire, fino al nostro secolo con J. H. Mordtmann.

Il libro, con il suo discorso sui rapporti, non propriamente pacifici, fra mondo cristiano e mondo islamico e per la vastità delle conoscenze, frutto di lunga familiarità con le fonti, costituisce una lettura stimolante.

V. Poggi S.J.

Liturgica

Commentary on the Divine Liturgy by Xosrov Anjewac'i. Translated with an introduction by S. Peter Cowe. (Armenian Church Classics. A Publication of the Department of Religious Education, Diocese of the Armenian Church) St. Vartan Press, New York 1991, pp. vii + 263.

The Armenian *Patarag* or Divine Liturgy is one of the least studied eucharistic services of Eastern Christendom. I know of only one major work on the topic in recent years, a doctoral dissertation written in East-Germany before «die Wende»: Friederike Kökert, *Sowrb Patarag — "Heiliges Opfer." Texte und Untersuchung zur Liturgie der Armenischen Apostolischen Orthodoxen Kirche*. Dissertation (A) der Fakultät für Theologie des Wissenschaftlichen Rates der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades doctor theologiae (Dr. theol.), Halle/Saale 1986. Part II of this thesis (pp. 110-263) gives the historical evolution of the Armenian *Patarag* insofar as it can be ascertained from the available sources without delving into the ms tradition. This was done in part in the still standard J. Catergian and J. Dashian, *Die Liturgien bei den Armeniern* (in Armenian, Vienna 1897). But that work is now outdated, and a systematic study of the ms tradition awaits some enterprising doctoral candidate.

Of the extant classic commentators on the Armenian liturgy, only three deal with the eucharist. The earliest is Xosrov Anjewac'i († 965), bishop of Anjewac'ik' from around 950, who also wrote a commentary on the Divine Office. This is the only *Patarag* commentary for which a complete translation, in Latin, has been available: P. Vetter, *Chosroae magni episcopi monophysitici Explicatio precum missae,* (Freiburg im B. 1880). The long and critically important *Meknut'iwn Srboy Pataragi* of the young (he was 24 in 1177, at the time of writing) Nersēs Lambronac'i (1168/9-1198) — i.e., of Lambron — bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia (1180/81-1198) has been published only in Armenian (Venice 1847). A French translation for SC, in preparation for decades, is yet to see the light of day, though sections of this commentary have appeared in translation in various studies: *Alcuni squarci del Commentario di S. N. Lambronense sulla Liturgia Armena* (Venezia 1851); É. Dulaurier, *Receuil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniens*, vol. 1 (Paris 1859). 569-78; Claudio Gugerotti, *L'interazione dei ruoli in una celebrazione come mistagogia* («Caro Salutis Cardo», Studi, 8, Istituto di Liturgia Pastorale, Abbazia di S. Giustina, Edizioni Messagero Padova 1991) *passim*. The third commentary, found in codex *Paris arm. 29*, is basically a 12th c. compilation from the other two by Yovhannēs Arčišec'i. In addition, an 8th c. commentary on the lectionary is available in a modern edition: Grigori Arsaruni, *Meknut'iwn Ent'erc'uacoc'* (Bibliothèque arménienne de la Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, S. Lazzaro, Venice 1964). The other commentators, some of them from the turn of the 7-8th c., deal with the Divine Office, an area often neglected in other traditions especially at that early date (p. 25; cf. R.F. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West*, Collegeville 1986, 219-20).

In the light of this meager list of critical editions of primary sources or their translations, to say nothing of scholarly studies, S.P. Cowe's re-edition — the Armenian text reproduces the Venice edition of 1869 — with English translation of this seminal primary source is most welcome. Xosrov's significance for the history of the liturgy cannot be overestimated. He is the first witness to the Armenian Anaphora of St. Athanasius, the formulary which would eventually become the only Armenian eucharistic prayer in use.

Cowe's extensive and rich introduction is excellent. He first locates Xosrov within the context of his times. For Armenians then and later, from the religious standpoint this meant holding off the Persians and those who succeeded them, and coping with the powerful Christian neighbor on their doorstep, Byzantium. Since Chalcedon (451) Byzantium had had doctrinal differences with the Armenians, and since Trullo (692) had turned inward, consolidating its own forces while turning its face against the different usages of its principal neighbors, the Armenians and the Latin West. The Armenians, by contrast, were remarkably open to the uses of other nations, absorbing Latin and Byzantine customs without a murmur. Xosrov's own receptivity often led him to be considered a Chalcedonian, as were numerous Armenian ecclesiastics, including Nersēs Lambronac'i, in the centuries after that dolorous misunderstanding. Xosrov's method, style, theology, and the commentators who succeeded him, all receive separate and excellent treatment from C. But the centerpiece of his introduction, for me at least, is "2. Xosrov and the Shape of the Armenian Liturgy" (pp. 19-50), easily the best treatise on the Armenian eucharist available in English — astonishingly so for this reviewer, long inured to the silly things that even good scholars without expertise in liturgiology sometimes write on the topic. This section alone makes the volume worthwhile: hereafter no one with any serious interest in Armenian liturgy will be able to do without C's work. Especially useful is his translation of a crucial passage of the commentary on the hours by Catholicos Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i (ca. 650-728) concerning the *Času žam*. This Armenian midday hour or "synaxis" (*čas* means, among other things, the midday repast) is a service analogous to the Byzantine *Typika* (= Slavonic *Izobrazitel'nye* or *Obednica*; cf. J. Mateos, OCA 191:68-71, which C. might have found useful to cite in this context). This Palestinian service (cf. Mateos, ST 233:47-76, esp. 54-55) is not only one more proof of the strong hagiopolite influence in the formation of the Armenian Rite, as amply demonstrated by Renoux's monumental work on the lectionary (PO 35.1, 36.2, 44.4; cf. Bibliotheca *Ephemerides Liturgicae* Subsidia 7:257-288). It also enables C. (pp. 24-28) to provide the possible key to an aspect of Xosrov's commentary that has long puzzled students of Armenian liturgy: the fact that Xosrov begins his commentary abruptly with the intercessions following the lections and creed, without a word about the enarxis (p. 97, no. 1). As C. notes (p. 25), Xosrov's commentary on the eucharist was meant to be accompanied by his similar treatment of the hours: both were conceived as a single work even if they have always been published separately. It is there, in the commentary on

the Divine Office, that Xosrov treats the enarxis material which at that date seems not to have been viewed as a permanent fixture of the *Patarag*.

If certain problems in the ms tradition (pp. 23-24) make a critical edition of Xosrov imperative, C's commentary on the commentary will doubtless remain standard for some time to come. He is to be congratulated, too, for making this work "user-friendly" by writing clearly, citing the best relevant literature, providing indices, and even taking care to furnish cross-references to Tiran Nersoyan's Armenian-English edition of the *Pataragamatoyc'* (New York 1950) or Missal (p. 93 and *passim*), the best easily available text for the reader unable to cope with Grabar or Classical Armenian.

I welcome with enthusiasm this excellent new series, "Armenian Church Classics," an enterprise of the Armenian Apostolic Church in the United States. Like all other Eastern Christian communities in the diaspora, the Armenians face the need to develop a library of religious literature that will open up the riches of their ancient tradition to those of their faithful who are more comfortable in the vernacular of their adopted land, and who at any rate do not know Grabar. The great pastor and scholar Archbishop Tiran Nersoyan (1904-1989) of blessed memory, whom this reviewer had the privilege of knowing, grasped this problem during his episcopacy in New York and with his studies and translations laid the foundations on which this series now builds. This volume is suitably dedicated to him.

I might suggest to the editors of the series that in future volumes they use the space on the back cover to give the reader a brief biography of the modern authors/editors/translators like S. P. Cowe who enrich us with the gift of their scholarship.

R. F. Taft, S.J.

A Classified Bibliography on the East Syrian Liturgy/La bibliographie classifiée de la liturgie syrienne orientale. Edited by Pierre Yousif with the collaboration of P. Kannookadan, A. Kollaparampil, M. Kumpackal. Mar Thoma Yogam (The St Thomas Christian Fellowship) Rome 1990, pp. xxxi + 155.

This excellent and most useful bibliography will fill a real need. It was prepared by Chaldean Catholic Chorbishop Pierre Yousif, professor of East Syrian Liturgy and Syriac Patrology at the Pontifical Oriental Institute, with the assistance of three of his doctoral students, all of them Syro-Malabar Catholic priests studying at the same Institute, where the bibliography may be obtained. It has the advantage of making available to a wider public, scattered private bibliographies prepared for courses at the Oriental Institute, such as this reviewer's extensive bibliography on the Liturgical Year. Such bibliographies deal with particular topics. This one, comprising some 3000 titles, is the first

comprehensive classified bibliography of the three existing liturgical usages — Chaldean, Assyrian, and Syro-Malabar — with roots in the East Syrian liturgical heritage of Mesopotamia. The book concludes with a useful appendix listing the addresses of 26 libraries with important collections of Syriac manuscripts, and an alphabetical index of authors whose works have been included in the topically classified bibliography.

This publication of the Mar Thoma Yogam is but one more sign of the vigor and initiative of the Indian Catholic students in Rome. That, in turn, is but a mirror of the extraordinary vitality of the "Thomas Christians," those Indian Christian Churches with apostolic roots in Kerala, which has borne such fruit in holiness and zeal both in the past and in modern times. Their doctoral students in liturgy at the Oriental Institute, most of them under the direction of Prof. Yousif, have gradually been working their way through the Syriac sources of their liturgical tradition. Their dissertations are providing a rich library of studies in English on the incomparable East Syrian tradition, an essential ancient component of their Indian Christian heritage. No future liturgical or spiritual renewal of this heritage will have any validity without taking account of this foundation.

Apart from a few stylistic peculiarities, my only objection — really a cavil — to this welcome and hereafter indispensable research tool concerns the subtitles, all of which are given first in English, then in French. It is difficult to understand the purpose of this duplication in a multi-lingual bibliography. Surely, no reader incapable of handling both those prime languages of contemporary scholarly writing on eastern Christian liturgy will find any use for this work!

R. F. Taft, S.J.

Suor Maria Donadeo, *L'anno liturgico bizantino*. Morcelliana, Bescia 1991, pp. 240.

Sister Maria Donadeo of the Russian Catholic Dormition (*Uspenskij*) Monastery in Rome has already made major contributions to the growing body of religious literature in Italian on the Byzantine spiritual and liturgical heritage. Prayers, prayers to the Mother of God, the Cross, the Great Feasts of the Byzantine liturgical cycle, icons, icons of the Mother of God, icons of Christ, icons of the saints, Russian Marian iconography, have all been subjected to her accurate, nuanced, always ecumenical reflection study, and — more important — to her prayerful spiritual contemplation. For these topics cannot be grasped through study and reading alone, but only through the eyes of faith via that constant μελετεῖν or *lectio divina* taught by the Fathers of East and West as the wellspring of our prayer.

The present volume is straightforward and easy to use even for one with no previous initiation into the intricacies of the Byzantine typikon. After a short presentation of the Byzantine festive cycles, the author goes directly to the heart of all Christian festivity, the paschal cycle, including its lenten preparation and its pentecostal extension. This thematic is central, recurring again and again every Sunday in the dominical cycle of the Oktoechos throughout the year. In Byzantine usage only the greatest mysteries of Salvation History are allowed to intrude on this central paschal mystery. Reflections on the sanctoral conclude the volume, and suitably. For the saints, contrary to what some might think, do not detract from the centrality of the dominical cycle. They are but signs of the ongoing presence of the Lord's paschal mystery ever victorious in the Church though the workings of His Spirit. The author's meditation on the Byzantine festivities is enriched throughout with translations of prayers and hymns that illustrate the great power and concentration of this Easter-centered liturgical spirituality, and a list of the Byzantine liturgical books and a glossary of terms are appended to the volume.

We are indebted to Sr. Maria for sharing with us the rich fruit of her monastic contemplation in the true spirit of eastern monasticism, withdrawn from but always open to the world in need of the *Slovo istiny*, the Word of Truth.

R. F. Taft, S.J.

Ernst Hammerschmidt, *Studies in the Ethiopic Anaphoras*, (Äthiopistiche Forschungen. Herausgegeben von Ernst Hammerschmidt. Band 25), 2nd Revised Edition. Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden GMBH Stuttgart 1987, pp. 181.

E. Hammerschmidt ha pubblicato originariamente questi studi sulle anafore etiopiche, nel 1968 (Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten, Bd 25) e, a distanza di vent'anni, ne dà una seconda edizione. Siccome, a suo tempo, la rivista non ha pubblicato una recensione, è bene lo faccia su questa edizione riveduta.

Il libro, percorre le varie anafore della tradizione etiopica (pp. 13-36) dando una breve descrizione di ciascuna, segnalandone i mss nelle biblioteche europee, le eventuali edizioni o traduzioni.

L'A. si interessa anche della "pre-anafora", indicandone le parti più importanti. Tuttavia, segnalando gli elementi della Liturgia della Parola (o "Liturgia dei Catecumeni", come l'A. preferisce chiamarla), non accenna al *Mesbak* (= *Prokeimenon*) (p. 51), che precede immediatamente il Vangelo, elemento a nostro avviso importante, presente in ogni liturgia in cui si legga il Vangelo.

Forse, le anafore della Chiesa etiopica si possono classificare come anafore di traduzione fedele (degli Apostoli, Testamentum Domini, ecc.,), di traduzione libera, e di composizione locale (di Atanasio, Maria di Ciriaco, ecc.,).

Alla breve descrizione di ogni anafora, ne segue una di ogni elemento dell'*Akwātēt* (p. 36s). Così è infatti generalmente designata l'anafora (da *Akwätäla'kwätä* = celebrare le lodi, rendere grazie). Tale termine si precisa ulteriormente quando è accompagnato dal vocabolo *Qʷərban* (da *qärbä*: presentare, offrire [sacrificio]). Quindi la Messa viene considerata come una oblazione di ringraziamento.

Non manca la segnalazione dell'impiego di ciascuna anafora lungo l'anno liturgico. Anche per quanto riguarda anafore rimaste manoscritte e non usate attualmente nella liturgia l'A. vi accenna, indicando, magari la bibliografia o localizzando il rispettivo manoscritto o l'edizione. Le anafore che l'A. considera sono 20. Di queste, 14 sono in uso nella Chiesa Etiopica Ortodossa (le altre 6, perdute o considerate apocrife). Delle stesse 20, ne sono in uso 17 nella Chiesa Cattolica di rito etiopico. Le 3 rimanenti, di Nostra Signora di Gregorio (p. 25), la seconda di Gregorio (p. 26), la breve di S. Cirillo (p. 31) non sono riconosciute né dall'una, né dall'altra Chiesa. Perciò, delle quattro anafore mariane soltanto due sono in uso: quella di Ciriaco in ambedue le Chiese, Ortodossa e Cattolica; quella detta di Giyorgis invece soltanto presso i Cattolici.

L'A. studia ogni anafora, soffermandosi su qualcuna, per es. quella mariana di Ciriaco e quella attribuita a S. Atanasio, per citare le più importanti. Nel capitolo 3° esamina il problema delle attribuzioni e della data di redazione, partendo naturalmente dalla critica interna del testo. Infatti, elementi poetici, strutture peculiari e riferimenti a conflitti interni nel paese, sono tipici delle anafore di produzione locale. La menzione nel testo, di alcuni scrittori antichi, non suggerisce all'A. che tali anafore siano di origine non etiopica.

L'influsso di antiche Chiese dell'Oriente, in specie della greco-ellenistico-siriaca (all'inizio) e di quella copta (successivamente) nel testo liturgico della Chiesa etiopica, sembra trovare conferma dalla presenza di alcune forme, strutture e dialoghi nella l'*Akwätētä qʷərban* (degli Apostoli, di Giovanni, Giacomo fratello del Signore, dei 318 Padri, di Marco, ecc.).

Non sempre tutte le anafore mantengono la classica struttura della liturgia (p. 77). Infatti, le due anafore mariane, di Ciriaco e di Giyorgis, salvaguardando la cornice della tradizione liturgica, iniziano esaltando le meraviglie di Maria (p. 75), anziché cominciare con l'*Oratio theologica*, cioè sono direttamente rivolte alla Vergine e mancano dell'Epiclesi (p. 172).

L'Anafora di Atanasio, di redazione locale, in uso soprattutto la Domenica, ha una peculiare attenzione al Sabato dei Cristiani (= Domenica), con la personificazione del medesimo giorno (p. 80), cui si indirizza l'invocazione. La sua matrice potrebbe essere giudaica, dove la personificazione del Sabato è al centro della liturgia.

Utili le tabelle comparative (p. 54-58; 74-75), gli Indici (Appendix III), e le bibliografie (Appendix I, II).

A questo proposito ritengo opportuno aggiungervi:

Paul Verghese, "Die Äthiopische Liturgische Tradition", in Paul Verghese, *Koptisches Christentum,* (= Die Kirchen der Welt, Bd. 12), Stuttgart 1973, 187-199. I. H. Dalmais, "La tradition apostolique et ses dérivés dans les prières eucharistiques étiopiennes (Anaphore des Apôtres et Anaphore de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ)", *Augustinianum* 20 (1980) 109-117; Getatchew Haile, "Religious Controversies and the Growth of Ethiopic Literature in the 14th and 15th Centuries", OC 65 (1981) 102-136; Paulos Tzadua, "The Divine Liturgy According to the Rite of the Ethiopian Church", in J. Madey (ed.), *The Eucharistic Liturgy in the Christian East,* (Paderborn 1982) 25-68; R. Beylot, *Testamentum Domini Éthiopien,* Louvain 1984; J. L. Bandrés, "The Ethiopian Anaphora of the Apostles: Historical considerations", *Proche Orient Chrétien* 36 (1986) 6-13;

Concludendo, questo libro costituisce un valido contributo alla conoscenza delle anafore di tradizione etiopica, nel cammino, non troppo avanzato, alla scoperta della liturgia etiopica.

Habtemichael-Kidanè, O.F.M. Cap.

Aimé-Georges Martimort, *Les "Ordines", les Ordinaires et les Cérémoniaux.* (Typologie des sources du moyen age occidental, Fasc. 56, A-VI.A.1*, Directeur L. Genicot, Université Catholique de Louvain — Institut d'études médiévales) Brepols, Turnhout 1991, pp. 123. Idem, *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres* (*Ibid.*, Fasc. 64, A -VI.A.1*) Brepols, Turnhout 1992, pp. 105.

A.-M. Martimort, one of the great names of the generation of Catholic liturgical scholars who were the architects of the liturgical reform of Vatican II, has celebrated his eightieth birthday and is still going strong, as these two small but dense volumes richly attest.

The title of the series alone is enough to excite the interest of the historian of liturgy, for a typology or taxonomy of the sources — i.e., the identification and classification of different types of liturgical books according to their contents and use — is of prime import in retracing the history of liturgical interchange and development, as elements from one tradition travel to another and become integrated into new anthologies to form ever-new liturgical types. The subdivisions of the series show the vastness of the enterprise: A. Sources écrites. VI. Sources relatives à la vie religieuse et morale. A. Sources liturgiques. 1* = Livres liturgiques (servant au culte), the asterisk indicating that other numbers belong to the same subgroup. Other subdivisions of the same basic section include: 2. Livres professionnels (manuals for pastors or curates, manuals of sacramental theology for priests), 3. Livres didactiques et scientifiques (explanations of the mass, sacraments, creed; popular missals for

the faithful, etc.), 4. Livres de dévotion (prayer books, primers or hours books), etc.

Fasc. 56 deals with that series of Roman books similar to what would evolve into the Byzantine typikon. The *Ordines Romani*, crucial for the liturgy of Rome, are treated in Part I. New material is added to complement the older work of Andrieu. Part II treats the Ordinaries, a book like the later Byzantine liturgical typika of monastic provenance. Part III handles the Ceremonials or Customaries, books describing in greater detail what is found in the Ordinary, but, more like a Byzantine diataxis, long on detailed rubrics without the indications of the liturgical propers (lections, chants, etc.) found in an Ordinary or typikon. In each section the author proceeds with admirable logic and succinctly — there is no excess verbiage — to give, as the case requires, first a definition of the book in question, then its types, extant witnesses, problems of classification and interpretation, evolution, and interest for the history of liturgy. Especially fascinating are the elements in the life of the local Church that M. draws from his study of these sources (part I, ch. IV.1-2, II, ch. V, III, ch. II.5).

Some studies that should be added to the bibliography of this volume are: Edward B. Foley, *The First Ordinary of the Royal Abbey of St.-Denis in France (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 526)* (Spicilegium Friburgense 32, University Press, Fribourg, Switzerland 1991, and especially idem, "The *libri ordinarii*: An Introduction," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 102 (1988) 129-137, and the sources cited there. And on the topic of the stations one would have expected a reference to J. F. Baldovin's classic study (OCA 228).

Similar work, if still embryonic, is already underway for the Byzantine Rite here in the Liturgy Section of the Faculty of Eastern Christian Studies at the Pontifical Oriental Institute, for the typikon (see A.-A. Thiermeyer "Das Typikon-ktetorikon und sein literarhistorischer Kontext," in OCP 58, 1992, 475-513, from the licentiate thesis under the direction of R. Taft) and the euchologion. The latter was not one uniform book: no two euchology manuscripts are the same. But ongoing studies in the euchology, especially by my colleague Miguel Arranz S.J. and doctoral students under his direction, are gradually elaborating a more nuanced taxonomy of the euchology manuscripts (e.g., to name only the most recent: S.J. Koster, *Das Euchologion Sevastianov 474 [X/XI Jhdt.] der Staatsbibliothek Lenin in Moskau*, director M. Arranz, defended 20.xi.91, unpublished; A.-A. Thiermeyer, *Das Euchologion Ottoboni gr. 434 [Palästina 1174/75]*, director R. Taft, defended 1.iv.92, extract published; S. Parenti, *L'Eucologio manoscritto Gb IV [X secolo] della Biblioteca di Grottaferrata. Edizione*, in preparation, director M. Arranz).

This work on individual mss is gradually moving towards the identification of "interpretative keys" — giveaway clues — permitting the classification of the ms as of this, not that type, age, provenance. These results nuance and extend criteria previously advanced by scholars such as the late Dom Anselm Strittmatter O.S.B., of St. Anselm's Abbey in Washington, D.C., and A. Jacob, for distinguishing various families and redactions of euchology manuscripts,

and Constantinopolitan sources from those of the Byzantine "liturgical periphery" (the expression is S. Parenti's) — chiefly the monastic centers of Southern Italy and Mt. Sinai before the predominance of Mt. Athos in the later period.

Fasc. 64 deals with the liturgical lections and the books that contain them. They evolve from Bibles with marginal notations to aid their use in the liturgical proclamation of the Word, a use aided by *incipit-desinit* pericope lists like those in early eastern books such as the so-called lectionaries of Jerusalem in Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, or the Byzantine Synaxarion-Kanonarion; to the development of full-blown lectionaries in the proper sense of the term: the actual text of scriptural pericopes arranged no longer in biblical order, but in the order in which they are used in the liturgical cycle. Included here are the homiliaries and hagiographical lectionaries for use in the Divine Office.

Here, too, apart from the massive work of scholars like M. Tarchnišvili, G. Garitte, A. Renoux on the Jersualem lectionary, similar work for the Byzantine lectionary mss has been largely the province of scripture scholars and musicologists, most notably though not exclusively in the University of Chicago series, *Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament*, and, for the Prophetologion or Old Testament lectionary, at Copenhagen by the group working on the *Monumenta Musicæ Byzantinæ* series. For the hagiographical and patristic lections in the Synaxarion, A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung u. Bestand der hagiographischen u. homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, 3. vols. (Leipzig 1937-52) remains standard.

On the negative side, the absence of alphabetical indices in such reference works is intolerable.

One can not overestimate the importance for the history of liturgy of this tedious work of sifting, defining, ordering, grouping, classifying of sources. Without this, the mere critical editing of mss does little but save one a trip to the library to read the original. I only hope that Msgr. Martimort's productivity will continue to enrich us in the future, as it has in the past, *ad multos annos*!

R. F. Taft, S.J.

Brian D. Spinks, *The sanctus in the eucharistic prayer*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York – Port Chester – Melbourne – Sydney 1991, pp. xiii + 260.

It is a truism that the Sanctus derives ultimately from Is 6:3. But whence, where, how it got into the anaphora remains a mystery. Though I do not think even this excellent book solves the problem satisfactorily, it is the best study on the topic to date. Spinks, always careful, thorough, erudite, examines here the topic from every possible point of view, and does it well. But we have come to

expect no less from Brian Spinks, well-known Anglican liturgiologist knowledgeable in eastern and western sources alike, and already a major voice in contemporary liturgical scholarship.

No stranger to revisionism, S. rejects previous theories and opts for Syria and Palestine as the point of entry for the Sanctus into the anaphora. Such a conclusion is not drawn lightly. S. has been combing eastern anaphoras for many years, and the Sanctus has been an element in his studies for more than a decade, thus putting him in the direct line of succession to his Anglican forebears, as he himself points out in his *Preface* (ix). The Sanctus problem has especially exercised the Anglicans, and so this book lies on the fault-line running from E.C. Ratcliff through A.H. Couratin, who was influenced by Ratcliff and passed the bug on to S.

After a review of current theories on how and where the Sanctus entered the anaphora in the first place (1-7) — "the Egyptian theory" of G. Dix, reinforced by G. Kretschmar, that it originated in 3rd c. Egypt; "the climax theory," also of G. Dix reinforced by Ratcliff, Couratin, and numerous others (this theory has had considerable appeal) that the Sanctus originally concluded an embryonic eucharistic prayer comprising only Preface (thanksgiving) and Sanctus — S. gets down to business. Part I (chaps. 1-3) treats the Sanctus in the OT (ch. 1), in the non-biblical sources of the Jewish tradition, especially of prayer and worship (ch. 2), and in early Christian documents (ch. 3). As one would have expected, "the various Jewish uses and associations of the [biblical] *trisagion* . . . persisted in Christianity" (54), and S. offers, with all due caveats, alternative possibilities to the almost automatically presumed priority of synagogue *berakot* as the source of Jewish influence on Christian usage.

Part II (chaps. 4-6) then deals with the Sanctus in "the East-Syrian and Syro-Byzantine eucharistic prayers" (ch. 4), in "the Egyptian and Western eucharistic prayers" (ch. 5), then returns to the issues raised in the *Preface*, "The possible origins of the sanctus in the eucharistic prayer" (ch. 6).

Part III deals with later developments in East and West right up to the present (chaps. 7-9), to conclude with "The sanctus in perspective" (ch. 11), an excellent analysis that brings abstruse scholarship to meet contemporary worship and theology. Karl Barth once said that a theologian must have the Bible in one hand and the daily newspaper in the other. Anglican liturgical scholars are in general quite adept at this, perhaps because they have pastoral experience, and S. does it as well as any.

I shall leave Parts I and III to reviewers more competent in the areas, and focus on Part II, which is of greater interest to OCP readers, and, in my view, is the core of the study. S. insists as his point of departure that "Ultimately the question of the origins of the sanctus cannot be divorced from the question of the origin or origins of the eucharistic prayer in which it is found" (104). That is correct *methodology*, insofar as one cannot prescind from *any* available data in our search for a solution. But I doubt its validity as a *hermeneutical* principle. The Sanctus could have been interpolated into some anaphoras after they were formed, into others in the process of composition, after the Sanctus had become

a fixed element of the anaphoral structure more or less everywhere. Textual analysis alone has not yet yielded definitive solutions to any of the outstanding questions, not even to deciding which anaphoras had the Sanctus from the start, and in which it is a later interpolation. If that is true, I do not see how the above principle would in all cases be hermeneutically relevant. And though Spinks argues well that the Sanctus could have been interpolated under different kinds of Jewish inspiration: the OT, *merkavah* mysticism, synagogue or *Yotser qeduššot* (116), in different ways in different places, I have doubts about that final point. In my view, explained in detail in my recent study of the same problem (OCP 58, 1992, 83-121), it is clear not only that the Sanctus is not original to the anaphora, but that its later interpolation everywhere into the same part of the anaphora betrays unmistakably the relatedness and interdependence of all anaphoral Sanctus traditions. So different Christian traditions may have been inspired to utilize the Sanctus in prayer — even liturgical prayer — by different aspects of the Judaic heritage. But their interpolation of the Sanctus into the anaphora, was, I think, inspired by whoever did it first.

Who that was is moot. As I said above, S's impressively erudite scholarship and careful, step-by-step sifting and analysis of the sources, each in its proper context, leads him to conclude that the anaphoral Sanctus first shows its head in the Syrian liturgical realm:

> As far as the place of origins is concerned, in the Egyptian and Roman traditions, the sanctus would seem to be a later addition to the sense of the anaphora, though the Egyptian unique use remains an enigma. Our examples of eucharistic prayers where the sanctus seems to be an integral part of the prayer are Jerusalem, Cappadocia or North Syria, and Edessa. It may have been integral to the anaphora at Antioch, but our information here is too sparse. The evidence points to the Syrian part of the Church, and those later anaphoras which stem from that area. Once included, it presumably became a popular congregational acclamation and gradually came to feature in all anaphoras as part of the initial praise of God — even when, as in the case of the Roman canon, it had no logical context. Egypt, however, developed its own unique supplicatory use of the sanctus (116).

I do not agree with this view. The Sanctus is invariably integrated into the anaphoral text at some point between the opening praise and the institution narrative. The literary form of this integration differs from tradition to tradition, and sometimes even within prayers of the same anaphoral type. Only in Egyptian anaphoras is the Sanctus fully integral to the very structure of the prayer from the start. The early emergence, and constant tradition thereafter, of the irreducibly distinct Egyptian Sanctus form without Benedictus, fully integrated, via the *pleni/vere-plenum/imple* structure, into the native Egyptian first epiclesis which follows the Sanctus immediately, points, I think, to an early date for the integration of the Sanctus into the Egyptian-type anaphora, possibly as early as the second half of the third century. So I lean to the conclusion that the Sanctus in Egypt is very early, probably earlier than elsewhere, though of course I cannot prove it.

In other eastern prayers the Sanctus is inserted at various points in the thanksgiving narrative: before creation, after creation, after the creation of the

world but before the creation of man, at the end of the entire praise-thanksgiving. For these striking differences between the Alexandrian Sanctus setting and what we see in eastern anaphoras of Antiochene stamp, one can suggest various explanations. My own best guess would be that the anaphoral Sanctus, originally without Benedictus, first appeared in Egypt, whence Palestine and Antiochia received it. The Antiochenes inserted it more or less successfully into the existing Antiochene anaphoral structure of praise and thanks for creation, adding to it the primitive Antiochene Benedictus of Ezk 3:12 in imitation of the synagogue *Yotser*. At a later date, the creation motif recedes, the Arian crisis provokes a trinitarian reinterpretation of the Sanctus, the presanctus becomes a praise of the Trinity, and the Sanctus becomes trinitarian. That is how we find it in Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Cat. 16*, 6, 36 (ST 145:543-4, 591), and in the later trinitarian glosses of Addai and Mari (OCP 32, 1966, 360-63) and the Greek Anaphora of St. James (PO 26.2:200), showing that these Antiochene developments ultimately affected the hagiopolite and Syrian traditions too. This, in turn, facilitated the substitution of the christological Benedictus of Mt 21:9 for the more primitive Antiochene Benedictus texts of Ezk 3:12 and Rom 1:25, 9:5.

At any rate I cannot believe that the Sanctus could have landed independently, in both Egypt and elsewhere, in basically the same place in the shape of the anaphora, between the praise and institution account. But could not the Egyptian anaphoral Sanctus be a revision of an earlier Syrian one? The evidence does not permit one to exclude the possibility that the Egyptians reworked the Syrian Sanctus on the basis of their native Origenist exegesis of Is 6:2-3, and only later referred to the Trinity the Sanctus and *Sancta sanctis* response, as in Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Hom. 16*, 23 (ST 145:569). But I think the peculiar Egyptian form, understanding, and liturgical setting of the Sanctus are so early and so distinct as to weaken this view.

So I will stand pat, but without the least pretence at thinking I have *proven* my point or *disproven* S's hypothesis. However, I would not wish to have my hypothesis treated with the casual dismissal S. offers to Georg Kretschmar, by anyone's standards one of the major scholars on early liturgy in our time. Kretschmar, too, favors the Egyptian connection, on which S. comments, "Dix had created a false trail which Kretschmar followed — not unlike Winnie the Pooh and Piglet in the hunt for the woozle" (4). I am sure S. means that as harmless good humor, but it sounds unfairly dismissive. Kretschmar (*Studien zur frühchristlichen Trinitätstheologie* [Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 21] Tübingen 1956) did not just follow Dix's tracks but re-examined all the evidence in the greatest detail, as did S. himself, and, I might add, as I did too. Kretschmar and Taft may be wrong — but neither of them ever followed anyone blindly. *Judicet lector*.

On the negative side, one correction: the name is Ernst Kähler, with Umlaut, not Kahler (100, 244, 256), without. One suggestion: occasionally S. argues from a text without citing it fully enough to permit the reader to follow the argument without having recourse to a copy of the text — e.g., Addai and Mari

on pp. 59-61. This should be avoided: whatever is necessary to understand a work should be contained in it. One cry of alarm: the book is very beautifully produced except for the Greek texts in transliteration (e.g., 114-20 *passim*). That is alright for the occasional term, but not for more extensive texts, which would be better cited in translation. If the prestigious Cambridge University Press is incapable of setting Greek type, then we are indeed in a bad way for the future of studies of Christian Antiquity.

R. F. Taft, S.J.

Kathleen Hughes, R.S.C.J., *The Monk's Tale. A Biography of Godfrey Diekmann, O.S.B.* The Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minnesota 1991, pp. xxiv + 383.

All good biography — and this is good biography — has to begin with a subject worth writing about, a person whose life, for better or worse, is of interest to someone else on earth besides the subject and his or her immediate circle. This biography certainly fulfills that first requirement. For Godfrey Diekmann is not only a monk in every good sense of the term, and a monk of what by anyone's standards is one of the most important religious institutions in North America, St. John's Abbey, Collegeville. Like his Benedictine brothers and sisters who have cared for the Germanic Catholic midwest from its settlement, Godfrey is a monk not only in *hesychia* but also in motion. A short list of earned epithets would include: liturgical theorist, activist, leader; editor of *Orate Fratres/Worship*; immensely popular and effective university professor, public lecturer, retreat director; consultor to the Pontifical Preparatory Commission on the Liturgy that preceded Vatican II and then *peritus* at the council itself from 1963 to 1965.

This book, then, is about a man of the great generation that laid the groundwork for Vatican II and then, at the council itself, built on this foundation the post-Vatican II Catholicism we know today. I think the story will be of most interest to those of Godfrey's own age-group and to those, like this reviewer, of the "in-between generation," old enough to have had a complete adult experience of Catholic liturgical and religious life before Vatican II, young enough to have exulted in the changes as they occurred, but too young to have been in on the action at Vatican II itself.

Apart from this special-interest readership, others will find here a charming biography about a wonderful man. Had Godfrey Diekmann been born Irish he would have been a leprechaun. And that not just because, in spite of his size — Godfrey is a man-sized man — there is an elf-like quality about him. Like leprechauns, who, if caught, reveal the hidden treasure trove, Godfrey, caught by God to be a monk, has uncovered for generations of students and colleagues the treasure trove of our heritage.

Even beyond Godfrey Diekmann the man, this is a book that was waiting to be written: a history of the Liturgical Movement culminating in Vatican II and its aftermath, from an American point of view. Not that the author's point of departure is limiting. Everyone writes from a point of view, and all viewpoints are limiting in that being this, they cannot also be that, point of view. Americans are incessantly treated to writings about their country and society from an outsider's point of view that could often be characterized as "inventing" America rather than describing it. Rarely is the American scene, and even more rarely the American Catholic scene, reported from abroad in a way that is unbiased, to say nothing of sympathetic. The "heresy of Americanism" under Leo XIII, a wholly European invention, remains paradigmatic for the American Catholic scene. I bring up the matter only because a recent European review of this book criticized it for telling the story from an American point of view. What other point of view should an American author have? An Albanian point of view?

In a sense, *only an American author* could have written a worthy biography of Godfrey, quintessentially midwestern American despite, nay, maybe because of his solid German Catholic roots. To the European reader, the young Godfrey in Europe may seem like a fish out of water, refreshingly boyish if a bit naive. But his reactions to the curial machinations at Vatican II, if naive, reflect the character of a person who is open, friendly, simple and good, without guile, and the reader cannot help but share in Godfrey's glee when he has been able to play a role in pushing through some reform important for the future of pastoral liturgy.

Here, too, perhaps only an American author could have placed in relief an area where, along with religious freedom and ecumenism, Americans were abreast of and in some cases ahead of their European counterparts: pastoral liturgy. "Pastoral" is where the rubber hits the road. Pastoral is about people, not about libraries and manuscripts and abstract theories that sound beautiful in French but never see the light of day at Sunday Mass in the local parish. The European liturgical experts surely outshone the Americans in scholarship. But in liturgy, as in politics, Europe remains long on theory and short on implementation. If in need of persuasion, just go to Sunday Mass at Solesmes.

History nowadays is accelerated, and many of Godfrey's battles will seem unreal to those too young to have fought in the wars. But they were by no means unreal to those in the trenches, as this book brings out in lively and uncluttered prose characteristic of good American writing.

I have been privileged to know Godfrey. Take my word for it, he is worth knowing, even if only through this book. So are the others who were in the battle with him, Virgil Michel O.S.B., Gerald Ellard S.J., Michael Mathis C.S.C., Martin Hellriegel, Reynold Hillenbrand, H.A. Reinhold, Shawn Sheehan, William Leonard S.J., Frederick R. McManus, and so many others. All those named save the last two are already with the Lord. Some of them are "household names" for the liturgical establishment, some of them might have been forgotten were it not for books like this. Worth knowing, too, are

Godfrey's brother monks at St. John's Abbey, one of the major behind-the-lines logistical supports for just about every important Catholic campaign since its founding.

Here, as with everything in life, one of the basic questions is: "Are you part of the problem or part of the solution?" Godfrey, St. John's, and company are part of the solution. Let us hope that some day the same can be said of the rest of us engaged in the great liturgical enterprise of our times.

R. F. Taft, S.J.

Moralia

Basilio Petra', *Tra cielo e terra: Introduzione alla morale ortodossa contemporanea*, Edizioni Dehoniane, Bologna 1991, pp. 284.

Quando S. Tyszkiewicz pubblicò *Les moralistes russes*, Rome 1951, l'opera fu apprezzata fino a un certo punto. Era infatti lavoro pionieristico, su territorio sconosciuto all' Occidente. La situazione non è molto diversa oggi.

Il presente volume si occupa dell'identità e delle fonti della teologia morale ortodossa; del rapporto tra magistero e teologia, poi, della capacità della morale ortodossa «di proporre e di fondare norme morali» (p. 10). Ma il suo autore, sacerdote cattolico di origine greca, professore all'*Alfonsianum* e al P.I.O., è conscio di colmare un "vuoto". La pubblicistica occidentale ignora la teologia morale ortodossa contemporanea, al punto da dubitare che esista. È infatti opinione diffusa che la Chiesa orientale si opponga con il suo carattere mistico, al legalismo cattolico. La santità — afferma Evdokimov — è considerata sotto l'aspetto "ontologico", piuttosto che morale e la predicazione propone la perfezione escatologica. L'Ortodossia non sarebbe quindi interessata ai peccati e alle debolezze umane, bensì al loro superamento.

Proprio il completamento di una visione parziale dell'Ortodossia ispira all'A. il titolo enigmatico "Tra cielo e terra". Gli ortodossi "sognano davvero il cielo", proponendo a tutti i cristiani la sublime perfezione evangelica. Ma non lo confondono con la terra, riconoscendo l'abisso delle debolezze umane e il fallimento del peccato. Il "cielo" è costituito dallo splendore delle verità rivelate. Quindi la "fonte" della morale ortodossa è tutta la tradizione viva della Chiesa: Parola di Dio, sacramenti, liturgia, dogma, canoni, ascesi, iconografia, architettura sacra, ecc., diventano indicazione e prefigurazione della vera vita. Ma questo "cielo" scende in terra gradatamente, a piccoli passi. L'A. sottolinea in tal modo un elemento indispensabile per capire un'antinomia che scandalizza talvolta gli occidentali, quando avvertono nella prassi della Chiesa ortodossa una grande distanza fra i principi e le applicazioni concrete. Si pone allora il problema dell'autorità dei sacri canoni, della loro immutabilità e del loro rapporto con la vita del credente. La parola chiave per i Greci è "economia". L'A. ne mostra l'attualità nelle recenti discussioni. È un argomento

fondamentale e complesso, che suppone considerazioni di natura giuridica, teologica e storica.

Sia pure in poche pagine, l'A. esamina i vari aspetti della questione. In primo luogo presenta la discussione ortodossa attuale sull'economia ecclesiastica. Successivamente, vede il processo di formazione della dottrina nella prospettiva dell'economia. Quindi ne prende in considerazione la rilettura e la presa di coscienza. Si interroga infine sul suo significato etico. Ma il problema rimarrebbe astratto se non venissero analizzate le sue ripercussioni nella vita concreta. L'A. mette quindi il dito sulla piaga del nostro tempo: aborto e contraccezione. "Cielo" e "terra" sono davvero lontani.

È possibile trarre una conclusione critica? L'A. la indica: "Il Cattolicesimo ha storicamente teso a dare una forma giuridica all'*akribeia* morale e all'ideale, misurando a trasformare, mediante il carattere vincolante dello *jus*, la realtà nell'ideale . . ." (p. 260). Il risultato? Una distanza talvolta insuperabile fra l'ideale e la realtà. L'Ortodossia vanta un suo carattere non legalista e una sua maggior attenzione alla persona concreta. Non mancano però nella stessa Ortodossia gravi interferenze legalistiche nella realtà vissuta. D'altra parte la prassi è esposta al rischio dell'arbitrio o del puro e semplice arrendersi alla realtà.

B. Petrà apprezza comunque a ragione il contributo positivo ortodosso alla morale odierna. L'Ortodossia "non ha mai voluto dimenticare che la condizione dell'uomo è fino alla fine, quella del *tra*; egli è *tra* cielo e terra, luogo nel quale la potenza dell'altro si impasta con l'argilla di terra per generare faticosamente nella storia l'uomo futuro".

Da parte nostra, concludiamo con un augurio: lo studio, bene avviato, merita di essere continuato, specialmente nel paragone con le tendenze personalistiche dei pensatori russi recenti, perché in quelle i problemi indicati cercano una nuova base di partenza.

T. Špidlík S.J.

Oecumenica

Iso Baumer, *Max von Sachsen, Prinz und Prophet. Jugend und Ausbildung, Einsatz für Frieden, Gerechtigkeit und Schöpfung.* Unter Mitarbeitung von H. Cichon. Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz 1992, pp. 388.

Della trilogia su Max von Sachsen. ho già recensito il primo volume, che tratta di lui in quanto prete e professore (OCP 57 [1991] 235-236). Questo secondo volume se ne occupa in qualità di principe e profeta. Il terzo volume lo considererà come teologo ed ecumenista.

Nelle prime pagine di questo secondo volume c'è l'edizione di uno scritto autobiografico di Max von Sachsen che, già settantaduenne, otto anni prima della morte, traccia per il registro dei professori dell'università di Friburgo,

dove ha insegnato, il proprio *curriculum vitae*. È uno sguardo di insieme che predispone alla proficua lettura dei capitoli storici, nei quali l'A. ricostruisce dettagliatamente le tappe principali della biografia del principe Max: la prima educazione, nella famiglia regale cui appartiene, e di cui l'A. riscostruisce l'albero genealogico, mostrandone i collegamenti con le case regnanti d'Europa; la vocazione ecclesiastica del principe e relativa formazione sacerdotale; i suoi ministeri pastorali; tra cui l'attività di cappellano militare, durante la prima guerra mondiale; predicazione e ascolto delle confessioni; sue concezioni pacifista ed ecologica.

Infatti il principe Max, mentre si prodiga, anche a rischio della sua incolumità, nel ministero sacerdotale presso i combattenti di prima linea, seguendoli a Dinant, sull'Aisne e sulla Marna, (celebra la messa, imperturbabile sotto una pioggia di granate), dichiara testualmente che la guerra "è strumento inetto, addirittura immorale, per la soluzione dei problemi internazionali" (p. 174). Egli stesso rimprovera alla sua patria eccessiva durezza con i prigionieri e con i civili dei territori occupati. Spesso intercede presso il cugino, il Kaiser, per ottenere la grazia in favore di francesi o belgi condannati a morte. Sono segni di un'anima aliena dalla violenza; che si oppone alla vivisezione animale, difende gli animali, rispetta e ama la natura. Il libro dà spazio anche all'inseparabile cane Netti, che il principe porta con sé ovunque, facendolo attendere fuori della biblioteca, dove lui si trattiene a studiare. Alla morte di Netti, il principe gli erige un cippo funerario. L'amore della natura e la non violenza conducono il principe a praticare l'astinenza dagli alcoolici e dalle carni. Non contento di un dieta strettamente vegetariana il principe digiuna, talvolta anche giorni di seguito.

Dopo aver indagato i diversi aspetti di questa singolare figura, basandosi su un'imponente documentazione, che riporta indiscriminatamente le opposte reazioni dei contemporanei, dal commosso e partecipato consenso degli uni, allo scandalizzarsi degli altri, l'A. si chiede se il principe, più che un profeta in anticipo sui tempi, sia da considerarsi invece "stolto per Cristo", alla maniera del *yurodivyj* russo. L'A. risponde che il principe, pur avendo alcuni caratteri del yurodivyj, che lo avvicinano al mondo bizantino-russo, conserva aspetti occidentali che ne fanno un intermediario fra Oriente e Occidente cristiano. Del resto il profeta, scomodo ai suoi, (Mt 13,56), ha una carica anticonformista che scandalizza. Max von Sachsen, per il suo ecumenismo *ante litteram*, rischia di essere scomunicato dal papa Pio X e, per il suo pacifismo si espone al pericolo di essere accusato di disfattismo dal suo Paese. Nel suo curriculum vitae Max descrive con tacitiana brevità il più tragico misconoscimento del suo profetismo. "A causa del rumore suscitato da un mio articolo nella rivista di Grottaferrata, dal titolo «Pensieri sull'unione delle Chiese», ho lasciato Friburgo" (pp. 19-20). Da G. M. Croce e da Baumer stesso sappiamo che il papa in persona vuole che il principe lasci l'insegnamento all'università cattolica di Friburgo.

Constatiamo con soddisfazione come aumenti il ricco dossier raccolto dall'A. su Max e attendiamo il terzo volume dove, oltre che sulla sua teologia e

sul suo ecumenismo, ci sarà, crediamo, un giudizio globale sul personaggio, così opportunamente rivisitato e rivalutato.

V. Poggi S.J.

Kirchen im Kontext unterschiedlicher Kulturen. Auf dem Weg in das dritte Jahrtausend. Herausgegeben von K.Ch. Felmy, G. Kretschmar, F. von Lilienfeld, T. Rendtorff und Cl.-J. Roepke. Redaktion: W. Heller. *Alexandr Men in memoriam (1935-1990).* Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht in Göttingen 1991, pp. 1032.

Sono gli atti del simposio scientifico ecclesiastico tenuto all'Accademia evangelica di Tutsing, nel maggio 1990. Cl.-J.Roepke, direttore dell'Academia, introduce la raccolta. Il numero dei contributi, l'alto livello di molti di essi, la varietà dei contesti da cui provengono i relatori, rendono degno di nota questo grosso volume, tra l'altro dedicato alla memoria dell'arciprete ortodosso russo Alessandro Me, ucciso barbaramente a Mosca, sul far di un mattino di settembre, mentre si recava a celebrare la liturgia. Di lui parla già l'*Einführung* e uno dei due articoli di Fairy von Lilienfeld (pp. 17-37) che fa parte del comitato redazionale.

Non presumo dare conto dettagliatamente di ogni contributo. Tra gli interventi della sessione plenaria, dopo che G. Kretschmar, ispirandosi a un testo di Novalis, spalanca gli orizzonti sul futuro dell'Europa, il metropolita J. D. Zizioulas affronta il tema ricorrente, della dialettica fra unità della Chiesa e pluralità delle nazioni. In un linguaggio elegante e chiaro espone, da una parte, l'aspetto "locale" dell'ecclesiologia ortodossa: "Each local Church headed by its bishop is a full or 'catholic' Church which contains all that is necessary for salvation, above all the Holy Eucharist and the sacramental life, and all the 'notae ecclesiae'" (p. 98). Dall'altra, contro l'atomismo etnico, Zizioulas fa appello al canone 34 dei Canoni degli Apostoli: "In each region there should be the first bishop whom the other bishops of the region would regard as their head. The balance that this canon provides between the 'many' and the 'one' expresses the philosophy of universality in Orthodox ecclesiology" (p. 99). Riguardo al rapporto fra Chiesa e cultura locale, o dell'inculturazione, il teologo ortodosso proclama la necessità di un'intesa ecumenica: "The Church is the only one that can help Europe to survive, provided that it engages in a deep and creative dialogue with its culture. I find the suggestion that we should simply accept one another as we are to be bad ecumenism. Church unity must be aimed at providing the world with ultimate meaning, with an eschaton, which will be vital to all of these Churches and to all of these cultures and nations. This can only be offered in common by all Churches. And it is on this ultimate meaning of the world that we must seek to build our unity" (pp. 103-104). Un altro metropolita ortodosso, Crisostomo Kostantinidis, riafferma la regionalità tipica

dell'Oriente cristiano, non perché l'autocefalia sia "ein Phänomen des institutionalisierten Pluralismus" (p. 112), ma perché la Grande Chiesa è una "Gesamtheit der autokephalen Ortskirchen" (p. 116).

All'interno delle sezioni in cui è suddiviso il Simposio, il russo V. Cypin, il rumeno V. Ioniţâ e il metropolita Damaskinos Papandreou affrontano ancora il tema del rapporto fra unità della Chiesa e Chiesa locale. Altri, A. M. Ritter, N. Šivarov, I. Ekonomčev, considerano la dialettica fra Chiesa e nazione. Altri ancora, H. T. Kamppuri, F. von Lilienfeld, studiano la relazione fra Chiesa ed etnia. Il greco Th. Nikolau, il gesuita P. Neuner e A. Nikitin approfondiscono la dialettica Chiesa-cultura locale. Il gesuita G. Podskalsky considera la storia delle varie centralizzazioni, primaziale, patriarcale o pentarchica, sinodica. P. N. Tarazi, J. Hajjar e W. A. Semaan studiano Ortodossia e Cattolicesimo nella situazione mediorientale. B. A. Uspenskij, I. Pavlov, K.-H. Bieritz, G. Gassmann, N. Thon considerano la lingua in quanto veicolo liturgico e sacrale. H.-Ch. Schmidt-Lauber, H.-D. Döpman, T. P. Koev, E. Hämmerle si occupano invece del simbolismo tipico di questa o di quella Chiesa. J. de Waard sottolinea i problemi della traduzione del messaggio religioso in altra lingua. S. Heitz denuncia le difficoltà della diaspora. I. Totzke, T. A. Smith, F. B. Poljakov si occupano delle arti, musica, cinema, letteratura, al servizio dell'evangelizzazione.

Segnalo "L'ordination des femmes", di Elisabeth Behr-Sigel, che ha già pubblicato nel 1987, *Le ministère de la femme dans l'Église*. Dopo aver risposto a obiezioni sollevate all'interno dell'Ortodossia, menziona le tesi di P. Eudokimov, Th. Hopko e K. Ware e, soprattutto, riflette sulla consultazione ortodossa di Rodi dal 30 ottobre al 7 novembre 1988, punto di partenza per nuove considerazioni su questo tema. In simile contesto di teologia ortodossa del femminismo, si doveva approfondire maggiormente una pneumatologia che rifletta sul genere femminile dello Spirito nelle lingue semitiche. Mi sono soffermato con interesse sul lavoro di P. Plank, sull'identità ecclesiastica russa rispecchiata nelle recenti canonizzazioni di santi.

Il saggio di A. Trubačev su Pavel Florenskij affronta in base a nuova documentazione gli interrogativi sulla maniera e la data della morte di questo testimone di Cristo.

F. Heyer si domanda se il postrivoluzionario rivolgersi degli Etiopici alla Chiesa, unica depositaria della vera identità del popolo, non consacri una visione precritica e anacronistica del mondo. V. Asmus coglie la Chiesa russa di fronte al dilemma, conservativismo o modernizzazione.

Senza completare questo arido elenco di nomi e di titoli, mi congratulo dell'iniziativa di questo congresso e raccomando la lettura di questi atti a chiunque si interessa al problema ecumenico, qui lucidamente affrontato nelle sue numerose e gravi difficoltà, nelle sue battute d' arresto, ma anche nel cammino percorso e nelle sue speranze.

V. Poggi S.J.

Aidan Nichols, *Theology in the Russian Diaspora. Church, Fathers, Eucharist in Nikolai Afanas'ev, 1893-1966*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1989, pp. xv + 295.

Afanas'ev, historian and professor of canon law at Saint-Serge, Paris, made a decisive contribution to "eucharistic ecclesiology" and the role of the Roman Church and its bishop within a united Church (pp. xi-xiii). In chapter 1, N. traces out the background of Afanas'ev's thought in (a) the 19th century historically-minded Scholastic theology in vogue in the four academies of Moscow, St-Petersburg, Kiev and Kazan'; (b) the Slavophile movement with its ambition to create a native theology; and (c) the "fin-de-siècle revival" by converts from Marxism, positivism and materialism and opposite movements like that associated with John of Kronstadt.

After leaving Russia in 1920 and fleeing to Serbia, where he pursued canonical and historical studies at the University of Belgrade, Afanas'ev moved in 1929 to Saint-Serge, where he stayed till his death (chapter 2). His production between the wars affords us a glimpse how the student of early Church history in Serbia became the herald of a new Orthodox vision of the papacy (p. 62). He distinguished between two types of universal ecclesiologies: that of Cyprian, based on the mutual bond of affection between bishops, and that of Ignatius, based on the Eucharist celebrated by a bishop for his Church (pp. 85, 90). While the bishop plays an important part in both views of the Church, he considers Cyprian's ecclesiology, ultimately Rome's, as a deviation from the New Testament (pp. 92-93).

The Church of the Holy Spirit, Afanas'ev's most substantial work, which was published in 1967, lays stress on the royal priesthood of the faithful. On the one hand he imputes responsibility to the iconostasis and canon 69 of the Quinisext Council for drawing too stark a distinction between clergy and laity (p. 98) and, on the other hand, to the 1917-1918 Sobor for declaring the laity co-administrators of the episcopate (p. 99). If the episcopal ministry is paramount in ecclesiology, this is because it represents the power of love (p. 113). In *The Table of the Lord* (1952), the question of whether in the earliest phase of Christianity the local Church had only a single eucharistic celebration is considered essential to an understanding of Church structures. Afanas'ev's pleas for greater participation merged with those of the Liturgical Movement of the late 1950's in the Latin Church (p. 117).

In essays written between 1949 and 1966 Afanas'ev gives special attention to Ignatius' idea of the primacy. He criticized both Orthodox and Catholics unsparingly, arguing that the East distorted episcopal conciliarity and the West collegiality (p. 121). The latter concept he welcomed insofar as bishops were not seen as vice-gerents of the pope but, at the same time, he criticized it as yet another instance of universalist ecclesiology (p. 125). Under O. Cullman's influence, Afanas'ev elaborated a more positive approach to the Petrine ministry, tangible especially in his 1960 essay "L'église qui préside dans l'amour" (p. 127).

In the fifth chapter Afanas'ev's ecclesiology achieves greater definition through comparison with ecclesiologies of various eminent Orthodox. While A.S. Khomiakov's idea of *sobornost'* (conciliarity) is all-pervasive among the Russians, N.A. Berdiaev criticized Khomiakov for his naive populism and his polemic with the Western Church (pp. 138-139). In his correspondence with Bernhard Schultze, S.J., Afanas'ev had described S. Bulgakov's influence on him in general terms, whereas Marianne Afanas'ev singled out Bulgakov's notion of the "ecclesialisation" of life and his vision of the eucharist as those elements which had the greatest impact on her husband. Again, G. Florovskij's 1929 article, "The Eucharist and Sobornost'", seems to have anticipated at the very least important elements of Afanas'ev's insight (p. 161). In view of these two theologians' articulation of the relationship between Church and the eucharist, it must be said that, while for Afanas'ev the local Church is "the whole church in the whole," for Florovskij the local Church is "the whole in the part." Thus, in spite of his insistence on the *Ortskirche* and its eucharistic life (p. 161), Florovskij retains a "universal" dimension in his ecclesiology. Nonetheless, notwithstanding several useful references to J. Zizioulas (e.g. pp. 175, 176, 184 and 204), who owes so much to Afanas'ev, but has also submitted the latter to one of the more relevant criticisms, we feel the lack of a more sustained comparison between these two theologians of eucharistic ecclesiology.

Afanas'ev's ecclesiology has great ecumenical relevance. N. rightly traces out his influence on Lumen Gentium 3, 7 and 11 (pp. 173, 270) as well as on the Munich, Moscow and Dublin agreed statements in the Roman Catholic/Orthodox and other dialogues (pp. 176-177).

The bibliography, "An Inventory of Afanas'ev's Works," includes many still unpublished works and is comprehensive (pp. 227-237; cfr p. 62). Copious annotations interspersed with bibliographical references (pp. 238-283) as well as the Index of names (pp. 291-295) greatly enhance the value of the work.

Written in the best Dominican tradition of witness to the East, which the Preface refers to (pp. v-vii), a tradition which includes such giants as Thomas Aquinas and Yves Congar, the book presents a whole epoch of recent Orthodox history from the vantage-point of one of the most discussed extant issues between East and West: the Church, in the light of the mind of one of the most prominent Russian theologians, one who tried to understand rather than simply criticize. In Nichols' account, the story becomes fascinating and instructive both for dialogue and the schoolroom.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Ivan Paštrić (1636-1708), Život, Djelo i Suvremenici. Zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa o 350, obljetnici rođenja. Urednici: Ivan Golub, Slavko Kovačić, Drago Šimundža, Izdanja Crkve u Svijetu, (= Biblioteka "Radovi", Knjiga 14), Split 1988, pp. 204.

Sono gli atti del simposio tenuto a Spalato nel 1986 per commemorare il 350° anniversario dalla nascita del sacerdote croato Ivan Paštrić, dotto ebraista, professore di dogmatica al Collegio Urbano di Roma, membro dell'Arcadia, uno dei fondatori dell'Accademia dei Concili, redattore dei libri liturgici *Glagola*. Di lui Leibniz scriveva "Doctissimus Pastricius cuius humanitatem sum expertus".

Dopo i discorsi o gli indirizzi d'occasione, di Frane Franić, arcivescovo di Spalato, di I. Golub, della Facoltà teologica cattolica di Zagabria, di M. Barišić, rettore del seminario teologico di Spalato, di D. Šimundža, preside del ginnasio spalatino, di G. Jurišić, vice-provinciale O.F.M., seguono i contributi scientifici dei vari specialisti.

Si occupano sotto vari punti di vista di questo umanista croato del Seicento: della sua vita e delle sue opere (I. Golub, pp. 13-22); del suo trattato inedito, *De natura theologiae* (M. Mišerda, pp. 23-47), di cui si dà finalmente l'edizione alle pp. 181-194; del suo *De libero arbitrio et de gratia* (Vl. Košić, pp. 49-62); della sua corrispondenza, opportunamente indicizzata (T. Mrkonjić, pp. 63-83); dei libri che lasciò al seminario dell'archidiocesi di Spalato, qui inventariati (I. Banić, pp. 85-106); dell'archidiocesi spalatina al suo tempo e soprattutto dell'arcivescovo Stefano Cosmi (Sl. Kovačić, pp. 107-120); del progetto contemporaneo, di Giovanni Pietro Marchi, per liberare i popoli slavi dal giogo turco (D. Božić-Bužančić, pp. 121-132); sulla casa di Juraj Dragišić, centro culturale del tempo (C. Fisković, pp. 133-142); sull'arte a Poljica, terra d'origine della famiglia (R. Tomić, pp. 143-152); dei confini tra Poljica e Split, in dati cartografici inediti (A. Duplančić, pp. 153-166).

Tutti questi contributi scientifici sono redatti in lingua croata, con sommario in italiano, in francese o in tedesco. Chiudono il volume le discussioni sollecitate da alcuni interventi e una bibliografia su Paštrić, a cura di I. Golub, dal 1683 al 1986.

Il tutto costituisce un ricco repertorio su Ivan Paštrić e una salutare sollecitazione ad approfondime ancora la conoscenza.

J. Kulić S.J.

Angelo Tamborra, *Chiesa Cattolica e Ortodossia russa. Due secoli di confronto e di dialogo. Dalla Santa Alleanza ai nostri giorni*, Edizioni Paoline, Cinisello Balsamo (Mi) 1992, pp. 466.

Lo slavista prof. Angelo Tamborra percorre in questo volume due secoli di confronto e di dialogo fra Chiesa Cattolica e Chiesa Ortodossa Russa. Incomincia dalla Santa Alleanza, sancita nel 1815, su proposta dello zar Alessandro I°. Il monarca ha fino al 1812 una fase liberale, da cui esce per iniziare, sotto la guida del generale A. A. Arakceev, una fase nuova, mistica insieme e reazionaria. Infatti la guerra che porta Napoleone fino a Mosca, provoca in Alessandro I° una crisi religiosa. Proprio nel 1812 lo zar compone un'antologia mistica (*O mističeskoj literature*) dove figurano testi di Taulero, Kempis, Teresa d'Avila, Francesco di Sales, Swedenborg e Böhme. Gli ideali mistici di fratellanza umana, mescolati a tendenze assolutiste e ad ambizioni espansionistiche mai sopite, inducono lo zar a stendere il patto della Santa Alleanza, il cui frasario pietistico insospettisce Pio VII°, che rifiuta di entrarvi.

L'A. chiama a ragione questi progetti, "utopie universalistiche". Ma negli anni quaranta del secolo XIX°, iniziano dibattiti che sottolineano, pur nella controversia, una certa attenzione reciproca di Ortodossia russa e di Roma. Il russo A. N. Murav'ev si distingue tra il 1841 e il 1846 per la sua polemica antiromana. Ben diverso è il tono di Niccolò Tommaseo che, vivendo in Dalmazia, zona di frontiera, si fa mediatore fra Cattolici e Ortodossi, pur nella diversità dei riti e delle usanze.

Con Pio IX° e con le vicissitudini del suo pontificato, comincia una nuova fase di rapporti fra Roma e l'Oriente, con ripercussioni anche in Russia. Nel 1848 le *Litterae ad Orientales* hanno sul piano politico qualche risultato con la Porta ottomana. Ben diversa è la reazione degli Ortodossi al documento, neppure indirizzato formalmente al patriarca ecumenico di Costantinopoli, Antimo. Una controenciclica ortodossa condanna il *Filioque* come eretico e denuncia il proselitismo delle missioni cattoliche. Tale reazione ha vasta eco in Russia dove gli Slavofili vedono nello zar il protettore di tutta la Slavia ortodossa.

Murav'ev polemizza anche circa i Luoghi Santi, punto di frizione tra Cattolici e Ortodossi. La *Civiltà Cattolica* e il Padre Taparelli d'Azeglio prendono parte alla diatriba.

Ma negli anni 1855-1870 c'è una valanga di progetti per l'unione delle Chiese. I gesuiti russi viventi in Francia, Ivan Gagarin fondatore di Études e Ivan Martynov, consultore per l'Oriente nella preparazione del Vaticano I°, partecipano al movimento unionistico grazie anche alla loro conoscenza della realtà russa. Un altro russo G. P. Suvalov, fattosi barnabita, sente la stessa istanza e prega per l'unità.

L'A. segnala l'opera del barone August von Haxthausen che protegge i polacchi cattolici e i cosiddetti Uniati. Il suo avversario principale rimane Murav'ev che ha raggiunto cariche importanti presso la corte russa. Murav'ev, e in genere il mondo ortodosso, non si rendono conto che le definizioni del

Vaticano I° e la stessa infallibilità del papa vogliono anche difendere l'autonomia della Chiesa dall'invadenza dello stato.

Infatti, nonostante lo sgretolamento del potere temporale del papa, l'A. pensa che l'autorità spirituale ne esca rafforzata e che l'affermarsi maggiormente della missione salvifico-religiosa della Chiesa, oltre a liberarla da vincoli politico-temporali, torni a vantaggio di tutti, d'Occidente come d'Oriente.

Gli anni dal 1878 al 1903 vedono una serie di contatti unionistici concreti. I tre congressi di Malines dànno l'avvio. È particolarmente attivo in campo unionistico il barnabita Cesare Tondini de' Quarenghi. Nasce anzi una congregazione religiosa cattolica che ha per scopo l'unione delle Chiese: gli Agostiniani dell'Assunzione.

Gli attentati terroristici che continuano in Russia e sopprimono Alessandro II°, lo zar che ha liberato i servi della gleba, inducono Leone XIII° a promulgare la *Rerum novarum*, che pur non trattando dell'unione delle Chiese, suggerisce alla Russia di muoversi non solo verso una maggiore giustizia sociale, ma anche verso l'unità ecclesiastica. Il Tondini de' Quarenghi, buon conoscitore del populismo russo (specialmente di Cernysevskij) orienta il papa in tale direzione. Come primo passo verso l'unione delle Chiese, si facciano concordati con le nazioni ortodosse, in primo luogo con la Russia. Nel frattempo, si riscopre la devozione ai santi Cirillo e Metodio, apostoli degli Slavi, la cui opera precede la separazione tra Oriente e Occidente. Il vescovo Strossmayer chiede per la Croazia una messa di rito romano in lingua glagolitica, la lingua usata da S. Cirillo, poi semplificata dai discepoli e tuttora in uso come slavo liturgico. Gli specialisti di filosofia russa sanno che Strossmayer tenta di fare approvare gli scritti unionistici del più grande pensatore russo del secolo scorso, Vladimir Solov'ev, che aderisce formalmente alla fede cattolica con una professione di fede, sulla quale è stata scritta una dissertazione dottorale presso questo Pontificio Istituto Orientale. Che i piani e le proposte di Solov'ev non siano accettate lo si attribuisce di solito all'opposizione dei gesuiti russi di Parigi, di Pierling soprattutto. Ma il vero grande oppositore è l'Oberprokuror del santo Sinodo della chiesa Russa, Kostantin Pobedonotsev. L'Oberprokuror, già precettore di Alessandro III°, governa la Chiesa Russa per quasi 40 anni, secondo criteri di pio e zelante ortodosso, dalle vedute tanto più ristrette quanto più sincera ne è la devozione. Basti pensare che durante un lungo viaggio all'estero che lo porta in molte città italiane, esclude dalla lista Roma, solo perché centro del Cattolicesimo!

Il capitolo intitolato, "Dall'unionismo verso l'ecumenismo", tratta brevemente dei vari papi del nostro secolo, dei diversi esponenti dell'ecumenismo di questi anni, dei russi dell'emigrazione, per finire con il "teologo di punta dell'ecumenismo", il domenicano Y. Congar.

Nella conclusione l'A. illustra l'opera di Nikodim, il metropolita russo che scrive una singolare biografia di Giovanni XXIII° e muore nelle braccia di Papa Luciani. Ricorda come nel dicembre 1965 il papa Paolo VI° e il patriarca ecumenico Atenagora abolissero i reciproci anatemi e scomuniche mettendo un cippo funerario sul passato e una pietra miliare verso un avvenire di unità.

Quanta acqua è passata sotto i ponti dalla Santa Alleanza! L'A. non si azzarda a prevedere cosa ci aspetti domani, dopo il crollo dell'URSS e i conflitti nell'ex-Jugoslavia, dove gli scontri religiosi si mescolano agli scontri politici. Ma dalla lettura del suo buon libro appare chiaro che la via di un sincero dialogo ecumenico verso l'unità è già tracciata, benché il cammino sia ancora lungo. La storia non finisce domani.

G. Piovesana S.J.

Patristica

Opera omnia di Sant'Ambrogio, vol. 24/I. Sussidi. Le fonti greche su Sant'Ambrogio, a c. di Cesare Pasini, Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana/ Roma, Città Nuova Editrice, 1990, pp. 472.

Il piano di pubblicazione dell'opera ambrosiana ha previsto anche dei volumi di «Sussidi», dal 23 al 26. Il vol. 24, diviso in due tomi, raccoglie le testimonianze, sia contemporanee che successive, sulla vita e l'opera del santo. Questo primo tomo (seguito da un secondo, sulle fonti latine) comprende i testi in lingua greca, ordinati secondo i generi e puntualmente tradotti e annotati (con testo a fronte, in colonna) da un buon conoscitore dell'opera ambrosiana, Cesare Pasini, antico alunno di questo Istituto, che negli ultimi anni ha dedicato vari contributi al tema della ricezione del santo nell'Oriente greco. L'arco cronologico delle fonti va dal 374 (data dell' *Epist.* 197 di Basilio) al secolo undecimo. Le note sono generalmente aggiornate (spiace però l'assenza di riferimenti agli studi di S. Mazzarino, soprattutto alla sua postuma *Storia sociale del vescovo Ambrogio*, Roma 1989).

L'A. precisa a p. 13 che la sua ricerca «escluderà ogni riferimento alle altre fonti orientali. E' vero, infatti, che sant'Ambrogio è stato conosciuto e venerato nelle differenti aree linguistiche dell'Oriente cristiano — sono attestate testimonianze in fonti siriache, armene, georgiane, arabe [. . .] —, ma, da un lato, l'ambito greco-bizantino, già assai vasto, si manifesta ben compiuto in se stesso e, d'altro lato, lo studio delle fonti orientali non greche richiederebbe una particolare ricerca specialistica . . . ».

Vi sono però due eccezioni: si tratta di un brano di Severo di Antiochia (*Lib. contra impium Gramm.* III/17, cap. 17), riportato alle pp. 105-16, e di un frammento di lettera di Teofilo d'Alessandria a Flaviano d'Antiochia, pervenuto in una lettera di Severo, al libro VI del suo epistolario (ed. Brooks, pp. 342-4), riportato alle pp. 212 s. L'A., che possiede nozioni di siriaco, ha tradotto personalmente i testi con l'ausilio delle rispettive traduzioni di Lebon e Brooks [il lungo brano di Severo è però, più che tradotto, compendiato]. Per «scelta editoriale» non è stato posto a fronte il testo siriaco.

Il lavoro è meritorio e degno di nota, e fornisce un contributo importante per l'approfondimento dei rapporti culturali fra Oriente e Occidente, analizzati

attraverso questa figura chiave della storia religiosa e politica. Sarebbe comunque auspicabile che questo bel «sussidio» ambrosiano potesse completarsi con un tomo — affidato ovviamente ai relativi specialisti — dedicato alle fonti orientali «non greche».

G. Traina

Cyrille d'Alexandrie, *Lettres festales*. Tome I (I-VI). Introduction générale par Pierre Évieux. Introduction critique, texte grec par W. H. Burns. Traduction et annotation par Louis Arragon, Marie-Odile Boulnois, Pierre Évieux, Marguérite Forrat, Bernard Meunier (= SC, 372) Cerf, Paris 1991, pp. 432.

L'édition critique des *Lettres festales* de Cyrille d'Alexandrie mérite l'attention des patrologues pour plusieurs raisons. Tout d'abord, il s'agit d'écrits dont la date est sûre, ce qui n'est pas peu de chose pour un texte ancien. Deuxièmement, ces lettres s'étendent sur une durée de vingt-neuf ans, de 414 (Cyrille avait été ordonné évêque en octobre 412) à 442 (deux ans avant sa mort). Cette période est assez longue pour permettre de vérifier d'éventuelles évolutions dans la pensée et le vocabulaire théologique de Cyrille. En effet, ces lettres ne développent pas uniquement des thèmes ascétiques ou moraux, mais se terminent presque toutes par un "résumé kérygmatique", ou "formule de foi" au sens large, centré sur le salut en Jésus Christ.

Ce volume 372 des SC contient les cinq premières *Lettres festales* (pour lesquelles on suit la numérotation I, II, IV, V, VI à cause de la faute d'un ancien copiste, qui a sauté le chiffre III). L'introduction générale de P. Évieux donne le cadre historique (ch. I-II) et offre un exposé assez complet sur le genre littéraire des "festales", lettres par lesquelles l'évêque d'Alexandrie, depuis la fin du IIe siècle, paraît-il, s'était chargé d'annoncer aux églises d'Égypte (et non seulement à celles-ci) la date de Pâques (ch. III). Toutefois je ne vois pas cité l'article de M. F. A. Brok, "À propos des *Lettres festales*", dans *Vig. Chr.*, vol. V (1951) p. 101-110, qui aurait peut-être permis de nuancer certaines affirmations. Le ch. IV est dû à W. H. Burns, qui fait l'historique du texte : la tradition manuscrite, composée de treize mss complets, dépend d'un seul ms, le A (*Ottobonianus gr.* 448 du XIIe s., Bibl. Vat.). La traduction et les notes reviennent à la responsabilité de chacun des collaborateurs indiqués, qui néammoins ont travaillé en équipe.

Chaque lettre suit à peu près le même schéma, mais se distingue par quelques thèmes propres, tels que : le jeûne chrétien (Ière) ; l'offrande et le sacrifice spirituel (IIe) ; la lutte contre le mal (IVe) ; l'interprétation allégorico-typologique de la naissance et du sacrifice d'Isaac (V^{e}) ; contre l'égarement des Grecs et l'aveuglement des Juifs (VIe). Ces deux derniers

thèmes, repris de la tradition apologétique, reviennent presque constamment dans les *Lettres festales* de Cyrille.

L'édition est très soignée, comme d'habitude pour les SC. Les quelques remarques de détail qui vont suivre ne veulent être qu'une petite contribution, utile j'espère, au travail d'équipe.

La note 1 de p. 147, d'après la traduction et l'apparat critique, aurait dû renverser les mots grecs, c'est-à-dire : "Les mss ont bien εὐσεβείας et non ἀσεβείας, leçon qui paraîtrait plus satifaisante".

P. 152,78 : la leçon ἀληθείας . . . σκότος (traduite d'une manière un peu forcée par "les ténèbres [qui obscurcissent] la vérité") a été retenue contre la conjecture de Migne, qui propose de lire ἀμαθίας (les ténèbres *de l'ignorance*"). À mon avis, sans déranger le critère de la *lectio difficilior*, une distraction de copiste suffit à expliquer la leçon des mss. Dans le sens de Migne, cf. la lettre VI, 4 (p. 352, 51) : ἀμαθίας . . . σκότος, et VI, 11 (p. 384, 13) : αηγνοίας . . . σκότος. On pourrait aussi bien conjecturer ἀσεβείας (cf. VI, 12, p. 394,29).

À la p. 171 on lit : ". . . je jeûne deux fois le sabbat", ce qui serait un exploit tout à fait original ; mais il faut traduire σάββατον par "semaine" (cfr. M. Zerwick, *Anal. Philol. Novi Test. Graeci*, p. 188, *ad Lc* 18, 12).

À la note 2, p. 211, on lit que "l'interprétation du feu de *Lc* 12, 49 comme l'Esprit semble propre à Cyrille". Cependant on la trouve dans des homélies pascales pseudo-chrysostomiennes, pour lesquelles j'ai avancé l'hypothèse d'une attribution à Apollinaire de Laodicée (dans la collection "Théologie Historique". 58, Paris 1981). On y lit en effet, à propos de la manducation de l'agneau pascal, type de l'eucharistie : "C'est avec du feu que se fait la participation au saint corps, c'est-à-dire avec un zèle enflammé et fervent : *Fervents dans l'Esprit* (*Rom.* 12,11), dit l'Écriture et encore: *Je suis venu jeter un feu sur terre, etc.* (*Lc* 12,49)" (*Hom. pasc.* II, 12, éd. Nautin, SC 36, p. 84). Cyrille, à l'endroit cité, ne parle pas de l'agneau pascal mais de l'holocauste. Cependant on y trouve le même rapprochement entre *Lc* 12,49 et *Rom.* 12,11. De plus, chez les deux auteurs la "nuit" symbolise "cet âge présent" (*Homélie*) ou "la vie présente" (Cyrille).

Pour conclure, le nom Cataneo des pp. 115, 182 et 405 devrait être rectifié en Cattaneo.

E. Cattaneo S.J.

Ursula und Dieter Hagedorn, *Johannes Chrysostomos, Kommentar zu Hiob*, (= Patristische Texte und Studien, Bd 35), Walter de Gruyter, Berlin-New York 1990, pp. XLII + 324.

"Vivere da uomo in Arabia, dove tutti sono corrotti e non c'è giustizia, è tanto più degno di ammirazione". Incomincia con questo rilievo antiarabo il commento del Crisostomo a Giobbe, già segnalato l'anno 1768 da A. M.

Bandini, nel secondo volume del catalogo dei manoscritti della Laurenziana. Soltanto ora quel commento del Crisostomo a Giobbe viene edito criticamente. Anzi, oggi dopo tanto aspettare, capita paradossalmente che ne escano addirittura due edizioni con versione a fronte, in due prestigiose collane, le SC e le PTS. Infatti, *Jean Chrysostome, Commentaire sur Job*, I-II, SC 346 & 348, Paris 1988, a cura di H. Sorlin e collaborazione di L. Neyrand S.J., precede appena di due anni l'uscita di questo volume. Però la non identica suddivisione in capitoli e linee complica il raffronto. Infatti, nel ricostruire lo stemma del testo manoscritto, le due edizioni concordano soltanto per quanto riguarda la tradizione diretta, che identificano in due manoscritti di Mosca e di Firenze. Quanto alla tradizione indiretta o delle *Catenae*, le due edizioni riconoscono soltanto tre manoscritti comuni, cioè due della Vaticana e uno di Patmos, ma divergono sugli altri. Infatti Sorlin si basa, oltre che su quei tre, sulla testimonianza di un ms dell'Athos, di uno della Vaticana e di un'altro dell'Ambrosiana. Gli Hagedorn invece, oltre che sui tre comuni, ricostruiscono la tradizione indiretta, su cinque diversi manoscritti, rispettivamente della Marciana, della Vaticana, dell'Ambrosiana, di Parigi e di Praga.

Anche in questo campo della scienza, può dunque difettare la comunicazione tra gli specialisti. Gli AA. ne hanno coscienza e spiegano come, pur conoscendo la tesi dottorale inedita di H. Sorlin, si trovassero di fronte al fatto compiuto dell'edizione nelle SC (p. XIV).

Senza confrontare dettagliatamente le due pubblicazioni, ritengo che questa seconda arrivata non faccia doppione sulla precedente. Dieter Hagedorn vi mette a frutto una familiarità ventennale con i commenti a Giobbe, avendo già nel 1973 pubblicato nella stessa collana il commento a Giobbe di Giuliano seguace di Ario e, nel 1984, con Ursula Hagedorn, il commento a Giobbe di Olimpiodoro Alessandrino.

A parte la mancata coordinazione dei lavori, ci consoliamo con il proverbio, "melius est abundare quam deficere".

V. Poggi S.J.

Athanasios Hatzopoulos, *Two Outstanding Cases in Byzantine Spirituality: the Macarian Homilies and Symeon the New Theologian* (= Analekta Vlatadon, 54), Patriarchikon Idryma Paterikon Meleton 1991, pp. 306.

Fin dall'antichità, si usa in Oriente, come arma contro gli avversari, l'accusa di messalianismo, eresia giudicata pericolosa negli ambienti spirituali. D'altra parte, tale accusa si presta all'equivoco, non essendo il messalianismo un'eresia subito riconoscibile, i cui elementi siano sufficientemente chiari. Comunque, è comprensibile un certo disagio negli ambienti ortodossi, di fronte alle recenti "scoperte" dei patrologi che avrebbero individuato tesi messaliane nelle *Omelie spirituali* dello Pseudo-Macario, lette e stimate dai monaci orientali. Se poi la

tendenza messaliana viene attribuita anche al grande mistico bizantino, Simeone il Nuovo Teologo, allora gli stessi ambienti considerano tale accusa un attacco alla popolarità di lui, giunta ormai anche in Occidente.

Lo studio di Hatzopoulos non nasconde il suo intento apologetico rispetto a questi due "oustanding cases". Il risultato del suo lavoro è riassunto in questa affermazione: "Qualche volta il loro linguaggio si avvicina alla tesi proposte dai messaliani (piuttosto nel caso di Macario, che di Simeone). Ma l'analisi dettagliata del testo dimostra che l'affinità verbale non comporta identità di dottrina".

In che cosa consiste questa "analisi dettagliata" che ha portato l'A. a dare la sua risposta? Nel percorrere i singoli temi antropologici, ecclesiologici, ascetici, alla ricerca dell'esatto pensiero dei due scrittori. Impresa non facile. Come precisare per esempio le nozioni antropologiche, se i termini sono vaghi? È più facile trovare dati in favore di una dottrina ortodossa sui sacramenti, sul sacerdozio, sulla Chiesa, la preghiera. Ma il problema del male deve essere affrontato con speciale attenzione, perché il linguaggio di Macario sembra, in proposito, vicino alle tesi messaliane. Non arriva mai, però, a sostenere che il male sia intrinseco all'uomo, che abbia una sostanza propria o una qualsiasi unione "personale" con Satana. È vero che nelle *Omelie* c'è l'espressione messaliana "due anime". Ma Hatzopoulos non la ritiene eterodossa. Il termine "seconda anima" può interpretarsi come "uomo nuovo", opposto al "vecchio". Ad ogni modo, Simeone il Nuovo Teologo non ha mai l'espressione "due anime". Inoltre è difficile sapere quanto sia cosciente la sua dipendenza dallo Pseudo-Macario. Si può tuttalpiù affermare che Simeone appartiene in misura maggiore alla tendenza "macariana" che a quella di Evagrio o di Massimo.

Possiamo allora congratularci con l'A. dei risultati ottenuti con tanta diligenza? Per l'ipercritico rimane ancora una certa dose di dubbio. Le analisi dell'A. si basano sulle *Omelie* di Macario giunte a noi attraverso la tradizione. Ma se il testo non è quello originario?

Se è stato ritoccato? Sarebbe come dire che il lavoro dell'A. è del tutto inutile? Certamente no. Le due questioni devono essere separate. L'una è nel campo della critica storica, quanto all'originalità del documento. L'altra è quella che si è proposta l'A. fin dall'inizio: confutare l'accusa di eresia di testi tradizionali che lungo i secoli hanno nutrito la spiritualità ortodossa.

Aggiungiamo alla fine alcune osservazioni. M. Kmosko non era cecoslovacco (p. 16) ma ungherese. I. Hausherr non sostiene la "stretta relazione fra pelagianismo e messalianismo" ma soltanto che l'uno e l'altro non sono tendenze così antitetiche come sembrerebbe. La nota sulla "nudità" di Simeone allude evidentemente alla biografia di Simeone Salos.

T. Špidlík S.J.

Jean-Claude Larchet, *Théologie de la maladie*, Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 1991, pp. 150.

Come l'A. annuncia testualmente nelle prime pagine, il libro mira a una teologia cristiana della malattia, della guarigione e della salute, in base a Bibbia e Padri (p. 12). La trattazione si articola in tre capitoli. Nel primo, l'A. si domanda cosa sia per il cristiano la malattia. L'uomo, nel suo stato originale, era suscettibile di mortalità e di immortalità. Dio non è propriamente causa della morte, né della malattia (Basilio: p. 27). Ma con la caduta originale, la natura umana "si ammala di corruzione" (Cirillo di Alessandria, p. 28). La nuova condizione, indicata dalle tuniche di pelle (Gen 3,21: Gregorio di Nissa, p. 29) è universale, cosicché malattie e morte colpiscono indifferentemente giusti e peccatori. Dio può tuttavia permettere le malattie per una serie di motivi (Crisostomo: pp. 46-47). Talvolta sono conseguenza di colpe personali (Barsanufio: p. 49). Ma possono essere anche doni provvidenziali, a ravvedimento e purificazione del malato.

Il secondo capitolo abbozza una spiritualità cristiana della malattia. Non essendo la sanità di per sé salvifica (Basilio: p. 53), la malattia può rivelarsi occasione di salvezza (Crisostomo: p. 55). Infatti aiuta l'uomo a tornare in sé (Serafino di Sarov: p. 58). È una forma di pedagogia divina (Barsanufio e Giovanni di Gaza: p. 59). "La sofferenza può liberare dal peccato" (Crisostomo: p. 63). "Senza partecipazione alle sofferenze di Cristo l'anima non è in comunione con lui" (Isacco il Siro: p. 64). "Se non hai pazienza, né prove, non puoi salire sulla croce" (Barsanufio: p. 70). Come con la Cananea, "Cristo differisce l'esaudimento, per fare risaltare generosità e perseveranza" (Crisostomo: pp. 71-72).

Il terzo capitolo indica la via cristiana alla guarigione. Cristo-medico guarisce i malati e comunica il potere di guarirli. C'è il sacramento dell'unzione degli infermi (pp. 90-93), l'aspersione dell'acqua benedetta (pp. 93-94), il segno della croce (p. 94), l'esorcismo di malati, eventuali vittime di interventi demoniaci (pp. 95-101).

Con la concezione cristiana della malattia si accorda il ricorso alla medicina profana (pp. 101-109) escluso dai massimalisti Taziano e Tertulliano (pp. 109-114). Tipico è l'effato di Barsanufio: "Nel nome del Signore ci fidiamo dei medici, credendo che il Signore, per mezzo di loro, ci darà la guarigione" (p. 117). "Bisogna però — esorta Basilio — vivere in Dio salute e malattia" (p. 122). "La guarigione del corpo — ammonisce Crisostomo commentando il miracolo del paralitico — è simbolo della guarigione dell'anima" (p. 125).

Ma se malattia e morte incombono su di noi lungo tutta la vita terrena, nella resurrezione finale il corpo sarà impassibile e immortale, partecipe a suo modo, insieme all'anima, di quella vita divina che non conosce sofferenza né morte (Crisostomo, Gregorio di Nissa e Massimo C., pp. 127-132).

Ammiro la capacità sintetica dell'A. che racchiude in 130 pagine una teologia cristiana della malattia. La "sfida" sarà raccolta e qualcuno tornerà sull'argomento per precisare e completare. Una bibliografia correda il volume.

È suscettibile di qualche aggiornamento. Per esempio, del *De natura hominis* di Nemesio di Emesa, non segnala l'edizione critica di Morani, ma si accontenta di PG 40, 504-818.

V. Poggi S.J.

Jean-Claude Larchet, *Thérapeutique des maladies mentales. L'expérience de l'Orient chrétien des premiers siècles*, (=Théologies), Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 1992, pp. 184.

L'A. che pubblica nella stessa collana, *Théologie de la maladie* (cfr OCP 1993, pp. precedenti) e presso les Éditions de l'Ancre, *Thérapeutique des maladies spirituelles*, Paris 1991, studia in questo libro come i Padri considerino la follia e come rapportino le malattie spirituali alle malattie della psiche.

Per rispondere a tali domande, l'A. premette la concezione antropologica dei Padri: nell'unità sostanziale del composto umano, le attività dell'anima sono proporzionate al benessere organico, ovvero del corpo (Greg. Nis. p. 32). In simile antropologia, una deficienza organica può causare una turba psichica. La turba non attinge l'anima, ma interessa il corpo, strumento dell'anima (p. 48). Ecco allora sfatato un pregiudizio diffuso: che gli antichi cristiani attribuissero esclusivamente a causa esterna, cioè a influsso demoniaco, la malattia mentale. Due sono invece le ipotesi genetiche suggerite loro dalla malattia mentale: genesi organica o genesi diabolica. La medicina ippocratica nega decisamente la causa demoniaca dell'epilessia (n. 9, p. 56). I Padri invece contemplano le due alternative.

Nel caso di follia prodotta dal demonio. i Padri, da Cassiano a Crisostomo, riconoscono che Dio permette ai demoni un dominio parziale e condizionato su di noi, per provarci e correggerci (p. 67). Il folle per influsso demoniaco non perde l'integrità della natura ed è ricuperabile, come insegna la carità che Antonio esercitava con i posseduti (p. 71). I folli a causa di Satana possono essere liberati dall'intervento misericordioso di Dio attraverso taumaturghi, come Ippazio (p. 79-83). Rimedi per i folli sono perciò l'abitare con i monaci e il frequentare i *martyria*.

Siccome il piano psichico è tributario del piano spirituale e la dimensione spirituale trascende la dimensione psichica, le malattie spirituali influiscono sulla patologia della psiche. L'accidia, che Gregorio Magno assimila alla tristezza (p. 110) è malattia spirituale che può causare la depressione psichica. L'accidia, secondo Cassiano, si guarisce riconoscendola apertamente (p. 125). La vincono la speranza, il pentimento e la preghiera (pp. 126-127). Queste medicine spirituali curano indirettamente la relativa infermità psichica.

Infine, nell'*excursus* sul folle per Cristo (I Cor 4,9-13) l'A. precisa che questa tipica figura di asceta orientale non consiste nell'essere sciocco (pp.

136-137), ingenuo (p. 137), pazzo per causa organica o per ossessione diabolica (p. 139), ma consiste nel fingersi pazzo per amore di Cristo, come fa appunto lo *jurodyvij* della tradizione spirituale russa.

Il libro rende accessibile un aspetto della patristica che, non solo la spiritualità, ma la stessa psichiatria hanno interesse a recuperare.

V. Poggi S.J.

Robert Pouchet, *Basile le Grand et son univers d'amis d'après sa correspondance. Une stratégie de communion.* (= Studia Ephemeridis "Augustinianum", 36) Roma, Institutum Patristicum "Augustinianum", 1992, pp. 804.

San Tomaso d'Aquino era tomista? È come chiedersi se Agostino fosse agostiniano, o Basilio basiliano. Infatti, quando una persona è alla base di un movimento spirituale, la sua esperienza e i suoi pensieri ricevono nel corso del tempo forme più esplicite e sistematiche. È giusto che nella storia della spiritualità ci occupiamo del pensiero basiliano, chiedendoci come si sia formata attraverso i secoli la tradizione basiliana, benché Basilio non vi avesse pensato. Di Basilio, "basiliano" ante litteram, mi sono occupato anni addietro, seguendo le orme di D. Amand, dal quale venni sollecitato a guardare al grande Dottore orientale in prospettiva rovesciata, cioè non rivolta al passato, ma al futuro. Solo così si giustifica il titolo del mio libro, *La sophiologie de Saint Basile (OCA 162*, Roma 1961). Al contrario, al centro delle ricerche del compianto Dom J. Gribomont c'era l'evoluzione dinamica delle idee nella persona stessa di Basilio.

Non vi è dubbio che per conoscerne la persona, i problemi e le sue "conversioni" la fonte primaria sono le sue lettere. Il testo delle lettere di Basilio venne rivisto e tradotto da Y. Courtonne, in tre volumi (Paris 1957, 1961, 1966). Da allora sono venuti alla luce altri dati che aprono nuovi interrogativi. In occasione dell'ultimo centenario dalla morte di Basilio (1979) si sono svolti una ventina di congressi e sono state edite numerose pubblicazioni. Bisogna tenerne conto. Nelle varie questioni è interessante conoscere su quali vi sia accordo e su quali invece permanga la discussione. Delle 366 lettere dell'edizione di Courtonne, 34 sono considerate spurie. È sempre un ragguardevole epistolario, più ricco di quello di Agostino, la cui personalità peraltro è una delle più note della tarda antichità, proprio grazie ai suoi scritti rimastici. Le lettere spurie attribuite a Basilio, provengono anch'esse, come insinua Gribomont, dall'ambiente basiliano e si possono dire giustamente "deutero-basiliane".

Qualche anno fa un'altra opera si era interessata alle lettere di Basilio: B. Gain, *L'Église de Cappadoce au IV s. d'après la correspondance de Basile*, Roma 1985, recensita in questa rivista da F. van de Paverd (OCP 1986,

477-478). Gain ricostruisce sulle lettere di Basilio la vita di una Chiesa in un'epoca e in un territorio. Qui l'A. coglie nelle lettere del Santo soprattutto il pensiero, la personalità e l'opera di Basilio.

Pouchet rivisita e rinnova varie questioni. Non voglio scendere nei particolari per mostrare come affronti antichi problemi e come cerchi di risolverli in maniera aggiornata. Con cura e prudenza esamina i problemi di quando Basilio sia stato ordinato prete, dell'inizio e del perdurare della polemica antieunomiana, dello scambio epistolare con Atanasio; della discussa corrispondenza Basilio-Libanio; della genesi del trattato *Sullo Spirito Santo*, delle dispute cristologiche e di un progetto di lettera al papa. La familiarità con la storia ecclesiastica e con la biografia basiliana permette all'A. di precisare la cronologia basiliana ma non soltanto quella. Il criterio cronologico serve all'A. per scoprire, nell'epistolario, ciò che in questo o in quel momento occupa la mente di Basilio: sia gli eventi esterni, sia lo scopo immediato del suo scrivere. Questi due aspetti, cronologico e causale, vengono diffusamente trattati e costituiscono il principale pregio del libro. Le lettere diventano in tal modo un autentico commentario alle opere basiliane e fanno impostare più correttamente alcuni problemi dogmatici, morali, storici della persona, della produzione letteraria e dell'attività di Basilio e conseguentemente della tradizione basiliana.

Ci congratuliamo quindi con R. Pouchet per questo buon lavoro in cui si mostra degno successore del defunto confratello J. Gribomont.

T. Špidlík S.J.

Emmanuel Testa OFM, *The Faith of the Mother Church. An Essay on the Theology of the Judeo-Christians.* Translated from the Italian by Paul Rotondi OFM, Franciscan Printing Press, Jerusalem 1992, pp. 236 + Plates 52.

Dal secolo primo all'ottavo esiste in Oriente, una Chiesa di convertiti dal Giudaismo, ortodossi come i Nazareni, eterodossi come gli Ebioniti, i Carpocraziani, gli Ofiti, ecc. Sono Giudaizzanti. Privilegiano categorie giudaiche. Provengono dalla circoncisione. Subiscono influssi qumraniti e tendono a un rigorismo di tipo fariseo. Influiscono positivamente o negativamente su gruppi orientali, scuole o Padri, ad es. sui Quattuordecimani, sulla Scuola Antiochena, su Origene, Epifanio, Gerolamo (pp. 12-13).

In queste parole l'A. caratterizza il Giudeocristianesimo di cui ha l'ambizione di aggiornare la sintesi elaborata trent'anni fa da Jean Daniélou, *Théologie du Judéo-christianisme*, Tournai 1958.

L'A. vuole tenere conto delle successive ricerche archeologiche e storiche sul Giudeocristianesimo, ad opera soprattutto della scuola francescana di Gerusalemme, cui lui stesso appartiene. Nei vari capitoli del suo libro l'A. traccia i singoli elementi della teologia giudeocristiana.

La dottrina trinitaria è subordinazionista, anzi è piuttosto un'angelologia. I Giudeocristiani danno infatti grande spazio agli angeli. Dio ha due mani: il Verbo, cui si addice l'immagine; lo Spirito, cui si addice la similitudine. L'ecclesiologia giudeocristiana si esprime nelle figure simboliche, tutte rispettivamente riferite a Cristo, di una donna anziana, della casa, della sposa, del giardino e della barca. La Chiesa e Maria sono il quarto elemento rispetto alla Trinità, nella prospettiva di una quaternità cosmica. Maria è icona e compagna dello Spirito e del Figlio. Apostoli, clero e gerarchia hanno per i Giudeocristiani aspetti peculiari. Giacomo è talvolta esaltato a scapito di Pietro, come lui detto colonna della Chiesa. Anche la dottrina sacramentaria del Giudeocristianesimo, ha caratteri propri. Separa accuratamente battesimo di fuoco, battesimo d'acqua e battesimo dello Spirito. Il mistero della cena si ramifica in cena del tradimento, tavola della parola di Dio (a questo proposito si poteva forse menzionare la sura coranica della tavola) e cena del Signore. L'A. dedica un lungo capitolo al simbolismo giudeocristiano: delle lettere e dei numeri sacri; dell'affidamento propiziatorio del defunto a questo o a quell'angelo; del marchio o sigillo della croce; della croce cosmica; del potere della croce; della sacralità di nomi e monogrammi.

Il volume ha un appendice di 42 pp. in carta patinata, con 52 figure, rappresentanti numerosi simboli giudeocristiani, scoperti dagli archeologi.

Si tratta di lavoro interessante, benché non sempre convincente. La stessa definizione del Giudeocristianesimo, che l'A. dà alle pp. 12-13, non sostituisce, secondo noi, quella più semplice e nello stesso tempo più precisa, di A. Benoit e M. Simon, *Le Judaïsme et le Christianisme antique*, Paris 1968, p. 268.

V. Poggi S.J.

Javier Teixidor, *Bardesane d'Edesse. La première philosophie syriaque*, (= Patrimoines. Christianisme), Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 1992, pp. 158.

Da qualche tempo il semitista Javier Teixidor ha ripreso gli studi siriaci da cui era partito, interessandosi particolarmente alla diffusione della cultura in area mesopotamica. In quest'ultimo libretto ha raccolto numerosi 'frammenti' di riflessione, scaturiti da una ricerca di ampio respiro sulla letteratura e la filosofia siriaca dei primi secoli, qui suddivisi per capitoli tematici (*Introduction*, pp. 9-16; Cap. I, *Langue, écriture et archives*, pp. 17-28; Cap. II, *Edesse aux premiers siècles*, pp. 29-63; Cap. III, *Bardesane d'Edesse, le philosophe*, pp. 65-114; Cap. IV, *La philosophie syriaque*, pp. 115-140; *Conclusion*, pp. 141-8; seguono il prospetto delle fonti e gli indici).

Anche se non si può parlare di un'opera organica vera e propria, appare comunque lodevole lo sforzo dell'A. di offrire anche a un pubblico più ampio — quale quello dei classicisti, dei patrologi e naturalmente degli storici della

filosofia — una serie di spunti di riflessione che non mancheranno di suscitare risposte positive. Gli studi siriaci stanno attraversando un periodo di grande fioritura, ma la loro tendenza è, certamente *pour cause*, quella di favorire gli argomenti specialistici rispetto alle questioni generali e alle sintesi.

In questo lavoro, l'A. riesce però a conciliare le opposte esigenze, affrontando puntualmente e analizzando in modo originale brani di autori siriaci noti o meno noti (la parte del leone spetta ovviamente a Bar Dayṣan), inquadrando i singoli punti in un discorso organico imperniato sulla funzione di Edessa dal II al VII secolo; viene così evidenziata l'importanza della città in quanto archivio della memoria d'Oriente, dimora di pensatori originali e spesso notevoli.

L'A., cui va il merito di non rifugiarsi in un discorso esoterico, mostra una certa apertura alle discipline 'confinanti', un po' meno al relativo dibattito: di Santo Mazzarino, che su questi temi scrisse pagine memorabili, cita solo *La fin du monde antique*. Anche il versante armenologico (soprattutto la testimonianza, discussa ma pur sempre fondamentale, di Movsēs Xorenac'i) avrebbe meritato maggior attenzione. Queste lacune si devono forse al taglio dell'opera, in cui si evidenzia il lato filosofico rispetto a quello storico-culturale [cf. già, dello stesso A., *La Filosofía traducida*, Barcelona 1991].

G. Traina

Proximi Orientis

Giovanni Bergamini (a cura di), *Uomini e dei della Mesopotamia. Alle origini della mitologia.* (Jean Bottéro et Samuel Noah Kramer, Lorsque les dieux faisaient l'homme, Mythologie mésopotamienne) Giulio Einaudi Editore, Torino 1992, pp. XX + 806, 14 tavole.

In questo volume di oltre 800 pagine, sono raccolti, tradotti e commentati da due eminenti filologi, Bottéro e Kramer, una cinquantina di miti della civiltà mesopotamica. I più antichi risalgono al III° millennio, i più recenti al primo. Il curatore ricorda nell'Introduzione che "Orientalisti, biblisti, sociologi, antropologi, storici della civiltà, cioè tutti coloro che sono interessati alla storia e al progresso dell'uomo, dovrebbero essere desiderosi di accedere a questi dati" (p. 5).

Non che siano mancate simili raccolte. Ma oltre il fatto che ogni raccolta di un materiale così importante ha il suo taglio particolare legato a determinate scelte, il commento dei due specialisti è ancora uno dei più atti per iniziarci ai miti delle origini dell'area assiro-babilonese mesopotamica. Infatti, Samuel Noah Kramer, sumerologo, autore di *L'histoire commence à Sumer* (1957), *Le mariage sacré* (1983) ecc., studia i miti redatti in lingua sumerica. Mentre Jean Bottéro, assirologo, che ha scritto *La religion babyloniènne* (1952), *Mythes et rites de Babylone* (1982), *Naissance de Dieu*, *La Bible et l'historien*(1986),

Mésopotamie. L'Écriture, la raison et les dieux (1987) si occupa dell'ambito assiro.

In quest'opera ogni mito è introdotto e commentato. Non mancano illustrazioni e mappe. La bibliografia riprende quella dell'edizione francese. Sarebbe stato utile un indice analitico, benché l'Avvertenza di p. 2 lo neghi.

Mi congratulo con il curatore e con l'Editore per aver messo a disposizione del lettore italiano quest'opera di alto valore.

J. Ḥabbī

Robert L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History & Thought*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1992, pp. xvi + 355.

This volume, like S. P. Colbi's *A History of the Christian Presence in the Holy Land*, merits a special place in a library on Christianity in Palestine. Robert L. Wilken's book rather complements Colbi's. The latter is more of a history of individual Churches, whereas W.'s is a smooth flow of the history and theology of Christianity as a whole. He presents a sympathetic discussion of voluminous materials.

Chapters 1 and 2, for which he offers an "apology" in advance (p. xvi), are a *sine qua non*, but they could have been shortened not inconsiderably. The history and thought of Christianity unfold in Chapter 3 with the concept of entering into a land of promise (pp. 52-55) and Jerusalem in particular (pp. 62-64), expatiated in Chapter 4 and reappearing in Chapter 6. (At this juncture Chapter 5 could easily have embraced some of the other Christian or Judaeo-Christian places, though interesting as it stands.) Chapter 6 is perhaps the finest section in the book. The vital concept of "pilgrimage" is developed within its twenty-four well-written pages. It finds its roots in antiquity (p. 103). Wilken writes: "At the pilgrimage shrines, piety was nurtured not only by seeing and touching, by the proximity to holy places and holy things, but also by history [including prayer] and myth [faith and commitment], memory if you will" (p. 104; see also pp. 108-114).

Chapter 7 contains more Old Testament "reminiscing" than Christian pilgrimage, while Chapters 8 and 9 sometimes refer, only too indirectly, to other pilgrimage goals, such as Bethlehem, Caesarea-Philippi and some desert monasteries (in the Negeb, pp. 181-183). Nazareth and Cana (*Khirbet-Qana*) are not mentioned. And Kursi (p. 188) should be identified with Gergesa of the Decapolis, not with Gerasa, Jeraš or Gadara. Concerning the Great Laura of Mar Saba, W. writes that the pilgrim will be shown "the diminutive body of St. Saba in a small chapel in one of the courtyards" (p. 247). In reality, the relic is *inside* the monastery Church!

The subtitle "Palestine in Christian History & Thought" is more of a Christian history intertwined with Judaism than with Islam, which paralleled both from approximately 638 to 1948. The book concentrates more on Jerusalem than the Holy Land in general. Wilken's style is prolix but readable and enjoyable. His scholarship is attested to by his copious notes (pp. 259-333) and sound bibliography (pp. 335-345), although he omits two valuable sources: C. Kopp's *Die heiligen Stätten der Evangelien*, available in at least three other languages, and the excellent D. Baldi's *Enchiridion Locorum Sanctorum*. Otherwise, the book should be praised for its wealth of information and a genuine contribution to Christianity in the Holy Land.

R. M. Mackowski, S.J.

Slavica

Dmytro Blažejowskyj, *Hierarchy of the Kyivan Church (861-1990)*. Editiones Universitatis Catholicae Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae, Rome 1990, pp. 538.

The stated purpose of this useful volume is to list the series of bishops of what the author calls the "Kyivan Church," including those of the modern diaspora, and their years in office. When the dates are not certain, the date of the first and last historical notice of the bishop in question are given. The bishops and non-episcopal diocesan administrators are listed according to eparchies (dioceses), chronologically, and alphabetically. In the first, diocesan listing, varying lists are provided according to different sources.

Many will find the title of the book confusing, if not tendentious. Included under the Kyivan Church are not only what today one would call the Ukrainian Orthodox and Greek Catholic hierarchs, but also the Rusyns or Transcarpathian Ruthenians, the Slovaks, the Hungarians of Hajdudorog, and the eparchy of Križevci in the former Yugoslavia.

Chapter 1 lists the eparchies and their foundation dates insofar as they can be determined. Ch. 2 lists the bishops "in union with the Universal Church (861-1054)." With ch. 3 the nomenclature gets confusingly bizarre: "Kyivan Church in Union with the Constantinopolitan (Greek National) Autocephalous Church (Kyivan Constantinopolitan Uniate Church)." What that means can be divined from the title of ch. 4: "Kyivan Church in Union with Rome (Kyivan Roman Uniate Church), part 1, The Metropolitanate of Kyiv (1596-1839); part 2, The Major Archbishops' See of L'viv/Halyc from its Establishment to 1807; part 3, Transcarpathian Eparchies (1646-); part 4, The Kyivan Church in Diaspora." Ch. 5, "Kyivan Church in Union with Moscow," also uses startling terms, such as "Muscovite Uniate," meaning not what one would normally expect, i.e., Byzantine Catholics in the Roman communion who follow the

Muscovite usage of the Byzantine-Slavonic Rite, but Ukrainian eparchs under the Moscow Patriarchate, whether formerly Catholic or not. Thus, one will be surprised to find the well-known Russian Orthodox bishop Antonij Xrapovitskij († 1936), Metropolitan of Kiev (1918-19) and chief hierarch of the Russian Orthodox Church in Exile, listed, with his name in Ukrainian transliteration, as a "Muscovite Uniate Eparch" (p. 396). Ch. 6 gives the lists for the "non-Ukrainian Autocephalous Churches on Ukrainian and Surrounding Territories (1921-1990)" such as the Polish Orthodox Church and the Orthodox Church in the former Czechoslovakia. In those days of shifting borders after World War I and the Treaties of Riga and Versailles, then World War II and the Treaty of Yalta, this is most useful. Ch. 7 deals with "the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Churches (1921-1990)," a chapter newly reopened in our days. This chapter also includes the Churches of the diaspora.

The Alphabetical List of Eparchies unites all this confusing material — confused by history, not by the author, who has put everything in marvellous order insofar as possible — into a single alphabetical list for all eparchies, under which all its bishops, regardless of their ecclesial affiliation, are given in chronological order.

The volume concludes with 30 pages of chronological charts and 8 maps, an alphabetical index of all eparchies with the pages where they are treated, and another of all bishops with the eparchies they served and the dates of this service. These indices, especially the last, are extremely important for anyone wishing to trace the career of any single bishop. The Russian Orthodox Church during the Soviet period moved its bishops around with great frequency, doubtless without much choice in the matter, and certain unsavory agents like bishop Makarij Oksijuk were sent to L'viv to orchestrate the pseudo-synod of 1946 when the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was forcibly integrated into the Russian Orthodox Church. Then, promoted archbishop for his troubles, he was sent to Mukačevo in Transcarpathia in 1948-1950 to perform the same service. The Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church there was forcibly suppressed by administrative order without bothering with the farce of a pseudo-synod. Finally, from 1951 until his death in 1961 he was sent to ride herd on the Polish Orthodox Church as Metropolitan of Warsaw.

This is an extraordinarily useful book, one that will serve for years to come as a reference work for anyone wishing to identify the hierarchs who for better or worse have guided the Church of God in these territories of constantly shifting borders and loyalties.

I have no desire to cavil on the question of terminology, since Ukrainians are just emerging from a long period when the whole world acquiesced without a murmur in the Russification or Polonization of their place names, and if they want to say Kyiv instead of Kiev, and Lviv or L'viv instead of Lvov, then that is their business. But one can question the legitimacy of going to the other extreme and Ukrainianizing Russian names. More serious, I think, is the clear abuse — or at least confusion — in the use of the term "Uniate" to describe almost any form of ecclesial communion (see the definition on p. 33). Words,

after all, do have not only etymological meanings but also acquired historical connotations, and to ignore this is to abuse language which is supposed to be a means of communication, not a source of obfuscation. And to call the Patriarchate of Constantinople the "Constantinopolitan Greek National Autocephalous Church" sounds to me like a gratuitously offensive invention. It is generally accepted courtesy to call people what they call themselves unless the name belongs to someone else by prior right, and the fact that much of Orthodox officialdom seems, at present, unable to find within itself the decency to observe this basic human courtesy with regard to Eastern Catholics, continuing to call them by the, for some at least, gratuitously offensive term "Uniates," does not give us license to stoop to the same level.

R. F. Taft, S.J.

R. Picchio, *Letteratura della Slavia ortodossa (IX-XVIII sec.)*, Ed. Dedalo, Bari 1991, 546 c.

La slavistica deve a R. Picchio i termini *Slavia romana* e *Slavia orthodoxa*, come anche molte ricerche nel campo della critica del testo, della poetica e retorica slave, della stilistica e, in generale, della storia della letteratura e della cultura medievale dei popoli slavi ortodossi. Il volume qui recensito contiene 15 saggi in questo vasto ambito. La maggior parte sono già stati pubblicati in italiano, inglese, francese, bulgaro, russo. Riuniti in un volume (un'edizione con un contenuto simile, in preparazione da ormai molti anni, sta per uscire in Bulgaria) gli articoli mostrano in modo chiaro lo sviluppo delle idee dell'A. ed il suo intento di superare la tradizionale lettura "neo-romantica" delle opere medievali slave, come anche quella più recente, "neo-positivistica".

Gli studi possono essere raggruppati intorno a tre problemi fondamentali, legati alla lingua e all'arte scrittoria degli Slavi ortodossi. Il primo gruppo riguarda la comunità culturale che l'A. definisce come *Slavia orthodoxa*: *Slavia ortodossa* e *Slavia romana* (pp. 7-83), *Lo slavo ecclesiastico* (pp. 103-143), *Questione della lingua e Slavia cirillometodiana* (pp. 145-261); il secondo comprende gli studi sulla critica del testo e gli elementi del sistema e della lingua letterari: *Sulle strutture isocoliche nella letteratura slava ortodossa* (pp. 291-338), *La tradizione isocolica e il formarsi della versificazione russa* (pp. 339-362), *La funzione delle chiavi tematiche bibliche nel codice letterario della Slavia ortodossa* (pp. 363-403); il terzo tratta specifici problemi storico-letterari dove vengono applicati i principi teorici dichiarati negli studi già indicati: *Il posto della letteratura bulgara antica nella cultura europea del Medioevo* (pp. 263-289), *L'ombra di Achab e Giosafat sull'impresa di Igor' e Vsevolod* (pp. 405-414), *Lo slavobulgaro di Paisij* (pp. 461-501).

Di particolare interesse risulta il primo studio, finora non pubblicato, *Slavia ortodossa e Slavia romana* (pp. 7-83). In esso sono espressi i principi teoretici e

metodologici che R. Picchio ha proposto nel campo della slavistica negli ultimi anni: il concetto di *Slavia orthodoxa* come "una comunità culturale"; l'interpretazione della vita letteraria della comunità come un particolare tipo di gioco, guidato da specifiche esigenze normative (chiamata dall'A. "poetica implicita"); i principi retorici e di visione del mondo, provenienti da queste esigenze, che regolano i testi e, generalmente, "le regole del gioco" della comunità.

A prescindere dall'accento confessionale, la definizione di *Slavia orthodoxa* riflette sufficientemente le particolarità generali dell'arte scrittoria degli Slavi ortodossi. Suscita un certo dubbio l'onnicomprensibilità della definizione quando essa viene applicata a diversi periodi di sviluppo della letteratura medievale slava (su questo problema v. l'articolo di R. Marti, "Slavia orthodoxa als literar- und sprachhistorischer Begriff", *Studia slavico-byzantina et mediaevalia europensia. In memoriam Ivan Dujčev*, Vol. I, Sofia 1988, 193-200).

Altri problemi sorgono con l'uso della definizione *Slavia orthodoxa*, quando viene applicata, con la solennità del termine latino, ad un materiale difficilmente inquadrabile in schemi, lontano come pensiero e come struttura dalle severe esigenze di una retorica o di una poetica occidentale.

L'idea di R. Picchio sulle strutture isocoliche è trattata nel primo capitolo del volume ed in particolare alle pp. 291-338. La concezione, presa dalle antiche retoriche, sulle strutture ritmico-sintattiche, "kolon", che regolano sia il testo medievale poetico che quello prosastico, rappresenta un nuovo approccio metodologico nel campo della paleoslavistica. Sarebbe bene evidenziare, che l'applicazione di questa metodologia è impresa estremamente delicata, perchè potrebbe portare a serie incomprensioni di carattere testologico, se intesa come criterio unico di organizzazione strutturale delle opere medievali (cfr la critica di M. Capaldo, "Rispetto del testo tràdito o avventura congetturale? Su una recente interpretazione di VC 13", *Europa Orientalis* 19 [1990] 541-644).

Particolare interesse rappresenta la concezione di R. Picchio sulle citazioni bibliche come chiave tematica, valida per le opere letterarie slave. Si tratta di una concezione, finora indiscussa, che riguarda il rapporto fra l'autore medievale e le Sacre Scritture. In ogni opera della comunità slava ortodossa si rivelano due livelli semantici — quello "alto", o spirituale, ispirato dalla Bibbia, e quello "basso", cioè di narrazione subordinata al livello "alto". La specificità letteraria dei monumenti medievali slavi deve essere appunto ricercata nella correlazione fra i due livelli. Scoprire il livello "alto" è il compito principale di ogni ricercatore circa ogni testo concreto. Tutte queste idee di R. Picchio sono espresse con particolare chiarezza nello studio *La funzione delle chiavi tematiche bibliche nel codice letterario della Slavia ortodossa*. L'articolo è dedicato ad alcuni problemi di ricerca testologica e di critica letteraria della *Vita di Boris e Gleb* e della *Vita Constantini*.

Il volume *Letteratura della Slavia ortodossa (IX-XVIII sec.)* invita il lettore ad un esame più approfondito dell'eredità culturale dei popoli slavi ortodossi. Le obiezioni e i dubbi espressi da autori che studiano ogni singolo testo in tutte le sue particolarità sono egualmente indicativi dell'importanza dei problemi sollevati dagli studi di R. Picchio. Ogni tentativo di sintesi teoretica del

materiale letterario raccolto accuratamente durante quasi due secoli è un'azione rischiosa ma gratificante.

G. Minčev

ALIA SCRIPTA AD NOS MISSA

Gonzalo Aranda Perez, *El evangelio de san Marcos en copto sahídico. (Texto de M 569 y aparato crítico)*. Textos y Estudios «Cardenal Cisneros» de la Biblia Políglota Matritense. Instituto de Filología, C.S.I.C., Departamento de Filología Bíblica y de Oriente Antiguo. Madrid 1988, pp. 150.

Jean Magne, *Logique des sacrements*. Avant-propos de Michel Tardieu. Origines chrétiennes III. Paris, Chez l'auteur, 1989, pp. 247.

Rudolf Riedinger, *Der Codex Vindobonensis 418. Seine Vorlage und seine Schreiber*. Instrumenta Patristica XVII. Steenburgis, Kluwer Academic Publishers 1989, 108 S. + 60 Tafeln.

Patricia Springborg, *Royal Persons: Patriarchal Monarchy and the Feminine Principle*. London, Unwin Hyman 1990, pp. xv + 326.

Vincenzo Poggi S.J., Direttore Responsabile

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Vincenzo Ruggieri, S.J.

The IV Century Greek Episcopal Lists in the *Mardin Syriac. 7* (olim *Mardin Orth. 309/9*)

To Maria Andaloro

It was in the years 1990-91, whilst I was microfilming Syriac MSS in Aleppo and in the region of Tur 'Abdin, that I came across *Mardin Syr. 7* (olim *Mardin Orth. 309/9*) kept in the church of the Fourty Martyrs in Mardin.[1] The MS once belonged to the near monastery of El Zafran (Mār Ḥanānyā), and was later brought to the manuscript collection of the archbishopric of the Syrian Orthodox Church.[2] It is one of the oldest and most precious sources of oecumenical canons and legislative texts relating to the Syriac Orthodox Church.[3] A short look at the contents of the MS reveals the following: the councils (Nicaea I, Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Gangra,

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[1] It is a pleasant duty to thank Prof. R. Lavenant S.J., always patient and exemplarily subtle in his reading of the Syriac text; I owe a great debt of gratitude to Dr. S. Brock, Prof. C. Mango and Prof. G. Cavallo for their friendly support in paleographical matters.

[2] Cf A. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde. I. Westsyrische Originalurkunde* 1, A, *CSCO* 307, *Subsidia* 35 (Louvain, 1970) 443-447 where the MS is dated to the VIII century (the main reason adduced by Vööbus for this is the fact that the MS also contains the šū'ālē-pūnājē by James of Edessa: pag. 447); ID, "Syriac Manuscript from the treasury of the Monastery of Mār Ḥanānyā or Deir Zafaran," said by the author to be in press in Papers of the Eastonian Theological Society in Exile XXIV (has not appeared as promised).

[3] Cf W. Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, II, *Die Geschichte des Kirchenrechts der Westsyrer von den Anfängen bis zur Mongolenzeit*, Österr. Akad. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungb. 543, (Wien, 1989) 106-8; A. Vööbus, *The Synodikon in the West Syrian Tradition*, I, CSCO 367-368, Scriptores Syri 161-162 (Louvain, 1975). The MS is said to have been mentioned and discussed by A. Vööbus, *New important Manuscript Discoveries for the History of Syriac Literature*, Papers of Estonian Society 31 (1979) inaccessible to me; ID., "New sources for the symbol in early Syrian Christianity," VC 26 (1972) 293 where the MS is dated to the VIII cent. (in a handwritten note found in Mardin, Hanna Dolaponu (= Dolabani) ascribed this MS to the VIII-IX cent.); A. Vööbus, "Nouvelles Sources de l'Octateuque Clémentin Syriaque," Mus 86 (1973) 108; ID., "Découverte de nouvelles sources de la Didascalie syriaque," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 64 (1976) 461. The work of A. Vööbus, "Discovery of Important Syriac Manuscripts on the Canons of the Ecumenical Councils," *'Abr Nahrain* 12 (1971-1972) 94-8 (cf A. Desreumaux, *Répertoire des Bibliothèques et des Catalogues de Manuscrits Syriaques*, Paris 1991, 185), remains inaccessible to me.

Antioch, Laodicea, Constantinople I, Ephesus, Carthago, Chalcedon and Sardica), the Didascalia of the Apostles, the malphanuta of the Apostles, the decrees of the Apostles, a collection of the Canons of the Apostles, canons sent from Italy and other scattered pieces of legislative letters. However it is only *Mardin Syr. 7*, amongst the many MSS kept in Mardin, that has folia containing parallel columns in Greek and Syriac.[4] These folia contain the episcopal lists of the following synods: the two oecumenical ones, i.e. Nicaea I and Constantinople 381, as well as the local synods of Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Gangra, Antioch and Sardica.[5] In view of the peculiar contents

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[4] If we are not mistaken, only the twin MS, *Mardin Syr. 8* (olim *310/8*) offers a few Greek words, inserted occasionally in between the columns to pinpoint important things in the main Syriac text. We should recognize that no attention has been given to two Arabic MSS (*144*, X cent.; *245*, VIII-IX cent.), also in Mardin: cf I. Ephrem I Barsoum, *History of the Syriac Sources and Literature*, ed. by G. Yohanna Ibrahim (Aleppo, 1987) 116.

[5] It seems to us unnecessary to give the occasional Greek names in the Council of Carthago. A much-needed critical edition of the entire MS could do full justice to it and place it within the MSS tradition of the lists of Nicaea and Constantinople.

Abbreviations (for the edited lists, we cite the number):

Braun = O. Braun, *De Sancta Nicaena Synodo. Syrische Texte des Maruta von Maipherkat nach einer Handschrift der Propaganda zur Rom* (Kirchengesch. Studien IV B, III H.) (Münster i. W. 1898).

Chabot = J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* I (Paris, 1899): Nicaea, Syr. text 124-127; French text 247-252; Constantinople 158-165; 313-320. The Syriac text of the *Borg. Syr. 82* (used by Chabot in apparatus) has been edited by O. Braun, *Syrische Texte über die erste allgemeine Synode von Konstantinopel, Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, ed. C. Bezold (Gieszen, 1906) 468ff.

Cowper = B. H. Cowper, *Syriac Miscellanies* (London, 1861).

Honigmann, Liste = E. Honigmann, "La Liste Originale des Pères de Nicée," Byz 14 (1939) 17-76.

Honigmann, Recherches = E. Honigmann, "Recherches sur le listes des Pères de Nicée et de Constantinople," Byz 11 (1936) 429-449.

Honigmann, Sur les listes = E. Honigmann, "Sur les listes des évêques partecipant aux conciles de Nicée, de Constantinople et de Chalcédoine," Byz 12 (1937) 323-347.

Gelzer = H. Gelzer, "Geographische und onomatologische Bemerkungen zur der List der Väter des Konzils von 381," BZ 12 (1903) 126-130.

Joannou, *Discipline* = P.-P. Joannou, *Discipline Générale Antique (IVe-IXe s.)* I/2 (Grottaferrata, 1962).

King = N. Q. King, "The 150 Holy Fathers of the Council of Constantinople 381 A.D.," *Studia Patristica* I/1 (Berlin, 1957) 635-641.

Patmos B = V. N. Beneševič, *Kanoničeskij Sbornik 14 titulov so vtoroj četverti VII veka do 883 goda, Priloženija* (St. Petersburg, 1905) 87-89.

of this MS, we have thought it convenient to give here a full edition of the Greek lists.

CODICOLOGICAL AND PALAEOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON *MARDIN SYRIAC 7*

Mardin Syr. 7 is a membranaceous MS with both beginning and end lost. The parchment was originally of good quality; today the folia present a dusty, dirty surface owing to the bad state of conservation. The codex was presumably first restored at the time when it was still kept in the library of Deir el Zafran. This was a disgraceful attempt, which included the rebinding of the MS so as to re-insert detached folia. As a result there are strings of paper along the inner margins which cover parts of the Greek equivalents. The MS contain 159 folia[6]; each folio measures 25,5 by 17,6 cm.,[7] with two columns on each page. The written surface measures 20 by 5,5 cm., with 1 cm. of interspace between the columns; the number of lines is not consistent, varying from 28 to 32. The gatherings are decania and no sign of decoration is discernible. Apart from the incipits and relevant rubrics (in red), the scribe has throughout used brown ink, now rather faded. The edges are frayed, and

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Patmos T = C. H. Turner, "Canons attributed to the Council of Constantinople A.D. 381, together with the names of the Bishops, from two Patmos MSS POB′ POΓ′," JTS 15 (1914) 161-178.

Pitra, *Spicilegio* = J. B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi*, IV (Paris, 1883)

PNN = H. Gelzer - H. Hilgenfeld - O. Cuntz, *Patrum Nicaenorum Nomina* (Lipsiae 1898) I: *Index restitutus*; II: Theodor Lect.; IV: Nomina coptice; V: Index Coenobii Nitriensis (=*Add. 14.528*).

Ptolem. = Claudii Ptolemaei *Geographia*, ed. C. F. A. Nobbe (Hildesheim, 1966).

Schulthess = F. Schulthess, *Die Syrischen Kanones der Synoden von Nicaea bis Chalcedon* (Berlin, 1908).

Schwartz = E. Schwartz, "Über der Bischofslisten der Synoden von Chalkedon, Nicaea und Konstantinopel," *Abh. der Bay. Akad. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Abt.*, N. F. (München, 1937) 1-90.

Sévère = Sévère Ibn al-Moqaffa', *Histoire des Conciles*, ed. L. Leroy, PO IV (1911).

Synekdèmos = E. Honigmann, *Le Synekdèmos d'Hieroklés et l'Opuscule Géographique de George de Chypre*, (= Corpus Brux. Hist. Byzantinae) (Bruxelles, 1939).

Turner = C. H. Turner, *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monvmenta Ivris Antiqvissima* I-II (Oxonii 1899-1930).

[6] Vööbus, *Kanonessammlungen* 443 has 166 folia. As said above, the beginning of the MS is lost, and a few folia have been left unbound at the very beginning; I do not know, however, whether folia have been lost since the time of Vööbus' inspection.

[7] This size has been called utilitarian; cf M. Mundell Mango, "The Production of Syriac Manuscripts, 400-700 A.D.," *Scritture, Libri e Testi nelle Aree Provinciali di Bisanzio*, ed. by G. Cavallo, G. de Gregorio and M. Maniari (Spoleto, 1988) 175.

here again we see the destructive hand of the restorer who has obliterated whole sections in the lists. There appears to be no trace of ruling or pricking systems. Such seems to be the usual practice in Tur 'Abdin MSS production, at least in the case of the MSS from El Zafran in the church at Mardin.[8]

The Greek script in the MS may be tentatively dated in the IX century. The scribe has his own *ductus*, and he knew how to write uncial Greek[9]; but we do not know his name, nor have we any idea where and for whom the MS was written, for the colophon is lost. In order to provide palaeographers with some material, we here present a comparative table of isolated letters:

Α
Β
Γ
Κ
Λ
Μ
Θ
Π and once as (Gangra n. 4)
Τ
Φ
Ψ
Χ

The striking tendency to use late forms for the letter A ( ) betrays a late VIII-IX century hand.[10] The upper horizontal bar of T with a downward stroke at each end reminds us of an early IX century form.[11] A

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[8] Certainly there were no horizontal incised rulings within the columns, neither was there an incised vertical ruling along the margins. One is led to think of a light leading ruling (found in other MSS at Mardin and Mar Gabriel) running on the top margin of the writting columns. Cf Mundell Mango, "The Production," 174 and fig. 13. We are told that in some MSS there is no ruling at all; "the earliest codex with no ruling was written near the end of the ninth century": W. H. Paine Hatch, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts* (Boston, 1946) 17.

[9] On this general topic, see C. Mango, "Greek Culture in Palestine after the Arab Conquest," *Scritture, Libri e Testi* 149 ff; Ruggieri, OCP 58 (1992) 168-169.

[10] Cf *Vat. gr. 1666*; E. Follieri, *Codices Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae selecti*, fasc. IV (Vatican City, 1969) pl. 11 (the small loop on the diagonal bar).

[11] Cf the shape of this letter in Hatch, *An Album od Dated Syriac Manuscripts*, pl. LXXVI (*Jerusalem, Syr. Orth. Conv. of St. Mark, 25*); cf also: *Vat. gr. 355, 1666, 2066*; Follieri, *Codices* pl. 9, 11, 6. where traits quite similar to our Γ, M, K can be found.

similar stroke at the end of the horizontal bar of the Γ points to the same date. K is normally not divided, but in a very few instances there is a slight division from the vertical bar. While Π presents a strange appearance only once, with its upper bar divided (Gangra n. 4), Σ keeps its rounded shape throughout. A peculiar feature of our scribe's *ductus* is a round or right hook put at the end either of the vertical bar of B, or, some times, at the right end of the low loop of the same letter.[12]

Some other features should also be pointed out. In Nicaea n. 123, EYTYΨIOC, Eutychius is rendered in such a way as to give clear evidence of confusion between X and Ψ.[13] In *Mopsuestia* (cf Nicaea n. 97; Constantinople n. 54) ψ keeps its usual shape Ψ, but in this name (Nic. n. 102 and 123) we always find the habitual χ. There are various errors in the Nicene list: n. 16, Πλούσιος occurs twice, written a second time less carefully before the city name; n. 17 forms a pastiche with n. 16: it begins with ΔHOC, then follows an empty space filled with a *signe de renvoi*,[14] and it ends with three letters (.?)OC, the first being apparently another sign of reference; in n. 25, beside another sign of reference, the letter M is repeated in the space between the columns; n. 156, Πανεμούτειχος, is written twice (one on top of the other). It goes far beyond my aim and competence to make conjectures on these errors. Here and there letters have been missed out within names (supplemented in round brackets in our text), which might lead one to suppose that all these errors are the result of negligence on the part of the scribe. Such negligence certainly appears to be in evidence in the section Constantinople in nn. 39, 54 and 96. In n. 39 the P in 'Αβράμιος, at first left out, has been written beneath BA; in n. 54, the second Σ in Mopsuestia has been missed out and has been added, in smaller scale, beneath ET; in n. 96 the lectio YΔHC has been altered by the addition of a smaller O above.[15] Another peculiarity evinced by our scribe is the sign of

[12] C. Mango, "Byzantine Epigraphy (4th to 10th Centuries)," *Paleografia e Codicologia Greca*, I, ed. by D. Harlfinger and G. Prato (Alessandria, 1991) 244.

[13] See the shape of the letters in Mundell Mango, "The Production of Syriac Manuscripts," fig. 8.

[14] B. Atsalos, "Les signes de renvoi dans les manuscrits grecs," *Paleografia e Codicologia Greca*, I, ed. by D. Harlfinger and G. Prato (Alessandria, 1991) 211-231; ours is not a scholion, but simply a mark of reference. It is shaped like a declining alpha (a form of vocalization), and is not found in Atsalos.

[15] Of no substantial importance to the text are the following istances: (in the section Constantinople) f. 67, in the margin below the column, Τιμηεόθεος is written again; f.

diaeresis, which he uses quite often. We find it in the following numbers: Nic. nn. 131, 134, 150, 155, 165, 199; Const. nn. 11, 42, 100. Strangely enough, the fragment belonging to the Lihačev collection[16] denotes a similar sign on the same entry (ΚΥΪΝΤΙΑΝΟC); we shall return to this later.

Though we cannot give an exhaustive list of all the MS's peculiarities, let us remark the most interesting. Quite often O is rendered OΥ; Υ is sometimes used for O (Const. n. 83); Ω renders OΥ (Nic. n. 43); ΙΕΡ comes out as ΓΕΙΡ (Nic. n. 36; Const. n. 5). The following changes of vowels (or diphthongs) take place: Ι = Α (Nic. 41; Sardica n. 7); ΑΙ = Ι (Nic. n. 42); Ε = Ι (Nic. n. 53; Const. n. 21); Α = ΑΙ (Nic. 135); Ο = Α (Nic. n. 204). Leaving aside cases where vowels are added to the stem of a name, or where they are missed out, we are of the opinion that when M occurs before P or Λ, the presence of B is not caused by syncope or metathesis. Thus we find ΑΜΒΛΑΔΑ = ΑΜΒΔΑΛΑ (Const. n. 101); ΚΟΛΥΒΡΑΣΟC = ΚΟΛΥΜΒΡΑΣΙΟΝ (Const. n. 80). There is interchange of syllables: ΣΑΧΑΛΑΣΣΟC = ΣΑΛΑΧΑΣΣΟC (Const. n. 107); syllables are added to the stem: ΟΥΑΣΑΣΑΔΩΝ = ΟΥΑΣΑΔΩΝ (Nic. n. 161); in a few cases consonants are changed: Φ = Δ (Const. n. 34); Τ = Π (Const. n. 78); in others, vowels: ΡΑΦΑΝΕΙΑ = ΡΑΦΑΝΣΑ (Const. n. 31); ΕΜΜΑΡΙΑ = ΑΜΑΡΙΑ (Const. n. 42). Finally, we note the insertion of Δ and P in Nicaea (nn. 113-114): ΑΡΙ = ΑΔΡΑ, and ΑΚ = ΑΡ. In this latter case, the non-Greek origin of the name is perhaps the reason for the spelling.

All in all, the script remains uniform throughout the texts as well as — and we would like to emphasize this — in the margins where the signatories of Gangra, Antioch and Sardica are listed (though in these cases the precarious state of the MS makes the reading difficult). No use is made of ligatures; though occasionally the genitive plural ends with an upper bar over the omega, and in a few cases, when the city is named after an emperor, the final ΠΟΛΙΣ is rendered by a simple Π. If any feature of the *ductus* should be stressed, we have noticed a slight tendency to give the letters an oblique shape, inclined to the left. Furthermore, there are a good number of cases which give evidence that the Greek lists (i.e. those written in parallel columns) were written after the Syriac ones. This is obvious in the following istances: Nic. nn. 88, 200; Const. nn. 103, 113, and 115. Here the final two

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68 in the margin above the column, we find ΕΧΠΟ(Ε); f. 68v, ΠΑΜΦΥΛΙΑ is written again vertically on the right margin.

[16] Honigmann, Sur les listes 336, n. 15.

syllables tend to be shorter, or else written slightly below, out of line. In a very few cases we find the final syllables written on the line, but outside the vertical order of the column. Speaking of vertical order, it is worth making note of the Syriac device of writing names in vertical lines. There are in fact, as we shall see below, several incipits of synods whose lines run vertically between the columns. It has already been said that the lists of Gangra, Antioch and part of that of Sardica are written in the margins; furthermore, in the section Gangra, some of the names are written in the margin directly beneath the columns of the following folio.

THE IMPORTANCE OF *MARDIN SYRIAC 7* IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LISTS OF NICAEA I AND CONSTANTINOPLE I.

Masterly attempts have been made in the past, mainly by H. Gelzer, E. Schwartz and E. Honigmann, to reconstruct as exactly as possible the original Greek lists of the Fathers who took part in and subscribed to the councils of Nicaea I and Constantinople I, with much more emphasis on the former. On the Latin side, little need be said about the monumental work put forth by C. H. Turner. It is beyond our capability to retrace the entire story of these critical reconstructions; but what we might dare to do is to start from a undiscussed result. Let us first briefly look at the stemma worked out by Honigmann.[17]

The lost original Greek list, which may or may have not followed geographical order, appears to have given way to the so-called *Corpus Antiochenum*. In ca. 368 a *Corpus Canonum* was made up at Antioch by the bishop Euzoïos; this collection, however, contained only the canons of the synods of Ancyra, Caesarea, Gangra, Antioch and Laodicea, but not the symbol or the canons of Nicaea. In ca. 380, Meletios added to this collection all the Nicene material. What Meletios did, as Honigmann points out,[18] was not to add something written in the 380s, but to follow a copy of an officially published document, one close to the original one of Nicaea. Soon after 381, the material from Constantinople I was collected; the same was done for Chalcedon soon after 451. Then, in about 501 A.D., a Syriac translation of the *Corpus* was made, still extant in *Add. 14528*. Also related to the *Corpus* are: a) Socrates and Theodore the Lector; b) the list of Maruta (see Braun in our Abbreviations); c) the Syriac list of 'Abotišo; d) the

[17] Honigmann, Liste, diagramme attached between pp. 44-45.

[18] Honigmann, Sur les listes 325.

Armenian lists; e) the Latin Λ I, II, III (see Turner); f) the Latin Λ IV (see Turner). The Latin class V (Λ V) appears, however, to have differed from the others from the very beginning of the process of transmission. In Honigmann's words:

> le texte de cette classe (i.e. Λ V) est meilleur et plus pur que celui des autres... Nous avons vu que la liste copte, qui, elle-même, dépend du teste du Corpus d'Antioche,[19] contient des additions que Λ V ne connaît pas encore. Nous sommes convaincu que Λ V représente un texte indépendant de tous ceux qui nous ont été transmis, et que cette classe est plus ancienne que celles du Corpus Antiochenum et de la liste copte. A notre avis, l'auteur de la liste copte s'est plutôt servi d'une liste représentant le même texte que le prototype grec de Λ V,[20] qu'il a complété avec des variantes provenant de la liste du Corpus d'Antioche. Comme en le voit, nous plaidons en faveur d'une classe latine dont le texte est connu et imprimé depuis des siècles.[21]

So much for the *Corpus Antiochenum.* It is to some time after 380 that one ought to date the "remaniement alexandrin" of the *Corpus* which contains some 225 names in all.[22] Of the texts which are witnesses to this readjustment, Schwartz knew only the Coptic list (PNN IV), and therefore his otherwise thorough analysis remains inadequate for our purposes. In connection with this Alexandrian readjustment one should note, besides the Coptic list, the following texts: a) the list in the *Chronicle* of Michael the

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[19] With similar reasoning, Schwartz (p. 70) argued: "Man kommt um die Annahme nicht herum, dass die koptische Liste, die des antiochenischen Corpus ist, das aus einem in alexandrinischen Patriarchat vorhandenen, von jener Liste unabhängigen Material hier und da, nicht durchweg ergänzt und verbessert ist. Diese, nach 380 in Alexandrien hergestellte Liste ist in den Okzident gelangt, das zeigen die Konkordanzen der lateinischen Listen IIII und V mit der koptischen."

[20] This will be of great importance to us later.

[21] Honigmann, Liste 42-43; Schwartz 65. The ΛV list comes down to us in the following MSS: *Toletani XV, 16* and *17* (both of the XI cent.); *Coloniensis Bibl. Capit. 212* (VII cent.); *Paris 3838* (X cent.); *Codex Lucensis.* (VIII cent. exeunt.). The list contains 194 names, and it might have had, in its original form, an average of 197 to 203 Fathers. According to this class, Honigmann (Liste 44-48) offers a reconstruction of the *Index Patrum Nicaenorum restitutus* (once established by Gelzer) which lists 194 names (instead of the 220-237 in Gelzer). We shall refer to it in only few instances.

[22] Schwartz had already explained the matter: the reorganization of the list of Antioch was probably done by a Coptic cleric, since the main adjustments and complements are closely concerned with the ecclesiastical geography of the Coptic Patriarchate.

Syrian[23]; b) the fragment in the Lihačev collection; c) the so-called Greek list of 318 names made before 731.[24] We must inspect more closely, albeit briefly, the Lihačev fragment.[25] This is a folio of parchment (IX-X cent.) containing a fragment of a list written in Syriac and Greek. According to Honigmann

> le texte grec n'est qu'une transcription littérale et maladroite des noms syriaques écrits en caractères "nestoriens"; car, en stricte conformité avec les formes choisies dans le texte syriaque, mais sans égard à l'ésprit de la langue grecque, les noms d'évêques et ceux de leurs évêchés sont juxtaposés, les dernier tantôt au génitif, tantôt au nominative, come Ταρσίκιος 'Απαμία.[26]

Let us say at the outset that the lectiones in the fragment are similar to those of *Mardin Syr. 7*, though our MS does not follow the Syriac device of adding the number of entries at the beginning of each Province. This feature is certainly the result of a pedestrian translation of an original Syriac source, a process that we cannot refer to the *Mardin*. In fact, our Greek text would appear to be a copy of a good Greek source. For istance, the *Mardin* does not have numbers attached to the Provinces, nor do we find the distinction between major and minor Armenia.[27] There are convincing reasons for accepting Honigmann's attribution of the Lihačev fragment to the Alexandrian class, although one ought to be cautious of judging by the textual tenor of a short fragment. As for the *Mardin*, we hold that it belongs to the Alexandrian class, and furthermore, that it is the most complete, if not the best, witness of this class. The text and contents of the *Mardin* are very

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[23] Chabot considered his list as not altogether reliable, daunted, as it were, by the antiquity of the *Add. 14528*. He did not realize that his MS did not belong to the Syriac version of the *Corpus*. For more exstensive use of Chabot's lectiones one might turn to Honigmann, Sur les listes 328 ff. Braun, in his turn, gave more weight to the *Borgia Syr. 82*, used by Chabot in his apparatus.

[24] First published by V. N. Beneševič in *Izvestija Imp. Akad. Nauk.* 1908, 281-306 (*Sinait. gr. 1117*); on this list, see Honigmann, Byz 20 (1950) 63-71 according to the *Vat. gr. 1587*.

[25] First published bu Beneševič, *Izvestia Kavkazskogo Istor. Arch. Instituta* 2 (1917-1925) 116-118, then by Honigmann, Sur les listes 335-337.

[26] Honigmann, Sur les listes 337-8.

[27] These features are clearly evident in the Syriac columns, see below for further differences. Minor aspects of our MS include: a) the arbitrary use of the genitive and nominative in the names of cities (the Greek genitive translates the Syriac "d" usually attached to the city name); b) the different denomination in Syriac and in Greek of cities like Palmyra, Sidon, Ptolemais, Emisa: cf H. Hilgenfeld, PNN pag. XXIII.

closely related to *Paris. syr. 62*[28] (in SCHULTHESS as "E"). Both MSS contain the same revised translation,[29] and they have many distinctive readings in common which are at variance with the text in all the other MSS used by Schulthess and also with Vööbus' edition of the Damascus Synodikon. Likewise, these two MSS contain some material which is absent from Schulthess' other MSS, e.g. the section Sardica, and the synodical letter from Antioch to Alexander, bishop of New Rome.[30] Similarly, in the section Gangra, the order of bishops in the two is identical, as compared with the different order in Schulthess' MSS "CD" and "AF". The same applies to the lists of Antioch, where *Mardin* and *Paris.* are virtually identical. On the other hand, in some of the lists of names *Mardin and Paris.* part company: for Nicaea the names are missing in *Paris.*, whereas for Ancyra the order differs beginning about half way down the list. For Constantinople, where *Paris* has only a very short list, *Mardin* has a number of variations (including the order of some eparchies) from the list in Schulthess' MSS "A" and "F" (113-119). It is evident that for both Nicaea and Constantinople the lists in *Mardin* bear a close relationship to those in Michael the Syrian's *Chronicle*[31]; however, in this case an indirect relation seems more likely than a direct one.

Without entering here into a detailed analysis of our lists, we think it appropriate to elucidate a few of their facets. The order in which the Provinces are listed in our MS gives clear evidence of its origins. In the Nicene list, Aegyptus and Thebaides are united without any mark of

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[28] H. Zotenberg, *Catalogues des Manuscrits Syriaques et Sabéen (Mandaites) de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1874) 22-29, dated to the IX cent. Pitra (*Spicilegio*, XXX) dated it to the VIII cent. I am gratefull to Dr Sebastian Brock for the information given about the *Paris. syr. 62*.

[29] Our *Mardin* MS points to a late VI-VII century Syriac style of translation.*Paris syr. 62* has (f. 154v = Zotenberg 24) the acts of the council of Carthago ("council of the 87 bishops, held in Carthago, city of Africa, at the time of St. Cyprian, bishop and martyr"); at the end it says that these acts, having been formerly translated from Latin into Greek, were translated from Greek into Syriac in the year 998 (= 687 A.D.). The same note is appended at the end of Carthago in the *Mardin* f. 92.

[30] Shulthess 167-174; 160ff and Schwartz, *Nachr. d. Gött. Gesellsch.*, 1095, 272 ff. To judge from W. Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht* 106ff a few other MSS, not used by Schulthess, have these last two documents.

[31] E.g. for Nicaea the presence of Zenodoros and Barlaas at the end of Phoinike (reversed order in Michael's *Chronicle*); both names are absent from the other Syriac lists.

differentiation.[32] This feature was in due time connected by Honigmann and Schwartz with the Coptic list (X-XI) and Michael the Syrian: the complete unification of the see indicates a local, Alexandrian hand. We also find a change in the order of sees: up to Phrygia the order in *Add. 14528*[33] follows that in *Mardin*, then *Add.* has: Pisidia – Lykia – Pamphylia – Insulae – Caria – Isauria – Cyprus – Bithynia, whereas *Mardin* has: Isuaria – Bithynia – Cyprus – Lycaonia (= Pisidia) – Lycia – Pamphylia – Insulae – Caria. Another discrepancy occurs towards the end of the list, where *Add.* has: Carthagena – Macedonia – Dardania – Achaia – Thessalia, while *Mardin* has Macedonia – Achaia – Thessalia – Carthegena – Dardania.[34] In the first instance, the main difference is the place of Isauria, Cyprus and Bithynia. From other sources we know that in 325 Isauria and Cyprus belonged to the Dioecesis Orientis, while Bithynia to Pontica. It would appear, then, that these three Provinces did not yet have any definite place within the Nicene list and a readjustment was made later.[35]

Throughout our lists we detect a certail Latin influence. ΛΛΚΙΣΤΑΣ (Nic. n. 22) could certainly be <B>aris sicca. Marinos (n. 27), called chorepiscopus, is rendered as Sebastenus in PNN V, 23 and the Latin class V.[36] There are other similar cases of adjectives taking the place of a see. N. 83 reads Beritaneus in *Add. 14528* (PNN V, 76) and in classes IIII-V; n. 89 appears as Iohannes Persidos in both PNN V, 83 and class V.[37] The *Mardin*

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[32] Aegyptus et Thybaides are united in "C" = olim *cod. Corbeiensis, nunc Paris lat. 12097.* VI cent.: Turner I/1, 39, class V (the *Paris*, also, gives a reading very close to our nn. 113-117: Turner I/1, 107-9; the *Add.* MS's tradition, on the other hand, places Pontos within Armenia maior. In agreement with Honigmann's opinion, we recognize that class V offers better readings in several cases.

[33] Class V follows the *Add.* with some omissions at the end of the list; in the latter instance we have given the entries supplied by Class IIII (from n. 221 on).

[34] In the case of this last discrepancy it would appear that because the sees belonging to these Provinces were few in number, their position in the original source has been transmitted by the copyist in a somewhat higgledy-piggledy manner. This was noted by Chabot and proved by the renderings of the Latin transmission. The Coptic list lacks this section, while the Lihačev fragment follows the order in our list.

[35] Schwartz 75; Honigmann, Sur les listes 332.

[36] Another chorepiscopus, Theophanes (n. 112), placed by *Add.* in Cappadocia, is assigned in class V, as in our list, to Armenia.

[37] Turner I/1, 83. Note that classes I-II-III-IIII have first the name of the Province and then the entries as they appear in our list. In our footnotes below we have not cited the diverse renderings offered by the Latin class V, for in several instances where the oldest MS of this class omits one of our entries, the *Toletani* support it.

MS sometimes repeats names which occur in the Alexandrian tradition.[38] There is no difficulty in saying that Severus, who turns up in Nic. n. 82 and 84 is one and the same person; Narcissus (Nic. n. 92 and 100) is again one and the same bishop whose city has been called by two different names; Stratigius also appears twice (n. 204 and 218). Although the stem of ΟΥΑ(Λ)ΣΑΔΩΝ (n. 161 and 192) shows variation, one can hardly posit two different bishops for this city. However, here too, a brief look at the Latin tradition can be helpful. The right place for the bishop of Oua(l)sadôn would seem to be Pisidia (Lycaonia); Theodore of Isauria (n. 161) is supported by *Add. 14528*, though omitted in class V; in n. 192 (in Pisidia) he is omitted by the *Add.* and classes I-II, while he appears in classes III-IV as *usensis* and in class V as *uis*. Turning back to Lycaonia, we have in nn. 187 and 190 the mention a certain Academius of Mortinê and of Pappôn: beyond any doubt, the two bishop are but one.[39] The Constantinopolitan list gives little trouble. Its n. 28 has already been mentioned and will be noted later; n. 7, omitted by *Add.*, is given by class V. Four good readings of *Mardin* are attested by class IIII: n. 67 (Ypsistius); n. 93 (Inzus); n. 125 (Thoantinos); n. 127 (Auxanianos).

In sum, *Mardin Syr. 7* presents for Nicaea a list of 224,[40] but the real number becomes 219 if we subtract the five bishops mentioned twice, a number very close to the *Add. 14.528*, which offers 218 bishops in all.[41] Constantinople I, on the other hand, is much simpler: Cyril of Jerusalem is missed out of our Greek text, but retained in the Syriac; Priskianos is not listed by *Add.*, but is attested by class V.

Very little need be said about the local synods. Ancyra and Caesarea of Cappadocia should be treated as a unity. The *Isidori antiqva et uulgata* begins with the words: Apvd Ancyram (et) Caesaream[42]; and indeed,

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[38] Honigmann, Liste 25.

[39] The MSS nevertheless give interesting clues. *Add.* contains n. 190 and omits n. 187; class V has Theodore of Mustena (rendered as Mortinê) and omits n. 190; class IIII has the mixed entry: murtinensi paporum. Nic. n. 193 clearly repeats the ending of n. 192, attached to the name of the Province which follows (found also in class V).

[40] Osius, Vitus and Vincentius are to be delated, though they are numbered in our edition.

[41] The British codex, however, contains three bishops unknown to our list, namely Antiochus Hierocaesareae (PNN V, 137, Lydia), Paulus Apameae (ib. 143, Phrygia) and Dacus Macedoniae (ib. 209, Dardania).

[42] Turner II/1, 48; class V: et Caesaream. Cf J. Lebon, "Sur un concile de Césarée," Mus 51 (1938) 89-132 for the identification of Caesarea.

Mardin shows the same sort of traditional respect for these two synods by listing their bishops together as in the case of Nicaea and Constantinople. It would appear, furthermore, that two of the bishops assigned to Caesarea, Valentinus and Gregorius, are mentioned twice. If this is so, then there were only twenty bishops who took part in this synod.[43] The lists of the local synods have been published by Schulthess, and we have thought it opportune to present the tradition of the *Mardin* MS for these as well. With the section Gangra begins the series of synods whose lists are written in the margins. While the Gangra list is still legible, those of Antioch and Sardica are a mire of conjectures.

Let us say a few words about our edition. Iotacisms have been corrected. Round brackets are used for the letters missed out in the text, or to retain lectiones in the MS. In cases of uncertainty, we have preferred to follow the MS. The names of cities are retained either in the nominative or genitive case, as they are given. The footnotes are not meant to be exaustive, nor have we thought it advisable to collect all the evidence offered by the Latin tradition. For Nicaea and Constantinople we have tried in the first place to refer to the Alexandrian witnesses.

(Nicaea, 325 A.D.)

f. 37 BPEBION[44]

1-	Ὅσιος[45]	Κουρδούβη (ΚΟΡΔΟΥΒΗ)[46]
2-	Ῥώμη	Βίτων· Βηκέντιος
3-	Ἀλέξανδρος	Ἀλεξάνδρεια

[43] Like Schulthess 30; Cowper 42; Turner II/1 52 gives Leontius instead of our Theodorus. Pitra, *Spicilegio* 445 names Valentinus and Gregorius twice (according to Labbei, *Sacris Conciliis* I, 1488) and mentions the otherwise unknown Theodorus. Pitra omits Stephanus, whom we find at Nicaea, n. 106 in our list.

[44] Text reads BPIBION. This word is written in the upper margin of the folio underlining an official beginning; is it a terminological remnant of the Alexandrian revision?

[45] Cf V. C. de Clercq, *Ossius of Cordova. A contribution to the history of the Constantinian Period* (Washington, 1954); ID., "Ossius of Cordova and the Origin of Priscillianism," *Studia Patristica* I (Berlin, 1957) 601-606; G. S. M. Walker, "Ossius of Cordova and the Nicene Faith," *Studia Patristica* IX/3 (Berlin, 1966) 316-320.

[46] The Greek does not have οὕτως πιστεύω ὥσπερ γέγραπται found in the Syriac column (the same subscription is added also by the Roman members).

	Αἴγυπτος[47]	
	Θηβα(ΐς)[48]	
4-	Ἀτθᾶς	Σχεδί(α)[49]
5-	Ἀδαμάντιος[50]	Κυνῶ(ν)

f. 37v

6-	Τιβερίανος	ΘΜΟΥΙΝ
7-	Γάϊος	ΤΑΝΙΙΣ[51]
8-	Ποτάμων	Ἡρακλῆς Σεθροΐτης (ΣΕΤΡΟΙΤΗΣ)[52]
9-	Δωρόθεος	Πηλούσιον[53]
10-	Ἁρποκρᾶς[54]	Φραγονία[55]
11-	Φίλιππος	Πανεφύσων
12-	Ἀρβετίων	Φάρβετος[56]
13-	Ἀντίοχος	Μέμφις
14-	Πέτρος[57]	Ἡρακλῆς
15-	Τύραννος	Ἀντηνῶ
16-	Πλούσιος[58]	Λυκῶ

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[47] PNN, V has the following order: 1, 18, 5, 12, 11, 8, 23, 9, 7, 13, 6, 4, 15; the same order in Turner I/1, class V. Since the text hitherto established runs between the columns, ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΣ can be construed either with ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ (for the use of a double nominative case, see Sardica n. 3), or with ΘΗΒΑΙΣ. Chabot 2 om.; Cf the reasons adduced by Honigmann, Sur le listes 329.

[48] This reconstruction of the text seems to be correct, thus avoiding further geographical division within this section.

[49] On top of the *rasura*; the city name comes first. Chabot 3, fn.3.

[50] Perhaps Admète of Al-Qis (= Κυνῶν: *Synekdèmos* 729, 2) in Sévère 489.

[51] Chabot 6: Ca'an; PNN IV,6: tpanyos; PNN V, 10 reads Gaius Thmuoes and n. 12 Tiberius Tauthites (also PNN I, 10 and 12; PNN II, 10 and 12). For our renderings, cf Athanasius, *Apologia Secunda* (c. 43-80), *Athanasius Werke* II/1, ed. H.- G. Opitz *(Berlin, 1938) 150, 26-27* (Τάνις, Θμοῦις); cf *Synèkdemos* 727, 11-12. It would appear that our MS has mixed up the seats of Tiberianus and Gaius: cf Honigmann, Liste 45, nn. 10-11 and 50. In connection with Τάνις, the Syriac adds DMAṚĪN ("of Egypt").

[52] Also as Ἡρακλέους Σεθροήτης (Σεθραΐτης): cf PW II/2, 1923.

[53] Sévère 489: Draïanos of Faramà.

[54] This may be Arnafra of Alafrâgoun mentioned by Sévère 489.

[55] PNN IV, 9 (fragment); Chabot 10: Parâgônia.

[56] Chabot 9: Arkâtion of Pharâtos.

[57] He may be the Peter mentioned by Athanasius, *Apologia secunda* 150, 9, n. 13; cf Honigmann, Liste 50.

17-	Διόσ(κορ)ος[59]	Ἄντεος (ΑΝΤΙΟΣ)
18-	Ἀρποκρατίων	Ἀλφοκράνων[60]
	Λιβύη[61]	
19-	Σαραπίων	Ἀντίπυργος[62]
20-	Τῖτος[63]	Παρατόνιον
21-	Σεκοῦνδος	Τεύχειρα[64]
22-	Ζώπυρος	Βάρκη[65] ΑΛΚΙΣΤΑΣ[66]
23-	Σεκοῦνδος[67]	Πτολεμαΐς
24-	Δάκης	Βερονίκη
	Παλαιστίνη	
25-	Μακάριος	Ἱεροσόλυμα (ΙΕΡΟΣΟΥΛΥΜΑ)[68]
26-	Γερμανὸς	Νεάπολις (ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΣ)
27-	Μαρῖνος	Χωρεπίσκοπος[69]

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[58] Within the lines the scribe has written once again the name of this bishop in a less elegant hand. PNN V, 15: Olusianus.

[59] Within the columns the scribe has made a revision of this name already written in the column. Cf Honigmann, Liste 50.

[60] In Chabot we find Alporâtion and Arpoqratis of Pisidia (the latter not numbered, just before Adamantius).

[61] Order in PNN V: 24, 22, 19, 21, 20; Turner I/I, class V (but leaves out n. 21).

[62] Chabot does not list the cities of this Province.

[63] PNN IV, 19: dios.

[64] Also as Ταύχιρα (Τεύχιρα, Θεύχυρα: PW II/4, 2500).

[65] PNN IV, 21: bakê. ΑΛΚΙΣΤΑΣ looks like a puzzle, unless we accept the reading found in the ΛV class. Honigmann, Liste 31: " Ζώπυρος de Barke est nommé Z. Archisicis (*Paris. 3838*), Arcistheis (*Coloniensis*) ou Arcisteis (cod. *Toletani*). Nous croyons que l'origine de cette classe donne: Zopirus (B)arcis; (Lybiae) siccae; etc. Après la perte du mot Lybiae, les mots (B)arcis et siccae auront été fondus en un seul: arcissiccae, qui fut alors considéré comme un nom d'évêché." By presenting the two Lybiae united in one list, does this reading indicate the Lybia sicca, or better prove the influence of the Latin tradition on our MS?

[66] The Syriac reads ALQĪSṬAS.

[67] Chabot 22: Sqwaa.

[68] The Coptic list has lost nn. 25-27 and Gaius (n. 28).

[69] Chabot 26: of Sebastê; PNN V, 23 and 24 have Marinus Sebastenus and Gai(a)nus Sebastiae (like Theodore the Lector and the *Index restitutus*; Turner I/I, 24-25). It may be presumed that our Marinus here receives the title of chorepiscopus (sebastenus). Note that the Coptic list adds, strangely enough, the title of bishop to its n. 27, where we should expect to have found Gaius.

28-	Γάϊος	Σεβαστή
29-	Εὐσέβιος	Καισάρεια (ΚΙΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑ)
30-	Σαβῖνος	Γάδαρα
31-	Λογγῖνος[70]	Ἀσκάλων
32-	Πέτρος	Νικόπολις
33-	Μαρκιαν(ός)[71]	Ἰαμνεία

f. 38

34-	Μάξιμος	Ἐλευθερόπολις
35-	Παῦλος[72]	Μαξιμιανούπολις
36-	Ἰανουάριος[73]	Ἱεριχοῦς (ΓΕΙΡΙΧΩΝ)
37-	Ἡλιόδωρος[74]	Ζαβουλῶν[75]
38-	Ἀέτιος	Λυδδῶν (ΛΥΔΩΝ)
39-	Σιλβανὸς[76]	Ἄζωτος[77]
40-	Πατρόφιλος (ΠΑΤΙΡΟΦΙΛΟΣ)	Σκυθόπολις
41-	Ἀσκληπᾶς (ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΣ)[78]	Γάζα
42-	Πέτρος[79]	Ἀϊλών (ΙΛΩΝ)
43-	Ἀντί(ο)χος[80]	Καπετωλιάς (ΚΑΠΕΤΟΥΛΙΑΣ)

Φοινίκη

44-	Ζήνων	Τύρος
45-	Αἰνείας	Πτολεμαΐς (ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΑΣ)
46-	Μάγνος	Δαμασκός
47-	Θεόδωρος	Σιδών
48-	Ἑλλάνικος (ΑΛΛΑΝΗΚΟΣ)[81]	Τρίπολις

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[70] Fatlitos in Sévère 490.

[71] We mantain this lectio; PNN V, 29 and PNN IV, 32, Turner I/1, 30 read makrinos; Chabot 32.

[72] Chabot 34: Petros.

[73] Chabot 35: Onorios.

[74] PNN IV, 36: diodôros.

[75] According to Honigmann, Liste 32, it should be placed in Phoenicia; Turner I/I, class V omits it.

[76] PNN IV, 38: sabinos.

[77] Chabot 38: Esdoud.

[78] As Asbalqinios in Sévère 490.

[79] Chabot 41: Ailion; PNN IV, 41: ialôn.

[80] Chabot 42: Anatolios.

49-	Γρηγόριος	Βηρυτός
50-	Μαρῖνος	Πάλμυρα
51-	Θαδδωνέος (ΘΑΔΩΝΑΙΟΣ)	Ἀλασσός (ΑΛΑΣΟΥΝ)
52-	Ἀνατόλιος	Ἔμισα
53-	Φιλόκαος[82]	Πανεάς (ΠΑΝΙΑΣ)
54-	Ξενόδωρος	Ἀντάραδος[83]
55-	ΒΑΡΛΑΑΣ	ΘΕΣΣΑΙΝ[84]

Συρία

56-	Εὐστάθιος	Ἀντιόχεια
57-	Ζηνόβιος[85]	Σελεύκεια
58-	Θεόδοτος	Λαοδίκεια
59-	Ἄλφιος	Ἀπάμεια
60-	Φιλόξενος	Ἱεράπολις
61-	Σαλαμάνης[86]	Γερμανίκεια (ΓΕΜΑΝΙΚΙΑ)
62-	Πιπέριος[87]	Σαμόσατα
63-	Ἀρχέλαος	Δολίχη[88]

f. 38v

64-	Εὐφρατίων	Βαλαναία
65-	Παλάδιος[89]	Χωρεπίσκοπος
66-	Ζωίλος[90]	Γάβαλα[91]
67-	Βάσσος	Ζεῦγμα

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[81] PNN IV, 47: ellaticos.

[82] PNN V, 45 after n. 48; Turner I/I (*Coloniensis*) places him after Zeno (n. 44).

[83] Our nn. 54-55 inverted in Chabot 53-54; Honigmann, Liste 51, questions his accuracy.

[84] PNN IV, 54: ballaos thersea; Chabot 53: Barlaha (Barlaos) of Têsî. It should be Θελσέης: Honigmann, Sur les listes, 339; ID, Liste, 50-51; Turner I/I, class V leaves out our nn. 54-5. The Syriac reads T'AS'AY.

[85] Banios in Sévère 490.

[86] PNN IV, 60: salamias.

[87] ID. 61: perperios; Babarios in Sévère 490.

[88] ID. 62: tperiochê.

[89] The lectio is clear in the MS; Φάλαδος is given by PNN, II, 59; PNN V, 60; PNN IV, 65 (phalatos); Turner I/I, 61.

[90] Chabot 65: Euboulios. While Chabot keeps our order in his list, the Coptic one writes sôilos before phalatos.

[91] Honigmann, Liste 51, questions Γάβαλα-ΙΒΑΛΑΣ (n. 78).

68-	Βασσιανός[92]	Ῥαφανεία (ΡΑΦΑΝΗ)
69-	Γερόντιος[93]	Λάρισσα
70-	Εὐστάθιος[94]	Ἀρέθουσα
71-	Παῦλος	Νεοκαισάρεια
72-	Σιρίκιος (ΣΙΡΙ.ΙΩΣ)	Κῦρρος[95]
73-	Σέλευκος (ΣΕΛΕΚΟΣ)	Χορεπίσκοπος
74-	Πέτρος	Γινδάρων
75-	Πηγάσιος	Ἀρβοκαδάμων (ΑΡΒΟΥΚΑΔΑΜ)
76-	Βασσώνης	Γαβούλων
77-	Μανίκιος[96]	Ἐπιφανείας
78-	Σελικονίς	ΓΒΑΛΑΣ[97]

Ἀράβια

79-	Νηκόμ(α)χος	Βόστρων
80-	Κυρίων	Φιλαδέλφια
81-	Γεννάδιος[98]	Ἐσβούντος
82-	Σευῆρος (ΣΕΥΡΙΔΟΣ)	Σοδώμων[99]
83-	Σώπατρος	ΒΕΡΙΤΑΝΙΣ[100]
84-	Σευῆρος[101]	Διονυσιάδος(?) (ΔΙΩΝΥΣΗΣ·ΚΝΑΘΟΝ)[102]

Μεσοποταμία

85-	Ἀειθιλᾶς[103]	Ἐδέσσης

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[92] PNN IV, 67: sabianos; PNN V, 54 after n. 59.

[93] Text legit ΡΕΠΟΝΤΙΟΣ.

[94] The Coptic list starts saying: Syriae superioris.

[95] PNN IV. 71: kypros.

[96] PNN V, 64 and Turner I/1, 65 after n. 69.

[97] It should be Ιαβαλα (ΑΒΑΛΑΣ in PNN IV, 71 having êlikonos as its bishop); Chabot 76: Yabla of Arâbia; Honigmann, Liste 51; PNN V and Turner I/I leave it out.

[98] The Coptic list is here lacking.

[99] Cf Honigmann, Sur les Listes 338, identifies this city as Σααδων. If this is the case, n. 82 and n. 84 are one and the same; full argumentation in Honigmann, Liste 18ff.

[100] Βεριτάνευς in PNN V, 76; this is a corruption of Ἔρρης Βατανεὺς (Ἔρρης τῆς Βαταναίας: Honigmann, Sur les Listes 338); Turner I/1, 77 Classes IIII-V: beritaneusis, beresatana. The Syriac reads BERĪṬ'ANIS.

[101] He is the same Severus as in n. 82; Turner I/I class V omits him.

[102] The reading is clear in the MS, though the city is given first in the line; the Syriac reads S'AWTROS D^{e}MEṬG^{e}LED(H)WĀ (= who had undergone the flagellation? a martyr?).

86- Ἰάκωβος Νίσιβις
87- Ἀντίοχος (Ris'ayna)[104]
88- Μάρας[105] Μακεδονόπολις
89- Ἰωάννης Περσίδος

Κιλικία

90- Θεόδωρος Τάρσος[106]
91- (Ἀμ)φίων Ἐπιφανεία

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92- Νάρκισσος Νερωνίας[107]
93- Μωσῆς Κασταβάλων (ΚΑΤΑΣΓΑΒ...)[108]
94- Νικήτας Φλαβιά(δος)
95- Εὐδαίμων Χωρεπίσκοπος
96- Παυλῖνος Ἀδάνων
97- Μακεδόνιος Μοψουεστίας (ΜΑΜΨΟΥΕΣΤΙ)
98- Ταρκονδίμαντος (ΤΑΡΚΟΥΔΗΜΑΝΟΣ[109]) Αἰγεῶν(?) (ΑΙΧΩΛΑΣ)[110]
99- Ἡσύχιος Ἀλεξάνδρεια ΣΚΑΜΒΥΣ[111]
100- Νάρκισσος Εἰρηνόπολις[112]

Καππαδοκία

101- Λεόντιος Καισάρεια

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103 Atilos in Sévère 490.

104 The Greek Ῥησαινης is lost; the reading is given by the Syriac column (as RĒŠ'AYNĀ). Chabot 85: Rîš'ayna; PNN IV, 86: risianê.

105 We retain this (cf at Constantinople 381) instead of Μαρέας.

106 Turner I/I, 84, class V omits this.

107 See below fn. to n. 100.

108 A stain makes the end illegible. Chabot 91: Qastaboula; PNN IV, 92: kata ballôn.

109 The Syriac has Ṭ'ARQŪDĪM'ANṬUS.

110 PNN IV, 97: egas; Chabot 96: Aegêos; the Syriac reads G'AS (GO'AS).

111 It seems to be Alexandria scabiosa (= σκαμβυς?). The Syriac reads 'ALEKSANDRŪNĪṬĀ (the little Alexandria), while the Coptic list ends up with "..abioso." Schwartz 70, fn 3, reading the Coptic list, prefers to hold PA<KOTE (Ἀλεξάνδρεια) K>AT' ΙΣΣΟΝ.

112 Surely this is the same as Νάρκισσος Νερωνιάδος (n. 92); Turner I/I 94 class V omits him; Schwartz 67; Theodoretus, *Hist. Eccl.* I, 7, 41: Κιλικίας δὲ τῆς δευτέρας ἡ Νερωνίας ἐστι πόλις, ἣν νῦν Εἰρηνούπολις ὀνομάζομεν. Cf E. Honigmann, "Noronias-Irenopolis in Eastern Cilicia," Byz 20 (1950) 39ff.

102- Εὐτύχιος[113]	Τύανα
103- Ἐρύθριος	Κωλώνεια
104- Τιμόθεος[114]	Κυβίστρα[115]
105- Ἀμβρόσιος[116]	Κόμανα
106- Στέφανος	Χορεπίσκοπος
107- Ῥόδων	Χορεπίσκοπος
108- Γοργόνιος	Χορεπίσκοπος[117]

Αρμενία[118]

109- Εὐλάλιος	Σεβάστεια
110- Εὐήθιος	Σάταλα
111- Εὐδρ(ό)μιος[119]	Χορεπίσκοπος
112 Θεοφάνης	Χορεπίσκοπος[120]

Αρμενία[121]

113- Ἀριστάκης(?)[122]	Ἀρμενίας[123]
114- Ἀκρίτης[124]	Διόσποντος

[113] PNN V 95: Eupsychius; Turner I/I, 96: Eupsyc(h)ius.

[114] PNN IV, 103: timotheos komanon.

[115] ID., omit.

[116] PNN IV omit. PNN IV, 107 reads paulos spania, unknown to us and to Chabot. PNN V, 98: Helpidius; as Ambrosius retained only by Turner I/I, 99.

[117] In PNN V the list runs as follows: n. 108, 106, 107.; Turner I/I class V om.

[118] The Syriac column obviously adds Z^c^'URTA (minor).

[119] PNN IV, 110: eukromios; PNN V om.

[120] Placed by PNN V after n. 108.

[121] The Syriac adds: R'ABTĀ (major). The best rendering is given by the *Paris. lat. 12097*: Turner I/I 107-111 class II; class V om. our n. 113 and 115, having Aristheus dioeponto. A discussion of the Nicene and Constantinopolitan signatories of Armenian sees is offered by N. G. Garsoian, Some preliminary precisions on the signatories of the Armenian and imperial churches: I. The presence of "Armenian" bishops at the first five Oecumenical Councils, ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΡΙΑ. Essays presented to J. Hussey (Athens, 1988) 250-263.

[122] Text legit ΑΔΡΑΣΤΑΚΗΣ.

[123] Province regarded as a see: Honigmann, Sur les Listes 330; ID, *Patristic Studies*, ST 173, (1953) 5.

[124] Text legit ΑΡΚΡΙΤΗΣ.

Πόντος[125]

115- Εὐτύχιος	Ἀμάσεια
116- ΕΥΛΥΣΙΟΣ[126]	Κόμανα (ΚΟΜΟΝΑ)
117- Ἡράκλειος	Ζῆλων

Πόντος Πολεμωνιακός (ΠΟΛΕΜΟΝΩΝΙΑΚΟΣ)

118- Λογγῖνος	Νεοκαισάρεια
119- Δόμνος (ΔΟΜΟΝΟΣ)	Τραπεζοῦσ(αι)[127]

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120- Στρατόφιλος	Πιτυοῦσα[128]

Παφλαγονία

121- Φιλάδελφος	Πομπιούπολις[129]
122- Πετρώνιος	Ἰωνόπολις (ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ)
123- Εὐτύχιος[130]	Ἄμαστρις (ΑΜΑΣΤΑΡΙΣ)

Γαλατία

124- Παγχάριος[131]	Ἄγκυρα
125- Δικάσιος[132]	Ταυΐα
126- Ἐρέχθιος	ΔΑΜΑΟΥΣΑ (Γδαμαύων – Γαδαμαύων)[133]
127- Γοργόνιος	Κύνων[134]
128- Φιλάδελφος	Ἰουλιούπολις

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[125] PNN IV reads (p)tiospontos. In PNN V the following three bishops are listed under Armenia.

[126] Chabot 113: Eulkasios; PNN IV, 115: eurêrios; PNN V, 109: Helpidius.

[127] A stain has rendered the ending illegible.

[128] Chabot 117: Pontos.

[129] Chabot 118-119: Petrônios of Diopolis and Philâdelphos of Pompeiopolis.

[130] PNN IV, 116: eupsychius; Turner I/I, 117, class V reads Euthicius.

[131] Sacharios in Sévère 490; PNN V, 117: Marcellus; Turner I/I, 118, class V: Pancarius.

[132] Chabot 122: Dioseos.

[133] Chabot 121: d'Amosa; PNN IV, 125: tmausônt; PNN V, 119 Gadamausôn; PNN II, 116 Δαμαύων; RNN I,119 Γαδαμαύων. Cf Honigmann, Sur les Listes 331 and fn 4.

[134] Turner I/I class V om.

'Ασία

129- Θεωνᾶς	Κύζικος
130- Μηνόφαντος[135]	Ἔφεσος
131- Ὠρίων	Ἴλιον (Ι ΛΑΟΝ)
132- Εὐτύχιος	Σμύρνα
133- Μίθρης	Ὑπαίπων[136]
134- Μακρῖνος (ΜΑΚΑΡΙΝΟΣ)[137]	ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝ[138]

Ἑλλήσποντος[139]

135- Παῦλος	Ἄναια? (ΑΙΝΕΑ)[140]

Λύδια

136- Ἀρτεμίδωρος	Σάρδεις (ΣΑΡΔΗ)
137- Σέρας[141]	Θυάτειρα
138- Ἑτοιμάσιος	Φιλαδέλφεια
139- Πολλίων	Βάρης
140- Ἀγώγιος	Τρίπολις
141- Φλωρέντιος	Ἄγκυρα Σιδηρᾶ[142]
142- Ἀντί(ο)χος	Αὐρηλιανούπολις
143- Μάρκος	Στάνδος[143]

Φρυγία

144- (Νου)νέκιος[144]	Λαοδίκεια
145- (Φλά)κκος	Σαναός
146- Π(ρ)οκόπιος	Σύναδα
147- (Π)ίστιος	ΑΖΗΝΩΝ[145] (Αἰζανῶν?)

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[135] PNN IV, 129: theophantos.

[136] PNN IV, 132: iemptson.

[137] Like PNN V, 127. Chabot 131: Marinos of Ilion; PNN IV, 133: makarios êlin; PNN II, 124 reads Μαριανὸς Τρῳάδος; PNN I, 127 Μαρῖνος.

[138] This must be Ἴλιον; Turner I/I class V om.; the Syriac has lost this entry.

[139] Turner I/I om.

[140] PNN IV om. The Syriac has ANA'Ā.

[141] PNN IV, 135: sarapas.

[142] Chabot 138: Plastikos of Antoura.

[143] Chabot 140: Astîdon; PNN IV, 141: tantôn. PNN V 137 adds: Antiochus Hierocaesareae.

[144] The lower margin is badly mutilated making the reading rather difficult.

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148- Ἀ(θη)νόδωρος	Δορυλαίου (ΔΩΡΙΙΣ)[146]
149- (Εὐ)γένιος	Εὐκαρπία
150- Φλά(κ)κος[147]	Ἱεράπολις

Ἰσαυρία

151- Στέφανος	Βαράτων (ΒΑΡΤΩΝ)[148]
152- Ἀθανάσιος[149]	Κοροπισσῶν
153- Αἰδέσιος (ΑΙΔΕΣΣΙΟΣ)	Κλαυδιούπολις (ΚΛΥΔΙΑΝΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ)
154- Ἀγάπιος	Σελεύκεια
155- Σιλουανός	Μητρόπολις Ἰσαυρία[150]
156- Φαῦστος	Πανεμούτειχος[151]
157- Ἀντώνιος	Ἀντιόχεια
158- Νέστωρ	Συέδρων[152]
159- Ἡσύχιος (ΗΣΟΥΧΙΟΣ)	Χορεπίσκοπος[153]
160- Κύριλλος (ΚΟΥΡΙΛΟΣ)	Οὐμανάδων (ΝΟΜΑΔΩΝ)[154]
161- Θεόδωρος	Οὐασάδων[155]
162- Ἀνατόλιος	Χωρεπίσκοπος
163- Παῦλος[156]	Χαράνδων[157]

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[145] PNN IV, 145: ôsanôn.

[146] PNN V, 143 adds: Paulus Apameae.

[147] Chabot 147: Prâqos.

[148] Chabot 148: 'Arâton.

[149] Ἀθηναῖος? Turner I/I, 174, class V: Athencus. The Syriac reads AṬANASIOS.

[150] Turner I/I class V: petropoli. The Syriac reads as follows: TŪTBŪTA H'ẠYDĪS'AURYĀ.

[151] The Syriac reads P'ANMŪṬĪQOS; Turner I/I class V om. In a less refined hand, the scribe has repeated the city's name above the line. PNN V 178: Panemôn. According to Constan. Porph. *De Thematibus*, ed. A. Pertusi (ST 160, Vatican City 1952) XIV, 37 Ἀνεμότειχος remained in the Cibyrraiotes theme (West Pamphylia); Honigmann, Sur les Listes 340.

[152] Chabot 155: Syrdaon; Turner I/I 180 as niedres.

[153] In Chabot our nn. 159-160 are inverted.

[154] The Syriac has NŪMĀDON; Turner I/I 182, class V reads numadis.

[155] Text reads ΟΥΑΣΑΣΑΔΩΝ. Chabot 158: Aôasdon. Turner I/I class V om. The right place of this entry should be under Pisidia (= Lycaonia) n. 192. The Syriac follows the Greek rendering.

[156] Chabot 163-165 does not follow the order of our list.

[157] PNN V, 185: Larandôn; larandis in Turner I/1, 185, class V.

164- Κόϊντος	Χωρεπίσκοπος
165- Τιβέριος	Ἰλίστρων[158]
166- Ἀκύλας[159]	Χωρεπίσκοπος
167- Εὐσέβιος	Ἰσαυρία . . Ι.ΟΡΟ.[160]

Βιθυνία

168- Εὐσέβιος	Νικομήδεια
169- Θεόγνιος	Νίκαια[161]
170- Μάρις	Χαλκηδών
171- ΚΟΥΡΙΩΝ[162]	Κίος (ΚΥΡΟΣ)[163]
172- Ἡσύχιος	Προῦσα
173- Γοργόνιος	Ἀπολλωνίας
174- Γεώργιος	Πλουσίας[164]
175- ΕΥΙΣΤΙΟΣ[165]	Ἀδριανούπολις

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176- Θεοφάνης	Χωρεπίσκοπος
177- Ῥοῦφος (ΡΟΦΙΟΣ)	Καισάρεια[166]
178- Εὐλάλιος	Χωρεπίσκοπος[167]

Κύπρος

179- ΚΥ(Ρ)ΙΛΛΙΟΣ	Πάφου
180- Γελάσιος	Σαλαμίνη(ς) (ΣΛΛΑΜΙΝΗ)

[158] Chabot 160: Alsîtron; "nom estropié": it was Ilision (Honigman, Liste 28).

[159] Chabot 163: Aqollos.

[160] PNN V, 189: Eusebius paroiciae Isauropolis; Braun 33: Eusebios 'sioropolis. Turner I/I, 189 proqa isauropolis (but left out by class V); Schwartz 75. The Syriac has TŪTBŪṬĀ HĀY DĪS'AURYĀ.

[161] Turner I/I 193-195 class V presents a split.

[162] Κουρί(λ)ων offers a different lectio of n. 160; another rendering will be given in Cyprus (n.179). PNN V, 190: Kwrjlws; Braun 33: Kyr(i)los. Chabot 168: Qorion of Qoros; our Syriac has QŪRION.

[163] It should be read as Κίος. The Greek in our MS is clear; the Syriac has QŪROS.

[164] Turner I/I, 198 class V om. Πλουσίας.

[165] Possibly Εὐήθιος. Chabot 172: Euioustios. The Syriac has EŪ'ĪSṬIOS.

[166] Turner I/I, 210 class V om. Καισάρεια.

[167] ID. om. Χωρεπίσκοπος.

Λυκαονία[168]

181- Εὐλάλιος	Ἰκόνιον (ΙΚΟΝΗΝ)
182- Τηλέμαχος	Ἀδριανούπολις
183- Ἡσύχιος	Νεάπολις
184- Εὐτύχιος (ΕΥΤΟΥΧΙΟΣ)	Σελεύκεια[169]
185- Γράνιος[170]	Λιμένων
186- Ταρσίκιος[171]	Ἀπάμεια
187- Ακαδήμιος	ΜΟΡΤΙΝΙΙ[172]
188- Πολύκαρπος[173]	Μητρόπολις
189- Πατρίκιος	Ἄμβλαδα (ΛΒΛΑΔΙΑ)[174]
190- Ἀκαδήμιος	Πάππων
191- Ἡρόκλειος	Βᾶρις(?) (ΒΕΡΟΙΑ[175])
192- Θεόδωρος	ΟΥΛΣΑΔΩΝ[176]

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[168] I. e. Pisidia. Convincingly Honigmann (Sur les Listes 330-1) states: "Nous considérons ce changement de non comme l'acte personnel d'un lecteur qui a jugé nécessaire cette correction en considération du fait que la série de villes de cette province commence par Ikonion, capitale de la Lycaonie."

[169] PNN IV, 152: sikion.

[170] PNN V, 150: Araunicus; from here the fragment Lihačev: Honigmann, Sur les Listes 335-7.

[171] Chabot 183: Taroumiqos; PNN IV, 154: tarakios. Our MS reads as PNN V, 151 and PNN I, 151 while PNN II, 146 has Τάρσικος.

[172] PNN V, 150 om. Turner I/I 154 class V: mustena, after our n. 188 and om. our n. 190; class IIII 154: murtinensis paporum. Honigmann, Sur les Listes 339 tends to recognize the ancient Apollonia of Pisidia: Μορδιαῖον or Μόρδιον. We will find another Akademius (below n. 190). This repetition within the same Province has induced Honigmann, Liste 36-7 (and 51) to opt for the same man. Chabot 184: Myritînî; PNN IV, 156: amordiane.

[173] Pushed below in the Coptic list.

[174] Turner I/I class V om. Chabot 186: Anladia; PNN IV, 155: alateus. The order in PNN V: n. 189, 188, 190.

[175] PNN V, 155: Bareôn; PNN I, 155 and PNN II, 150 have Βάρεως. The Syriac reads B'ARŪ'Ā.

[176] Our Syriac follows the Greek rendering. PNN V om.; PNN IV, 160 reads theodôros usin; Turner I/I 183b classes I-II om., classes III-IIII have usensis while class V reads uis. Chabot 189: Teodoros of Aqlasâdon. PNN I, 156: Οὐσάδων. It is reasonable, however, to identify this Theodorus with the Isaurian (n. 161 above), though the stems of the two cities' names sound quite different in Greek as well as in Syriac: ΟΥΑΣΑ and ΟΥΛΣΑ (the Syriac *lamed* is clear in the MS); the *Index restitutus* has ΟΥΣΑΔΩΝ (n. 161) and ΟΥΑΣΑΔΩΝ. It need hardly be said that the scribe could easily have copied a *lambda* instead of an *alpha*. Cf Honigmann, Sur le Listes 331; Schwartz 69 keeps Pisidia as the right place for this bishopric.

Λυκία[177]

193- ΑΔΩΝ Λυκία[178]
194- Εὔδημος Πάταρα

Παμφυλία

195- Καλ(λ)ικλῆς Πέργη
196- Εὐρέσιος Τελμησ(σ)ός
197- Ζεύξιος Οὐάρβης (ΟΥΡΑΒΟΝ)[179]
198- Δόμνος (ΔΟΜΟΝΟΣ) Ἄσπενδος
199- Κυντιανός (ΚΥΙΝΤΙΑΝΟΣ) Σελεύκια
200- Πατρίκιος Μαξιμιανο(ύ)πολις
201- Ἀφροδίσιος Μαγύδων (ΜΑΓΕΔΩΝ)

Νήσων

202- Εὐφρόσονος (ΕΥΦΡΟΣΟΥΝΟΣ) Ῥόδος[180]
203- Μελίφρων[181] Κῶ
204- Στρατήγιος[182] Λῆμνος

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205- Ἀλιτόδωρος Κέρκυρα[183]

Καρία

206- Εὐσέβειος Ἀντιόχεια
207- Ἀμμώνιος Ἀφροδισίας
208- Εὐγένιος Ἀπολλωνίας
209- Λητόδωρος Κιβυράτων

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[177] Turner I/I class V om.

[178] The Syriac column reports twice "Lycia." PNN V om.; PNN IV, 161. Chabot in his apparatus (p. 252, n. 16) reads this entry as a corruption of Ουσ/αδων Λυκιας. Looking at our MS, the Greek has two entries clearly and properly written; the Syriac places as usual the number of bishops before the Province, and the *beth* underlines the two entries. See, however, the good argument by Honigmann, Sur les Listes 331.

[179] Turner I/I 159 class V: uarbis. Chabot 193: Eurekon. ΟΥΑΡΒΩΝ : Lihačev n. 13 in Honigmann, Sur les Listes 336. The Syriac reads Ū'ARBON.

[180] Turner I/I 164 class V om. Rhodos; the *Coloniensis* om. Eufrosoius.

[181] Chabot 199: Alaparon.

[182] Text reads ΣΤΡΟΤΙΓΙΟΣ. This seems to be Στρατήγιος Ἡφαιστίας (n. 218): cf Schwartz 77 and the remarks by Honigmann, Sur le Listes 340.

[183] Turner I/I, 203 class V om. our nn. 204-5. Chabot 201: Apollonias. Giving credit to Honigmann, Liste 38, this bishop is the same as n. 209.

210- Εὐσέβειος	Μηλητός
Θρᾴκη[184] (ΘΑΡΚΗ)	
211-Παιδέρως	Ἡράκλεια[185]
Δακία	
212- Πρωτογένης	Σαρδική
213- Μάρκος	ΚΟΜΕΩΝ ΗΤΟΙ ΚΑ.(Λ?)Α. . . .[186]
Μυσία (ΜΟΥΣΙΑ)	
214- Πίστος	Μαρκιανούπολις
Μακεδονία[187]	
215- Ἀλέξανδρος	Θεσσαλονίκη[188]
Ἀχαία	
216- Πίστος	Ἀθῆνας
217- Μάρσος[189]	Βοιωτία
218- Στρατήγιος	Ἡφαιστία(ς)[190]
Θεσσ(α)λία	
219- Κλαυδιανός	Θεσσαλία[191]
220- Κλεόνικος	Θῆβας[192]

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[184] Text reads ΦΑΡΚΗ.

[185] Turner I/I, 203 class V om. Ἡράκλεια.

[186] Lihačev n. 29 (Honigmann, Sur les Listes 336) reads KABAPIC; Honigmann, ib. 339: Καλαβρίας ἤτοι Κομέων; full discussion in Honigmann, Liste 40. The same author, finally, gives this entry as Μάρκος Τομέων (Τόμης): "The original list of the members of the council of Nicaea, the Robber-Synod and the council of Chalcedon," Byz 16 (1942-43) 22. The second word is illegible. PNN V, 205: Calabriae; Turner I/1, 205b: Comeensis, though class V om. the city. The Syriac reads QŪME'ON.

[187] Chabot does not have the title, and places Macedonia after Achaia.

[188] Turner I/I 214b class IIII add.: budis asteriensis; class V: bozis stubis (is it our n. 222?).

[189] Like PNN V, 212 (=Euboeas); Braun 33. PNN I, 213 and II, 199 have Μάρκος. Turner I/I class V om.

[190] See our fn. to n. 204.

[191] Turner I/I class V om.

[192] PNN V omit.

221- Κιλ(ι)κιανός[193] Καρταγένα (ΧΑΡΤΑΓΕΝΑ)

Δαρδανία[194]

222- Βούδιος Στόβων (ΣΤΡΟΥΒΩΝ)[195]

223- Δόμνος Παννονία

Γαλλία

224- Νικάσιος Δουίας (ΔΟΥΣΙΑ)

225- Θεόφιλος Γοτθία (ΓΟΥΤΘΙΑ)

226- Κάδμος Βόσπορος

(Constantinople, 381 A.D.)

f.67[196]

1- Νεκτάριος Κωνσταντινούπολις[197]

(Αἴγυπτος[198])

2- Τιμόθεος

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[193] Like Lihačev n. 37 (Honigmann, Sur les Listes 337); elsewhere as Καικιλιανός: Honigmann, Liste 41. From now on there is a slight variation of order in our list, the city being mentioned first: we give the set of names as above, although one ought to recognize that our Syriac follows the order in *Add. 14.528*. Chabot 216 n. 4 is aware of a corruption in his list.

[194] PNN V, 209, Braun 33, Turner I/I, 209, class IIII add Decus Macedoniae.

[195] Placed by Turner I/I 214 class IIII in Dalmatia.

[196] Since the first Greek entries, at the very beginning of the list, have perhaps not been numbered correctly, there is variation in the order of names in this folio: the set "name-city" is not written on the same line, but is placed one on top of the other. This causes some difficulty in the reconstruction of the list itself (note the disappearance of sees in Egypt, and of Cyril at Jerusalem). Furthermore, we have noticed a smaller percentage of errors due to omophony than hitherto noted.

[197] The two names are written vertically between the columns. The Syriac starts rightly at the top of the column in the proper order.

[198] Mentioned in Syriac, on the first line of the Greek column.

3- Δωρόθεος[199]

Παλαιστίνη[200]

4-	Γελάσιος[201]	Καισάρεια
5-	Μακέρι	Ἱερικῶν (ΓΕΙ(?)ΡΙΧΩΝ)
6-	Διονύσιος (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ)	Διόσπολις
7-	Πρισκιανός	Νικόπολις[202]
8-	Σατο(υ)ρνῖνος[203]	Σεβαστή
9-	Ῥ(οῦ)φος	Σκυθόπολις
10-	Αὐξέντιος (ΕΥΞΕΝΙΤΙΟΣ)	Ἀσκάλων
11-	Αἰλιανός	Ἰαμνία

Φοινίκη

12-	Ζήνων	Τύρος
13-	Παῦλος	Σιδών
14-	Νεστάβος	Πτολεμαΐς
15-	Φίλιππος	Δαμασκός
16-	Βαρακός[204]	Πανεάς (ΠΑΝΕΑΝ)
17-	Τιμόθεος	Βηρυθός
18-	Βασιλείδης	Βίβλος
19-	Μώκιμος	Ἄραδος

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20- Ἀλέξανδρος Ἄρκα (ΑΡΚΗ) διὰ Θεοδοσίου πρεσβυτ(έρου)

Συρία Κοιλή

21-	Μελέτιος (ΜΕΛΙΤΙΟΣ)	Ἀντιόχεια
22-	Πελάγιος	Λαοδίκεια
23-	Ἀκάκιος	Βέροια
24-	Ἰωάννης	Ἀπάμεια

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[199] Of course, nn. 2-3 are the bishops of Alexandria and Oxyrhyncus respectively.

[200] As mentioned, Cyril has been omitted in the Greek, but appears in the Syriac.

[201] Patmos T, 5; Patmos B, 5: Πελάγιος; Turner II/2 5: Gelasius; Mansi III, 568 has Thalassius and another lectio mentions Gelasius; Gelzer 126.

[202] Cowper 35 om.

[203] Patmos T, 9; Patmos B, 9: Νίλος. Saturninus appears in Mansi III, 568 but as Scythopolitanus. The Syriac relates him to Sebastê.

[204] Chabot 17: Bracchus.

25-	Βίζος[205]	Σελεύκεια
26-	Εὐσέβιος	Ἐπιφάνεια
27-	Μαρκιανός	Σελευκόβηλος
28-	Πατρόφιλος[206] καὶ Ἐλπίδιος πρεσβύτερ(οι)	Ἀντιοχεία(ς)[207]
29-	Εὐσέβειος	Χαλκίς
30-	Δομνινός	Γάβαλα
31-	Βασιλῖνος	Ῥαφανεία (ΡΑΦΑΝΣΑ)

Ἀραβία

32-	Ἀγάπιος καὶ Βαγάδιος (ΒΑΔΑΓΟΣ)[208]	Βόστρα
33-	Ἐλπίδιος (ΑΛΙΠΙΔΙΟΣ)	Διονυσίας
34-	Οὐράνιος	Ἀδράφη (ΑΔΡΑΔΗ)[209]
35-	Χίλων	Κωνσταντῖνα(ς?)
36-	Σευῆρος	Νεάπολις

Ὀσροηνῆ (Οσδροηνη)

37-	Εὐλόγιος	Ἔδε(σ)σα
38-	Βίτος[210]	Κάρρα(ι)
39-	Ἀβράμιος	Βατνῶν

Μεσοποταμία

40-	Μάρας	Ἄμιδα
41-	ΒΑΘΜΗΣ[211]	Κωνσταντῖνα
42-	Ἰοβῖνος	Ἐμμαρία (ΑΜΑΡΙΑ)

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43-	Θεόδοτος	Ἱεράπολις

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[205] Cowper 35: Binus; Turner II/2, 26: Bizas, Byzus.

[206] Mansi, ib.: Flavianus.

[207] Chabot 29: Saizar, then adding: n. 30 Severus of Paltos and n. 31 Flavianus and Elpidianus priests of Antioch (these 2 priests are mentioned also by the *Patmenses*). Cowper 35 follows Chabot's. Turner II/2 class I reads: 29) Patrofilus laristae; 30) Scuerus palti (partensis = class IV); 31) Flauianus et Helpidius praesbyteri antioceni.

[208] Patmos T 35: Βαγάλιος; Cowper 36 omits Bagadius.

[209] The Syriac reads ADRĀDY.

[210] Chabot 41-42 does not follow our order (nn. 38-39).

[211] Chabot 44: Battis (cf apparatus); Patmos T 44 and Patmos B read Βατώνης; Mansi 569: Bathes et Batenis. Cowper 36: Bathi.

44-	Ἀντίοχος	Σαμόσατα
45-	Ἰσίδωρος	Κῦρρος
46-	Ἰοβῖνος	Πέρρη
47-	Μάρις[212]	Δολίχη

Κιλικία

48-	Διόδωρος	Τάρσος
49-	Κυριακός	Ἄδανα
50-	Ἡσύχιος	Ἐπιφάνεια
51-	Γερμανός (Γέρμανεος)	Κώρικος
52-	Ἀέριος	Ζεφύριον
53-	Φιλόμουσος	Πομπιούπολις
54-	Ὀλύμπιος	Μοψουεστία (ΜΟΨΟΥΕΟΣΤΙΑ)
55-	Θεόφιλος	Ἀλεξάνδρεια διὰ Ὀλυμπίου[213] πρεσβυτέρου

Καππαδοκία

56-	Ἑλλ(ά)διος	Καισάρεια
57-	Γρηγόριος	Νύσ(σ)α
58-	Αἰθέριος	Τύανα
59-	Βοσπόριος	Κολώνεια
60-	Ὀλύμπιος	Παρνασός
61-	Γρηγόριος	Ναζιανζός

Αρμενία Μικρα

62-	Ὀτροήϊος[214]	Μελιτηνή
63-	Ὀτροήϊος	Ἀραβισσός[215]

Ἰσαυρία

64-	Συμπόσιος[216]	Σελεύκεια
65-	Μοντανός[217]	Κλαυδιόπολις διὰ Παύλου

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[212] Parmos T, 50 and Patmos B: Μαρῖνος.

[213] The *Patmenses*, Turner II/2, 58 and Mansi III, 569C read Alypium.

[214] Turner II/2 class I om. our nn. 62-63, while class IIII keeps them; cf *Cod. Theod.* XVI, 1, 3.

[215] Chabot 67 has also Janus of Zebnos; on him: Gelzer 127.

[216] Patmos T 67 and B,69: Ὀλύμπιος.

		πρεσβυτέρου
66-	Φιλόθεος	Εἰρηνούπολις

f. 68v

67-	῾Υψίστιος[218]	Φιλαδέλφια
68-	Μουσώνιος[219]	Κελενδερίς
69-	Μαρῖνος	Δαλίσ(σ)ανδος
70-	Θεοδόσιος	Ἀντιόχεια
71-	Ἀρτέμιος	Τιτιόπολις
72-	Νέων[220]	Σεληνοῦς
73-	Μοντανός	Διοκαισάρεια
74-	Εὐσ(έ)βιος[221]	Ὄλβη[222]

Κύπρος

75-	Ἰούλιος	Πάφος
76-	Θεόπρεπος[223]	Τριμθοῦς[224]
77-	Τύχων	Ταμασσός
78-	Μνήμι(ο)ς	Κίτιον (ΚΙΠΙΟΣ)[225]

Παμφυλία[226]

79-	Τροῖλος[227]	Αἰγαίνων[228]
80-	Λογγῖνος	Κολύβρασος (ΚΟΛΥΜΒΑΣΙΟΝ)
81-	Θεόδουλος	Κορακήσιον
82-	Ἡσόδουλος	Κόταινα[229]

[217] Mansi inverts our nn. 65-66.

[218] We retain this lectio instead of Ὕψιστος. Turner II/2, 70 class IIII has him as Ypistius.

[219] Pushed below in Mansi III, 570.

[220] Chabot 76: Leo.

[221] In Mansi before our n. 73.

[222] Ὀλβίη? The Syriac reads AWLBY.

[223] Cowper 37: Theoporphus; Turner II/2, 79 class I has Theopropus, class IIII reads Theoponfos.

[224] The Syriac reads ṬRIMĪTŪ(O)S.

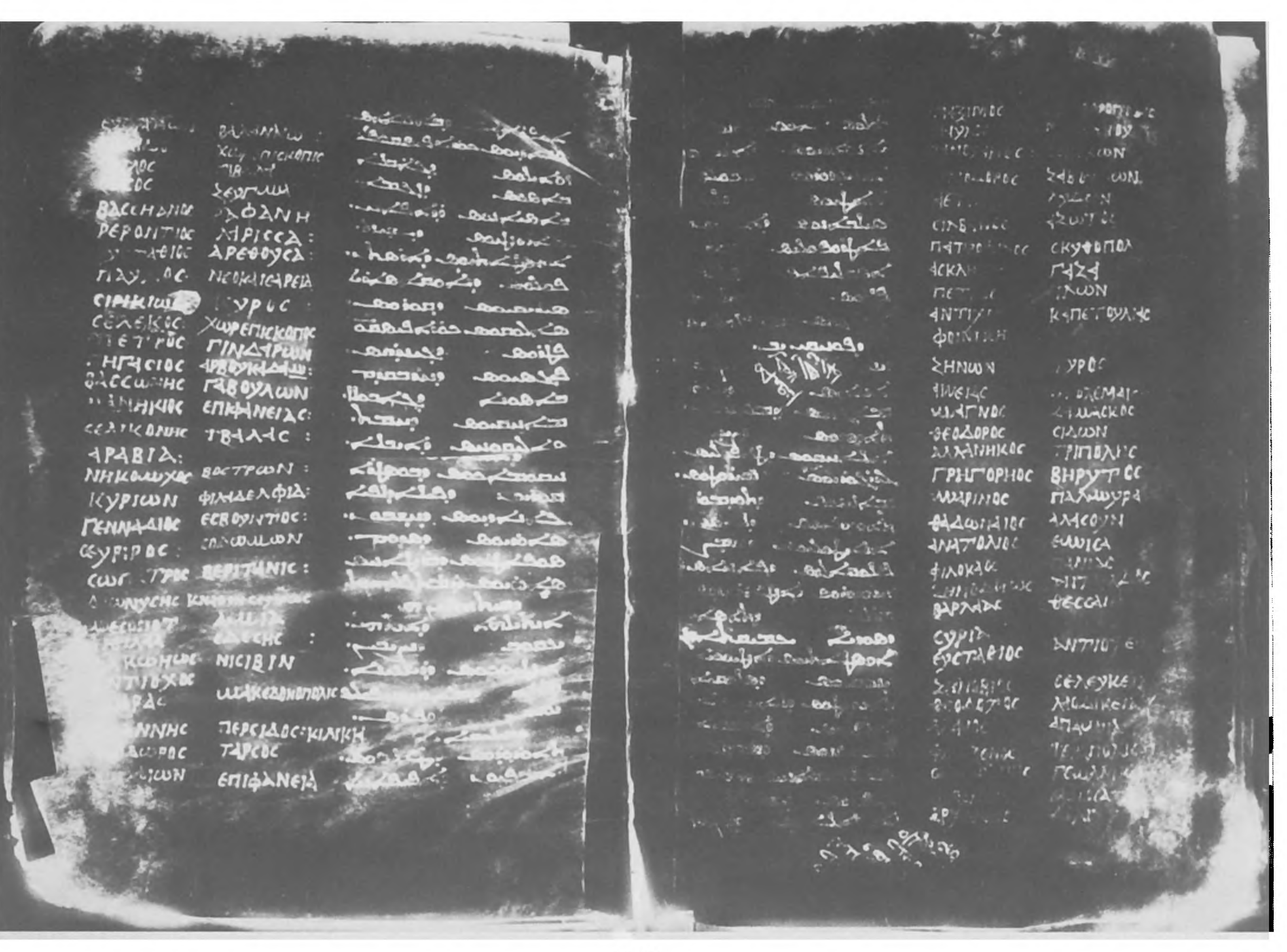
[225] Chabot's MS omit nn. 77-78.

[226] Παμφιλία written again vertically between the columns.

[227] The *Patmenses* read Ῥόηλος.

[228] Cf the argument put forward by Gelzer 127-8 (ΑΓΗΝΩΝ – ΛΑΓΗΝΩΝ).

f. 37 (Nicaea)



f. 38



f. 39

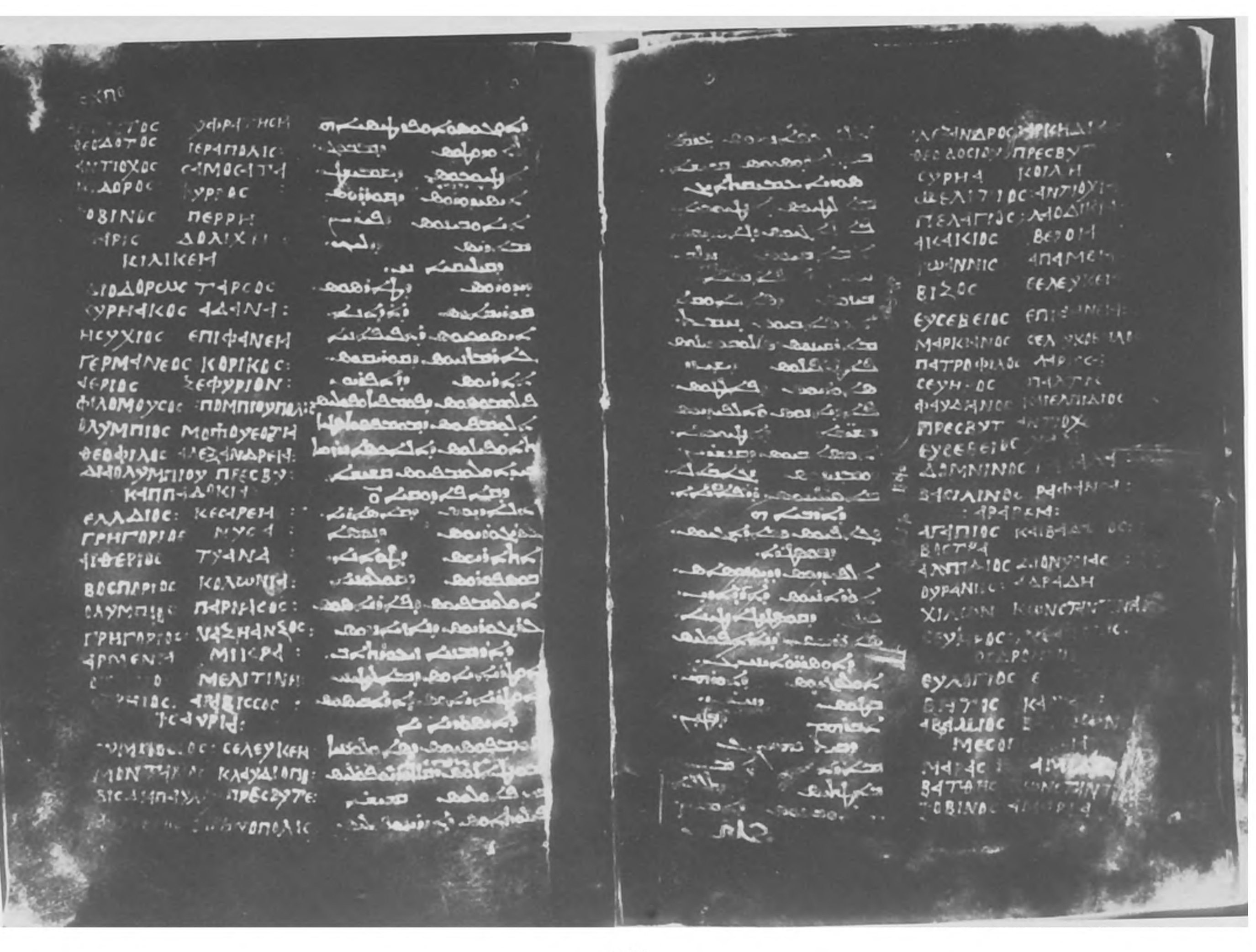


f. 40



f. 41

f. 67 (Constantinople)



f. 68

ΘΕΟΔΟϹΙΟϹ : ΥΔΗϹ
ΕΥϹΤΡΑΤΙΟϹ ΚΑΝΑΙ
ΔΑΦΝΟϹ ΔΕΡΒΗ
ΕΥΓΕΝΙΟϹ ΠΑϹΑΛΑ
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ΠΙϹΙΔΙΑ

ΟΠΤΙΜΟϹ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑ
ΘΕΟΜΙϹΤΙΟϹ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥΠΟΛΙϹ
ΑΤΤΑΛΟϹ ΠΡΕΤΑΝΑ
ΑΝΑΝΙΑϹ ΛΑΛΑΔΑ
ΦΑΥϹΤΟϹ ΛΙΜΕΝΗ
ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟϹ ϹΑΓΑΛΑϹϹΟϹ
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ΛΥΚΙΑ

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ΚΥΠΡΟϹ

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ΠΑΜΦΥΛΙΑ

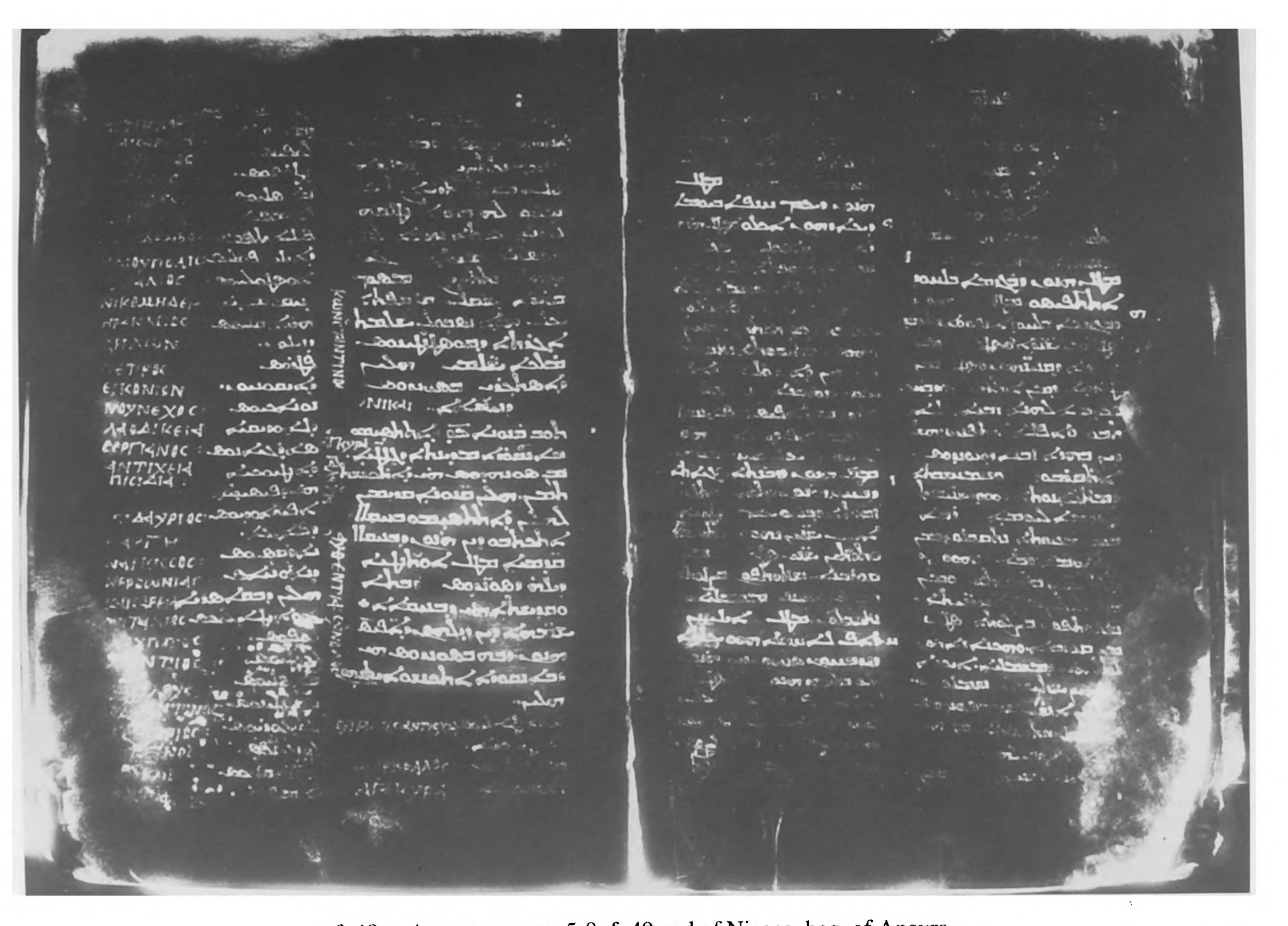
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ΓΑΙΟϹ ΛΥΡΒΗ
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ΛΥΚΑΟΝΙΑ

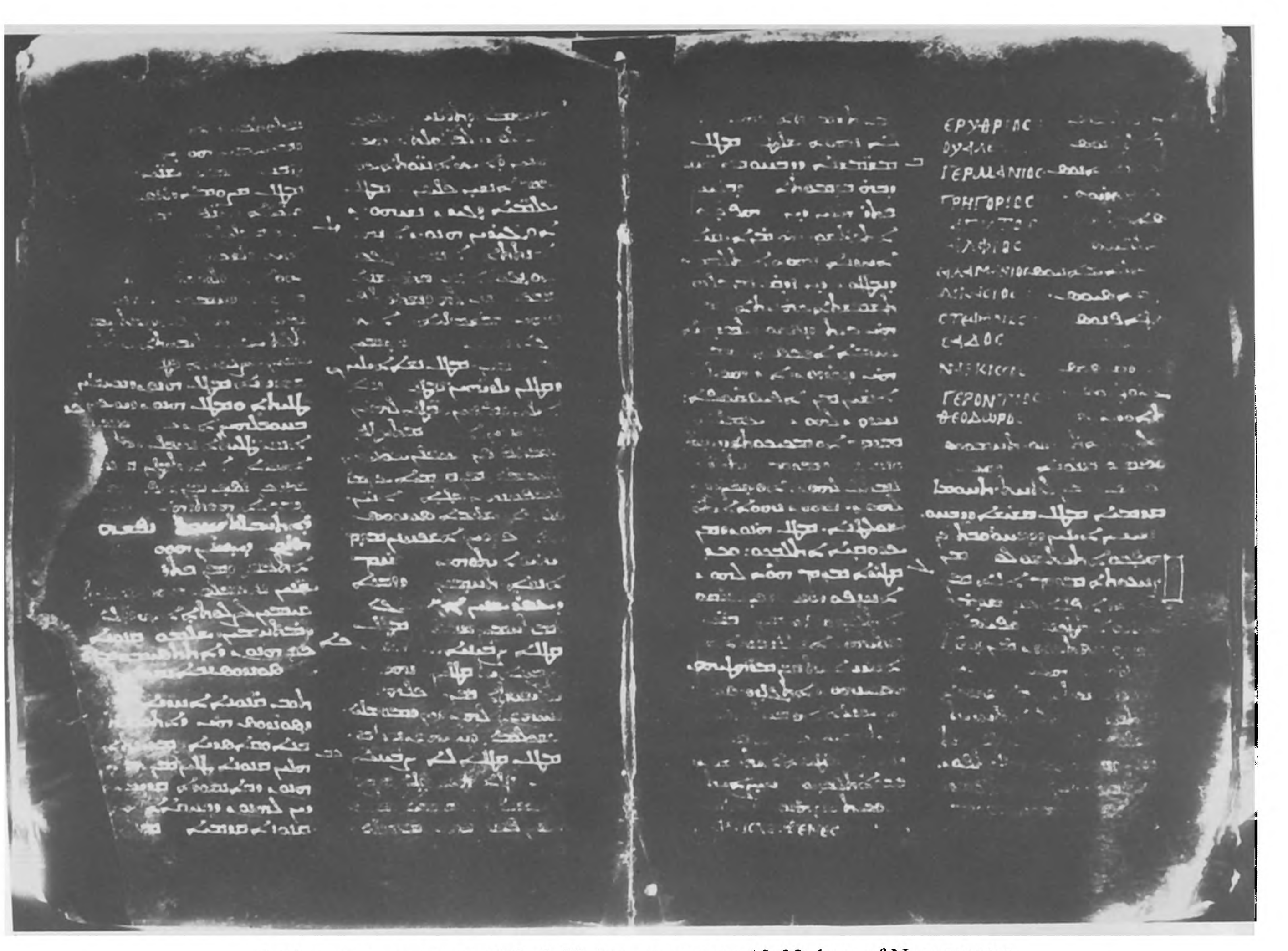
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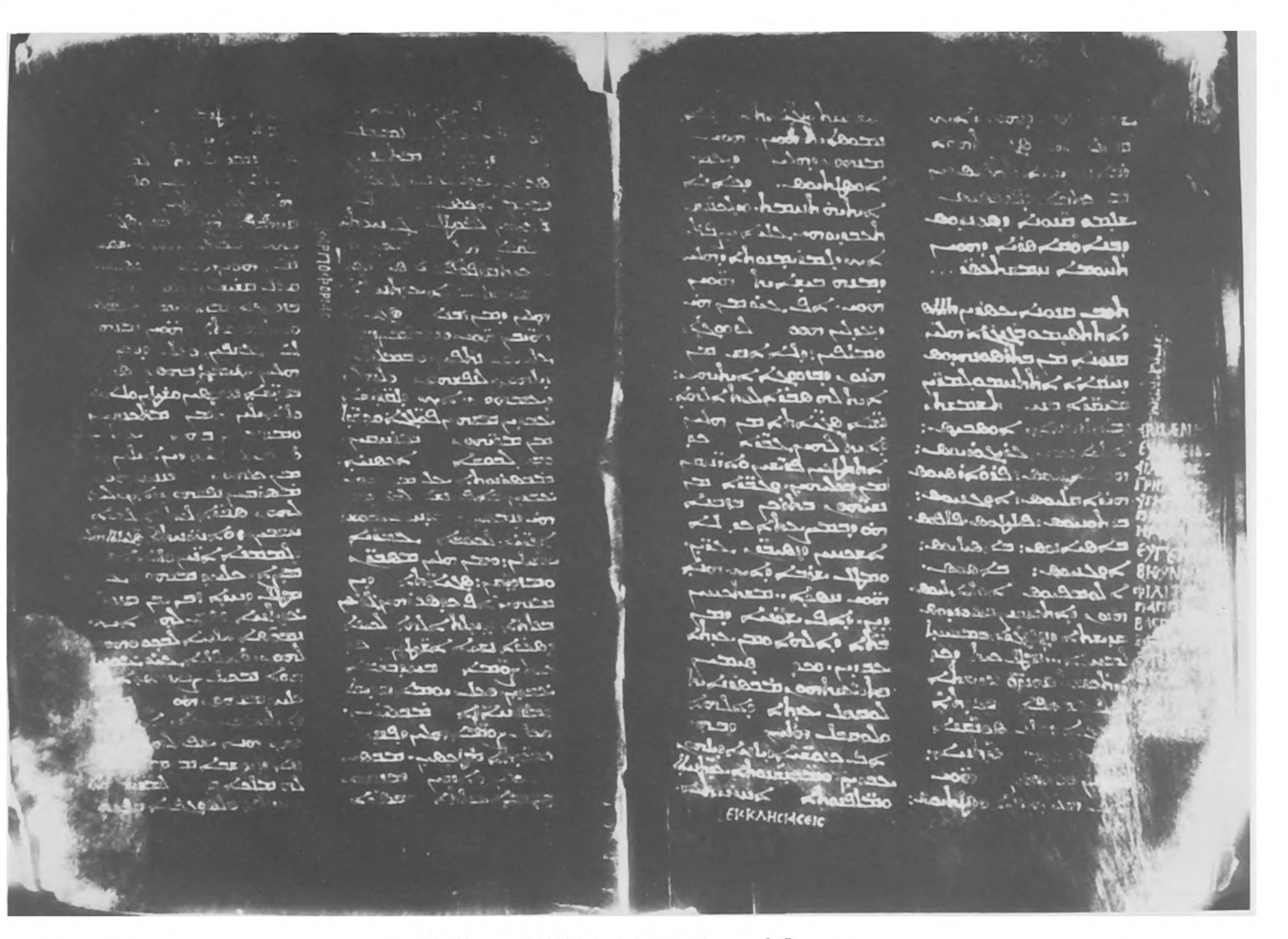
f. 69v



f. 48 v. Ancyra, canons 5-8; f. 49 end of Nicaea, beg. of Ancyra



f. 49 v. Ancyra, canons 1-3; f. 50 Ancyra, canons 19-22; beg. of Neocaesarea



f. 52 v. end of Neocaesarea; beg. of Gangra

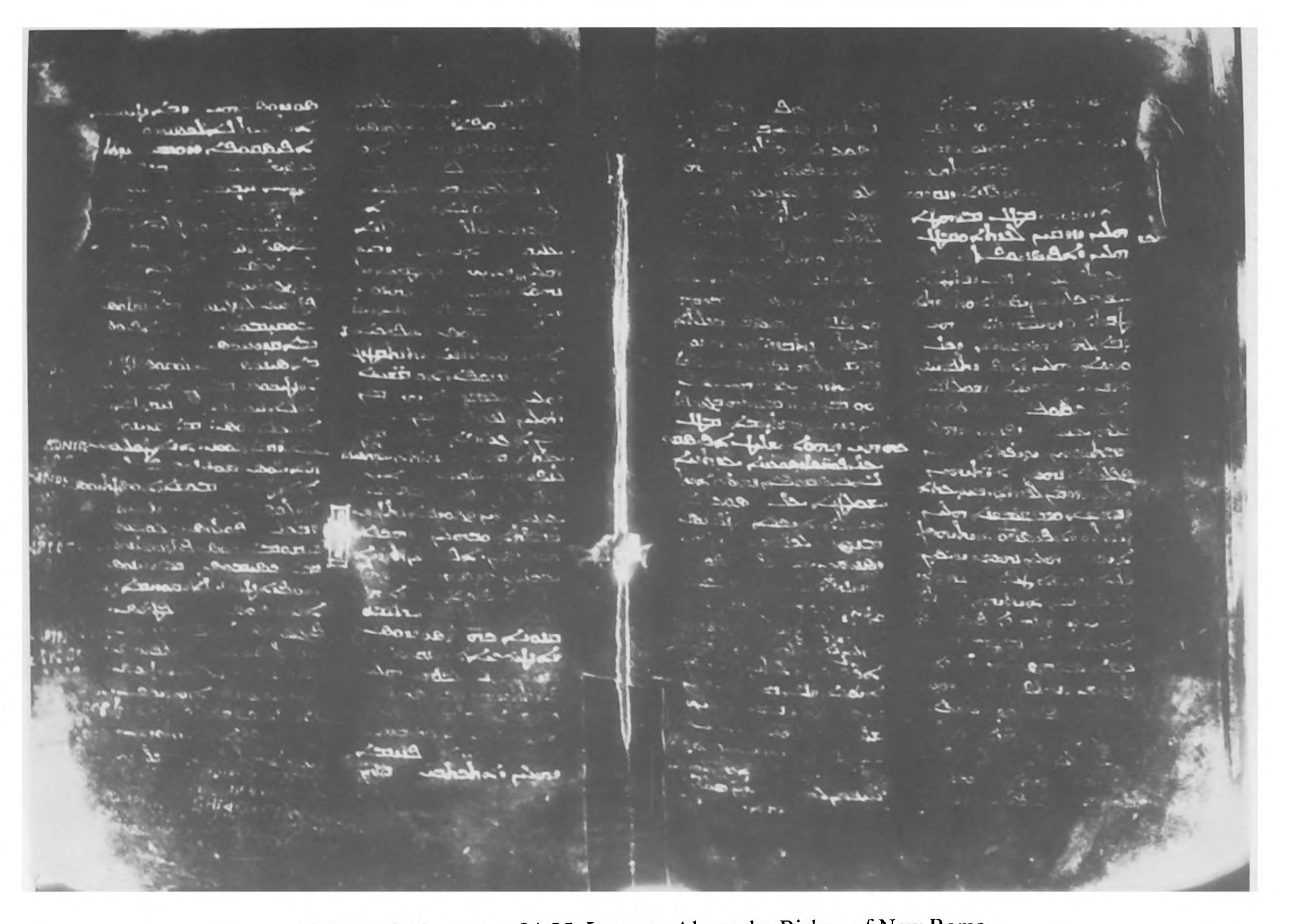


f. 55 v. Antioch, canon 1; f. 56 Antioch, canons 2-3



f. 106 v. Questions to Timothy 9-13; f. 107 end of the Questions to Timothy; beg. of Sardica

f. 107 Sardica



f. 58 Antioch, canons 24-25; Letter to Alexander Bishop of New Rome

83-	Γάϊος[230]	Λύρβη (?) (ΛΟΡΒΗ)
84-	Τουμσιανός[231]	Κασ(σ)ῶν
85-	Μίδος	Πάν(ε)μος
86-	Ἡρακλείδης	Τεῖχος[232]
87-	Θεόδουλος	ΣΙ ΛΛΟΥΝ[233]
88-	Παμμένιος	Ἀ(ρια)σός
	Λυκαονία	
89-	Ἀμφιλόχιος	Ἰκόνιον[234]
90-	Κύριλλος	Οὐμά(ναδα)[235]
91-	Ἀριστοφάνης	Σωπατρά
92-	Παῦλος	Λύστρα
93-	Ἰνζούς[236]	Κόρινα[237]
94-	Δάρειος	Μίσθεια (ΜΙΣΤΙΛ)[238]
95-	Λεόντιος	Πέρτα
f. 69		
96-	Θεοδόσιος	Ὕδης[239]
97-	Εὐστράτιος	Κάναι

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[229] The *Patmenses* have Κατυνῶν; Mansi 579 reads Commaccnsis.

[230] Cowper and the *Patmenses* place him soon after our n. 79.

[231] Turner, Patmos 169, 87: Τουήσιος; Mansi, ib. reads Tuesianus.

[232] The Syriac reads ṬĪKŪ(O)S. As far as we know, there in no reasonable answer to the splitting of Πανεμούτειχος (Nicaea n. 156) where Faustus presided over this see. Gelzer 128 ("offenbar liegt ein alter Fehler zu Grund"). Turner, in his commentary on the *Patmos MSS*, also points out the unsolved question (p. 173). The entire matter should be regarded as an alteration of the original source: Honigmann, Recherches 441 and fn. 4.

[233] The Syriac reads SĪYALŪAN; Chabot 91 and apparatus (Gelzer 128). Elsewhere we assigned with reserve Theodulus to Syllion in 381 (cf Ruggieri, "The Metropolitan City of Syllion and its Churches," JÖB 36 (1986) 144; it is evident that we are dealing here with Syllion (cf Turner's commentary on the *Patmenses* 173). This lectio should then be added to those already known (JÖB 36 pag. 134, n. 2).

[234] A close friend of Gregory of Nazianzus: PG 37, 393D; Gregory of Nyssa, *Lettres*, ed. P. Maraval (SC 363, Paris 1990) ep. XXV, p. 288.

[235] The Syriac reads AWMĀN'ĀDA.

[236] Cowper 34: Ainazus; Turner II/2, 96 class IIII: Inzus.

[237] Κόρνα: Ptolem. V, 6, 16; *Synekdèmos* 676, 1.

[238] Μίσθιον: Ptolem. V.4,12; Μίσθεια: *Notitia* I, 360 et passim; Chabot's MS om.

[239] Later the scribe seems to have added a small *omicron* on top of the word (ΥΔΟΗΣ?); Chabot's MS: om.

98- Δάφνος	Δέρβη
99- Εὐγένιος	Πόσαλα
100- Ἰλλύριος	Ἴσαυρα[240]
101- Σευῆρος	Ἄμβλαδα (ΑΜΒΔΑΛΑ)[241]

Πισιδία

102- Ὄπτιμος[242]	Ἀντιόχεια
103- Θεμίστιος (ΘΕΟΜΙΣΤΙΟΣ)[243]	Ἀδριανούπολις
104- Ἄτ(τ)αλος[244]	Πρ(ό)στανα[245]
105- Ἀνάν(ι)ος	Ἄδαδα (ΑΛΑΔΑ)[246]
106- Φαῦστος[247]	Λίμενα
107- Ἰωνῖνος[248]	Σαγάλασσος (ΣΑΛΑΓΑΣΣΟΣ)
108- Καλλίνικος	Ποίμανδος[249]
109- Εὐστάθιος	Μητρόπολις
110- Πατρίκιος	ΠΑΡΑΛΣΣΑ[250]
111- Λούκιος	Νεάπολις
112- Λολλιανός[251]	Σωζόπολις διὰ Συμπλεκίου πρεσβυτέρου
113- Τύραννος (ΤΑΥΡΑΝΟΣ)	πρεσβύτερος Ἀμ(μ)όριον
114- Αὐξανών	πρεσβύτερος Ἀπάμεια
115- Εὐλάλιος[252]	πρεσβύτερος Κόνανα (ΚΟΝΝΑΝΑ)

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[240] The bishop may be a friend of Gregory of Nazianzus: Ὑλάριος ἐπίσκοπος . . . τῆς κατὰ Ἰσαυρίαν (PG 37, 396A).

[241] At Nicaea we found ΑΒΛΑΔΙΑ. Cf Ptolem. V.4.11.

[242] Known to Gregory of Nazianzus: PG 37, 393D; Patmos T, 105 and Patmos B, 106 read Ὀπτίσιος.

[243] Gregory of Naz.: PG 37, 396A; Patmos T, 106 and Patmos 107: Θέμιστος.

[244] Patmos T, 107 and B, 108: Ἄγγαλος.

[245] Instead of Πρόσταμα: Gelzer 130.

[246] The Syriac reads ALĀDĀ.

[247] Cowper 38: Postus; Turner II/2 109: Faustus.

[248] Patmos T, 110 and Patmos B,111: Ἰώννιος.

[249] As poemandrensis in Turner II/2, 111 class IIII. This is Τυμάνδος (Synekdèmos 673, 2; Gelzer 129; Turner II/2 111 class I: thimandum). Chabot 112: PMNDRVS (and apparatus); the Syriac reads PŪMĀNDŪ(O)S.

[250] Text legit ΠΑΡΑΑΣΣΑ. Chabot PRQI and apparatus. Cowper 38: of Parason (Baris). Our Syriac reads PĀRĀ'ASĀ.

[251] Patmos T, 115 and B, 116: Λουλιανός.

[252] Patmos T, 118 and B, 119: Ἐλάδιος.

116- Θεοσέβειος	Φιλομιλίου(?) (ΦΙΛΟΜΙΔΑΣ) διὰ Βάσσου πρεσβιτέρου

Λυκία

117- Τατιανός	Μύρα
118- Πιόνιος[253]	Χῶμα
119- Εὔδημος	Πάταρα
120- Πατρίκιος	Οἰνοά(ν)δα
121- Λουπίκιος	Λιμύρα[254]
122- Μακεδών	Ξάνθος[255]

f. 69v

123- Ῥωμ(ανός)	Φασηλίς
124- Ἑρμαῖος[256]	ΒΟΥΒΟΝΕΑ[257]
125- ΘΕΟΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ[258]	Ἄραξος[259]

Φρυγία Σαλουτάρη

126- Βῖτος	Πρύμνησος
127- Αὐξανίανος[260]	Εὐκαρπία

Φρυγία Πακατιανή

128- Νεκτάριος	Ἀππία
129- Θεόδωρος	Εὐμενία διὰ Προφότου[261] πρεσβυτέρου

Καρίας

130- Εὐδόκιος[262]	Ἀφροδισίας

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[253] Chabot 122: Ponios.

[254] Text legit ΔΙΜΥΡΑ.

[255] Text legit ΞΑΝΔΟΣ.

[256] Pushed below in Mansi III, 571.

[257] Βουβών?: Ptolem. V.3.8. Mansi 571: Bibonensis, Bubonensis. Cf Turner II/2, 127.

[258] Patmos T, 128 reads Θεοαντιανός; Patmos B, 129: Θοαντιανός; Mansi 571 Theantimus e Theantianus; Turner II/2, 128 reads Thoantinos.

[259] Chabot's MS omit.

[260] The *Patmenses* read Αὐξάνικος; Mansi 571 Auxamanus; Turner II/2 130 class IIII reads Auxanianos.

[261] Patmos T, 132 and B, 133: Προφουτούρου (also Turner II/2, 132).

131- Λεόντιος Κίβυρα[263]

Βιθυνία

132- Εὐφράσιος[264] Νικομήδεια (ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΗ)
133- Δωρόθεος[265] Νίκαια
134- Ὀλύμπιος Νεοκαισάρεια
135- Θεόδουλος Χαλκηδών
136- Εὐστάθιος Προῦσα (ΠΡΟΥΣΗ)

Πόντος Ἀμάσεια[266]

137- Πανσόφιος[267] Ἴβωρα[268]

Μυσία

138- Μαρτήριος[269] Μαρκιανούπολις

Σκυθία

139- Τερέντιος[270] ΤΟΜΕΑ[271]
140- Αἰθέριος Χερσόνησος
141- Σεβαστι(α)νός Ἀγχίαλος

Σπανία[272]

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262 Patmos T, 133 and B, 134: Εκδίκιος.

263 Cowper 39: Citharon.

264 Cowper 39: Euphronius.

265 Patmos T, 136 and B, 137: Θεόδωρος.

266 Turner II/2 as 140: P. Ponti Amasiae. See the good reconstruction worked out by King 639; a good previous commentary on this last section of names in Honigmann, Recherches 440-9.

267 St. Gregoire de Nazianze, *Lettres*, ed. P. Gallay (Paris, 1967) II, 120-122 (cp. 228-9).

268 King 639, 140; RE IX, 816; C. Zuckermann, TM 11 (1991) 483, n. 44.

269 *Cod. Theod.* XVI, 1, 3, reads Marmarius; in apparatus also as Mart(h)arius and Macharius.

270 *Cod. Theod.* XVI, 1, 3: Tirennius; Cowper 39: Ternatius; Turner II/2, 142 class IIII has Gerontius.

271 Τόμις, Τόμης: *Synekdèmos* 637, 1; Ptolem. III, 10, 8: Τόμοι. Notitia I, 40: ὁ Τόμης (see the hypothesis put forth in fn. on Nicaea 213). The Patmenses start erring.

272 Honigmann, Recherches 448 believes that Σπανία (Σκαρία) is an old deformation of Ἀπιαρία.

142- Ἄγριος Ἡμίμοντος (ΙΜΗΜΟΝΟΤΟΣ)

Πόντος Πολεμωνιακός

143- Ἀτάρβιος διὰ Ἀκύλου ἀναγνώστου

ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΝΙΚΑΙ[273]

Ἄγκυρα Γαλάτια αὐθεντία σύνοδος[274] (314 A.D.).

f. 48

1-	Οὐιτά(λι)ς[275]	Ἀντιόχεια
2-	Μάρκελλος	Ἄγκυρα[276]
3-	Ἀγρικόλαος[277]	Καισάρεια[278]
4-	Λούπιος[279]	Τάρσος
5-	(Βα)σίλειος	Ἀμάσεια
6-	(Φι)λαδέλ(φι)ος	Ἡλιούπολις
7-	Εὐστάλιος	Νικομήδεια
8-	Ἡράκλειος	Ζήλων
9-	Πέτρος	Ἰκόνιον
10-	Νούνεχος[280]	Λαοδίκεια
11-	Σεργιανός	Ἀντι(ό)χεια Πισιδία
12-	(Ε)πιδαύριος	Πέργη[281]
13	Νάρκισσος	Νερωνίας[282]

[273] Schulthess 29; Cowper 41; Cf Joannou, *Discipline* I/2, 54-55; for the synods of Ancyra and Caesarea, see also E. Honigmann, *Patristic Studies,* ST 173, (1953) 1-6.

[274] There is no clue to which synod (i.e. Ancyra or Caesarea) one should textually relate αὐθεντία σύνοδος which runs vertically between the columns.

[275] Text legit ΟΥΙΤΙΑΛΙΣ; at Caesarea as Οὐιτάλιος (n. 1).

[276] Text legit ΑΙ'ΑΚΥΡΑ.

[277] Text legit ΑΓΡΙΚΑΑΟΣ.

[278] It is uncertain whether one should read Caesarea of Palestine, or rather the other one in Cappadocia; cf below Caesarea n. 3.

[279] In the synod of Caesarea as Λούππος (n.2).

[280] Nunechius: Turner II/1, 32; Pitra, *Spicilegio* 444.

[281] Text legit ΠΑΡΓΗ (Πέργη is known to our scribe: cf Nicaea n. 195). *Prisca* reads Perges (Turner II/1, 32; Mansi II, 534); *Dionysii Had.* has "pisidiensis" (Turner II/1, 51, Mansi II, 517, 534) and *Isidori uulgata* "pergamenus" (Turner 50, Mansi II, 534).

[282] Text legit ΝΕΡΩΟΝΙΑΣ. This bishop will be at Caesarea (n. 20) and Nicaea (n. 92).

Καισάρεια (315/319)[283]

1- Οὐιτάλιος[284]
2- Λούππος[285]
3- Λεόντιος[286]
4- Βασιλεύς[287]
5- Οὐαλεντινός[288]
6- Γρ(η)γόριος[289]
7- Λογγῖνος[290]
8- Ἡράκλειος[291]
9- Ἄμφι(ον)[292]

f. 48v
10- Ἐρύθριος[293]
11- Οὐαλεντιν(ός)
12- Γερμάνιος[294]
13- Γρηγόριος
14- Σάγκτος[295]

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[283] Schulthess 30; Joannou, *Discipline* I/2, 75. These signatories are attached to those of Ancyra without any mark of differentiation. See J. Lebon, "Sur un concile de Césarée," Mus 51 (1838) 121.

[284] Of Antioch; already seen at Ancyra (n. 1).

[285] Cf Ancyra n. 4.

[286] At Nicaea, as bishop of Caesarea of Cappadocia (n. 101).

[287] Cf At Ancyra (n. 5) rendered as Βασίλειος.

[288] The reconstruction seems correct. We are inclined to believe that the scribe has written Valentinus twice (n. 11 below), as in the case of Gregorius. The Syriac has Oualentinos twice, like the Greek.

[289] The text reads ΗΓΟΡΙΟΣ with room at the beginning for two more letters. According to the Latin tradition (C. Busuioc, *Sinodul local din Neocesarea*, Bucaresti 1915, 18; Turner II/1, 32 e 52; Mansi II, 548) Gregorius is episcopus Kymensis. It is believed that this bishop's name appears twice (cf n. 13 below).

[290] At Nicaea (n. 118).

[291] At Ancyra (n. 8) and later at Nicaea (n. 117).

[292] It is rather difficult to establish the text: μ is legible, φ clear, ι discernible. The lower left margin is virtually obliterated. If we are correct, we have thus the bishop of Epiphanea in Cilicia (cf Nicaea n. 91).

[293] Episcopus Placianensis, Galatia Prima; Honigmann, *Patristic Studies*, ST 173, (1953), 4: of Colonea in Cappadocia.

[294] Episcopus Neapolis, in Palestina; cf Nicaea n. 26.

15- Ἄλφιος[296]
16- Σαλαμάνιος[297]
17- Δικάσιος[298]
18- Στέφανος[299]
19- Σάδος[300]
20- Νάρκισσος[301]
21- Γερόντιος[302]
22- Θεόδωρος

Γάγ(γ)ρα (340 A.D. ca.)[303]

f. 52

Εὐστάθιος Ἀρμενία[304]

1- Εὐσέβιος
2- Αἰλιανός
3- Γρηγόριος
4- Ὑπάτιος
5- Προαιρέσιος
6- Ἡράκλειος
7- Εὐγένιος
8- Βιθινικός

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[295] Rendered as Xantulus in the Latin tradition; his seat remains unknown.

[296] Cf Nicaea n. 59.

[297] Cf Nicaea n. 61 (Σαλαμάνης).

[298] Ep. Tav(u)iensis; cf Nicaea n. 125.

[299] We are told by the Latin tradition of a certain Stephanus chorepiscopus Cappadociae; if he is the same one, he turns up again at Nicaea (n. 106).

[300] Busuioc *Sinodul local* 18; Turner II/1, 53 reads Redus. Turner II/1, 52 in the *Isidori Uulgata* as Sedus. Both of the lectiones define this member as chorepiscopus Cappadociae. At Nicaea our MS will mark out a certain Ῥόδων χωρεπίσκοπος (n. 107) who should then probably be identified with Sados of Caesarea.

[301] Ep. Neroniadis (Nereniadis) of Cilicia Secunda. He was at Ancyra (n. 13) and will appear again at Nicaea (n. 92).

[302] Ep. Larissae, Coeles Syriae; at Nicaea n. 69.

[303] Schulthess 51; Joannou, *Discipline* I/2, 83; Schwartz 51-2; V. N. Beneševič, *Syntagma XIV Titulorum sine Scholiis* (Petropoli, 1906) 242; Turner II/2, 146, 153 and 172-3; Mansi II, 1098 and 1110. Because of the mutilation of the margin of the folio, we cannot ascertain the correct reading of NIKA(I?) placed soon after Γάγγρα.

[304] The list begins with Ἀρμενία and ends with Eustathius; this bishop has not been numbered. See the incipit in Turner II/2, 153.

9- Φιλιτός
10- Πάππος
11- ΒΑΣ(σιανός)[305]
12- Βασίλειος
13- Εὐγένιος
14- Βάσσος
15- Ὀλύμπιος
16- Εὐλάλιος

Σύνοδος Ἀντιόχεια (341 A.D.)[306]

f. 55
1- Ταρκοδίμαντος (ΤΑΡΚΟΥΔΙ. .Ν. . .)
2- Βάσσος
3- Εὐστάθιος
4- ΧΙΩ(ΝΑ?)[307]
5- Μανίκιος
6- Μακεδόνιος
7- Ἀγάπιος
8- Θεόδωρος
9- Θεοδόσιος
10- Θεόδου(λ)ος
11- Ἄλφιος
12- Ἀγάπιος
13- Ἀρχέλαος
14- Πέτρος
15- Ἡσύχιος
16- Ἀνατόλιο(ς)
17- (Εὐσέ)βιος(?)
18-20 . . . (Ἀντίοχος?)[308]

[305] The Greek can be read as far as the first three letters; the reading is here supplemented by the Syriac. In the *Dionysii II* (Turner II/2 173 class I and H) this bishop is mentioned.

[306] Schulthess 65; Cowper 43; Joannou, *Discipline* I/2, 100-101; Turner II/2, 313.

[307] The shape of the *iota* is not in keeping with the usual lettering: it seems a funny minuscule *iota* made higher; the final syllable is hypothetical (2 or 3 letters?). One is reminded of a certain Cyrion (Cherion, Chirion) listed in Turner II/2, 231 (Quirion, 315). The Syriac is illegible.

21- Ἀλέξανδρος
22- Μόκιμος
23- Πατρίκιος
24- Αἰθέριος
25- ΠΑΤ. . .ΟΣ
Παλαιστίνη Φοινίκη Ἐπαρ(χ)ίας[309]

Σαρδικῆ(ς?) (Ἐπαρ)χίας (343-344 A.D.)[310]

f. 106v
1- Τιμόθεος Πάπα
2- (Θ)ηβα(ΐ)ς
3- Ἀλεξάνδρεια Αἴγυπτος
4- Παλαιστίνη
5- Φοινίκη
6- Συρία
7- Κιλικία (ΚΛΛΙΚΙΑ)
8- Καππαδοκία
9- Πόντος
10- Παφλαγονία
11- Γαλατία
12- Βιθυνία
13- Ἑλλήσποντος
14- Ἀσία
15- Πισιδία
16- Φρυγία
17- Παμφυλία
18- Καρία
19- (Λύ?)δια
20- (Ῥο?)δόπη
21- (Θ)ράκη

308 These last names are completely illegible in Greek as well as in Syriac. Considering the space left on the lower right margin of the folio, we can assume the presence of another three names after Eusebius. Between the columns, written vertically, the text reads as follows: Ἀραβία - Νί(κ?)αια - Κωνσταντῖνος.

309 Further below the columns, we read: ..ΑΖΕΙΝΤΟΠ.. ΣΧΑ.

310 Joannou, *Discipline* I/2, 156-7; Turner I/3, 546 ff. De Clercq, *Ossius of Cordova* 313 ff (esp. 327-330). Because of awkward position of the Greek text within the folio, the Syriac does not follow the Greek entries exactly.

22- . . . οντος
23- (Παν)νονία
23- Μυσία
24 (᾿Ακ?)ακία

f. 107[311]
25- Σαρδικῆ
26- Ῥώμη
27- Γαλλία
28- Ἰταλία
29- Ἰσπανίας
30- Καμπανία
31- Καλαβρίαι
32- (᾿Αφ)ρικ(ή)[312]
33- (Σ)αρδανία[313]
34- Δακ(ία)
35- Μακεδονία
36- Θεσ(σα)λία
37- Ἤπειρος
(Θρᾴκη, Ῥοδόπη, ᾿Ασία, Καρία, Βιθυνία, Ἑλλήσποντος, Π(ό)ντος . . .[314]

f. 107v
38- Ὅσιος ἐπίσκοπος Κουρδούβη
39- Λιβύη
40- Ἄγκυρα Γαλατία
- Παλαιστίνη
41- Κυκλάδες
- Αἴγυπτος – Θηβαΐς. . . . .[315]

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[311] Within the columns follows a repetion of Provinces already quoted with few new ones added.

[312] Supplied by the Syriac.

[313] Soon afterwards the Greek repeats Παννονία.

[314] At least two names, unreadable.

[315] What follows in the MS is practically illegible. Amongst the scattered names, we mention those Provinces not yet cited: ᾿Αραβία· παροικία Συραία· ᾿Αντιόχεια· ᾿Αλέξανδρος ᾿Αλεξανδρείας already seen as *papa*.

Miguel Arranz S.J.

Les formulaires de confession dans la tradition byzantine

Les sacrements de la restauration de l'ancien euchologe constantinopolitain

II-3

(3e partie)*

PARTIE III:
CONFESSION PRESBYTÉRALE AVEC QUESTIONNAIRE

CONF-3:1: Ottoboni 344:f. 73-85v (a.D. 1177, cathédrale d'Otranto)
(MOR-AKO: MOR 77a-83c; PG 88:1889-1918)
Barber.443 (jam 233):f. 117v-127 (XIII s., Otranto)
(I) Sinai 966:f. 1-10v (XIII s., Otranto)
=type C: prières, psaumes et lectures=

T-12): Ordre et rite de ceux qui se confessent,
N-5): composés par notre saint père Jean Nisteutîs.[122]
A-6): Le prêtre prend celui qui va se confesser et le place devant le sanctuaire,

et dit:

Ps 6, Ps 24, Ps 50, Gloire au Père, Ps 31, Ps 69, Ps 101.[123]

NB: Barb. 443:[124]

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* Cf. 1e partie: OCP-92:423-459; cf. ibidem bibliographie et sigles. Cf. 2e partie: OCP-93:63-89. Cf. etiam: M. Arranz, *I penitenziali bizantini: il Protokanonarion o Kanonarion Primitivo di Giovanni monaco e diacono e il Deuterokanonarion o "Secondo Kanonarion" di Basilio monaco*, (= KANONIKA 3), Roma 1993 (sigle: ARR-KAN).

122 T-12): Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις ἐπὶ ἐξομολογουμένων. N-5): συνταγεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ νηστευτοῦ. NB: Ce rite a une importance particulière, non seulement parce qu'il est daté et localisé dans une cathédrale de l'Apulie byzantine, mais aussi parce qu'il s'est conservé dans trois mss. Il faut cependant noter qu'il ne fait pas partie du corps de l'euchologe Sinai 966, mais qu'il est contenu, ensemble avec le rite II, décrit ensuite, dans un petit codex de 24 feuillets ajouté au début de l'euchologe lui-même; cf. DMI:205. Le texte a été publié par Morin et repris par Migne (cf. ARR-KAN:138).

123 A-6): Λαμβάνει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν μέλλοντα ἐξομολογείσασθαι καὶ ἱστᾷ αὐτὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ ψαλλεῖ μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸ τρισάγιον καὶ ψαλμὸν ΣΤ´ ...

OCP 59 (1993) 357-386

Le prêtre: Bénédiction initiale, trisagion, Pater,
Ps 6, Ps 24, Ps 31, Gloire au Père, Ps 37, Ps 69, Ps 50.
Sin. 966 (première page illisible): ... Ps 69, Ps 50.

tropaires[125],

prière:
[K2:3]: *Seigneur notre Dieu, père et maître de tous* (cf. OCP-91:136).

B-7): Le confesseur fait découvrir la tête au pénitent.
Les deux font trois prostrations.[126]

Se relevant, (le confesseur) fait cette catéchèse:
[K82:7]:
1 Ce n'est pas moi qui en premier lieu , mon fils dans l'esprit, reçoit ta confession,
2 ni celui qui t'accorde le pardon,
3 mais c'est Dieu (qui le fait) à travers moi...[127]

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[124] Barb.443: Εὐλογεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἄρχεται τὸ τρισάγιον, τὸ Παναγία Τριάς, τὸ Πάτερ ἡμῶν, τὸ Δεῦτε προσκυν<ήσωμεν>.

[125] Καὶ λέγει τροπάριον, ἦχου Δ΄· Τὴν ταπεινήν μου ψυχὴν ἐπίσκεψαι (ἐπισκέπτου MOR) Κύριε... Ἄλλο· Διὰ πλέων τὸ πέλαγος τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς ἐνθυμοῦμαι... Τῇ Θεοτόκῳ ἐκτενῶς νῦν προσδράμωμεν ἁμαρτωλοὶ καὶ ταπεινοὶ...

[126] B-7): Μετὰ ταῦτα παρασκευάζει αὐτὸν ἀσκεπεῖ τῇ κεφαλῇ τρεῖς γονυκλισίας ποιεῖν, ποιῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ὡσαύτως.

[127] Καὶ ἀναστάντα κατηχεῖ λέγων οὕτως· [K82: 7]
1 Οὐκ ἐγώ σου τέκνον πνευματικόν
2 τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν προηγουμένως δέχομαι
3 καὶ τὴν συγχώρησιν σοι παρέχομαι·
4 δι' ἐμοῦ δὲ ὁ Θεός·
5 ἐκείνου γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔργον,
6 ὅς σου τὴν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἐξομολόγησιν προσδεξάμενος
7 καὶ τὴν τούτων ἄφεσιν ἐπιβραβεύσει
8 διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας φωνῆς ὡς δι' οἰκείας φωνῆς αὐτός ἀπεφήνατο
9 κατὰ πολλὴν καὶ ἄφατον φιλανθρωπίαν εἰρηκὼς οὕτως·
10 Ὅσα ἐὰν δήσητε ἢ λύσητε ἐπὶ τῆς / 75 / γῆς
11 ἔσται καὶ ἐν οὐρανοῖς τὰ μὲν δεδεμένα, τὰ δὲ λελυμένα.
12 Ὡς οὖν αὐτῷ τὰ κρυπτὰ τῶν καρδιῶν εἰδότι
13 τὰ κρυφῇ σοι πεπρεγμένα διεξαγγέλων
14 ἐνώπιον τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων·
15 μηδὲν ἀποκρύψῃς (MOR 78a: ἀποκρύπτῃς) ἀπ' ἐμοῦ
16 καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν κρυπτῶν γνώστης
17 ἀφανίσει πάντα τὰ ὑπό σου φανερούμενα·
18 οὐ μόνον τὰ προγεγονότα καὶ τὰ νῦν ἐνεργηθέντα
19 ἄλλα καὶ (MOR: καὶ ἄλλα) τὰ ἐπιγενησόμενα,

C-2): Le pénitent se découvre, si c'est un homme, même s'il porte la couronne..., le moine met le capuchon,[128]

E-11): il se prosterne devant le sanctuaire et dit:

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20 καὶ φωτίσει τὴν διάνοιάν σου διὰ τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος
21 καὶ διδάξει σε μεριμνᾶν πάντοτε
22 καὶ λαλεῖν τὰ αὐτῷ εὐάρεστα,
23 καὶ δώῃ σοι ταπείνωσιν ἀληθῆ,
24 ἀγάπην ἀνυπόκριτον,
25 μακροθυμίαν ἀνεξίκακον,
26 ὑπομονὴν καὶ πραότητα·
27 φόβον ἁγνότατον ἐμβάλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου
28 καὶ ἁπαξαπλῶς εἰπεῖν·
29 ἐν πάσαις ταῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐργασίαις ρυθμί- / 75v / σει σε·
30 κλῖνον τοίνυν ὦ τέκνον τὸ οὖς σου
31 καὶ ἡδέως ἄκουσον Θεοῦ παραγγελμάτων
32 οὕτω διὰ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγοντος·
33 Ἐπιστράφητε πρὸς μὲ καὶ ἰάσομαι τὰ συντρίμματα ὑμῶν,
34 καὶ πάλιν· Μὴ βραδύνῃς ἐπιστρέψαι (MOR: ἀποστρέψας) πρὸς Κύριον
35 καὶ μὴ ἐκλύου ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας,
36 ὅτι ὁ θάνατος οὐ βραδύνει,
37 καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐπιστρέψας ἐξ ὁδοῦ ἀσεβείας αὐτοῦ
38 ζωῇ ζήσεται καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ,
39 καὶ τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ,
40 καὶ πάλιν· Ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ ὅτι χρηστός,
41 καί· Ἐξομολογεῖσθε ἀλλήλοις τὰ παραπτώματα,
42 καί· Εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων ὅπως ἰαθῆτε,
43 δεῦτε πρὸς μὲ πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ οἱ πεφορτισμένοι
44 κἀγὼ ἀναπαύσω ἡμᾶς·
45 οὕτως οὖν διὰ πάσης γραφῆς νουθετούμενος / 76 /
46 καὶ πρὸς μετουσίαν τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ ἀϊδίων ἀγαθῶν προσκαλούμενος
47 πρόσχες μήπω μετὰ τὴν ἀθέτησιν τῶν ἀθέσμων ἔργων
48 εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ πάλιν ἐπιστρέψῃς
49 καὶ ὁμοιοθήσῃ<ς> κυνὶ πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἔμετον στρεφομένῳ
50 καὶ ὑϊ λουομένῃ εἰς κύλισμα βορβόρου.
51 Ἰδοῦ τέκνον· χάριτι Χριστοῦ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑπεθέμην σοι
52 καὶ οὐδὲν ἐνέλιπον τῶν εἰς ὠφέλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν σου συντεινόντων·
53 λοιπὸν μὴ ἀναβαλλόμενος ἢ αἰσχυνόμενος
54 ἐνώπιον Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ἐξάγγειλον·
55 εἰ γὰρ καὶ αἰσχύνη σοι δοκεῖ
56 τὸ τὰ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἀνακαλύπτειν ἔργα,
57 πλὴν ἀκριβῶς πέπεισο ὡς διὰ τῆς παρούσης αἰσχύνης
58 ἀπαλλάττῃ τῆς μελλούσης,
59 καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐργασίας (MOR: ἐργασίαν)
59 οὐ συγχωρήσεως μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ στεφάνων κατα- / 76v / ξιοῖ·
60 ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν
61 ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

[128] C-2): Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ποιεῖ αὐτὸν ἀποσκεπάζεσθαι καθῶς προείρηται τὴν τούτου κεφαλήν· εἰ ἔχει εἶναι ὁ τὸ διάδημα φορῶν· ἐὰν ἔστιν ἀνήρ, εἰ δὲ γυνή· οὔ. εἰ δὲ ἀββᾶς· ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ κουκούλλιον βαλεῖν.

[K91:4]:
1 Je confesse à toi Seigneur,
2 créateur du ciel et de la terre
3 tout ce qui de caché est dans mon coeur.[129]

E-12): Le confesseur place le pénitent d'un côté de l'entrée
et il se place de l'autre,
F-6): et commence à l'interroger avec jovialité,
D-3): en l'embrassant et lui prenant ses mains,
F-6): surtout s'il le voit en proie à la tristesse...,

et d'une voix gaie et suave lui dit:[130]
[K10:15]: Comment as-tu perdu, frère ou soeur, ta virginité? [...]
Et l'interroge sur le meurtre volontaire ou involontaire.
[K11:14]: Et s'il a offensé ses parents... [...]
S'il a fait faux témoignage.
S'il a offensé un prêtre ou un parent.[131]

F-10): Il l'interroge sur tout et avec toute précision...[132]
Ayant tout demandé et porté un jugement sur ce qu'il a entendu...,
à chaque aveu (du pénitent le confesseur) dit: (cf. F-3)

[K4:1a]: *Que Dieu te pardonne*[133] (cf. OCP-92:24).

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[129] E-11): Καὶ πεσεῖν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ λέγειν οὕτως (οὕτως om MOR): [K91:4]: Ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι (Πάτερ) Κύριε ποιητὰ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς πάντα τὰ κρύφια τῆς καρδίας μου. NB: Πάτερ videtur erasum in Ott.344, omm Barb.443 Sin.966.

[130] E-12): Καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀνιστᾶν αὐτόν, καὶ ἱστᾶν ἐν τῷ ἑνὶ μέρει τῆς εἰσόδου τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ αὐτὸν ἵστασθαι εἰς τὸ ἕτερον. F-6): Καὶ ἐπερωτᾶν αὐτὸν μετὰ πάσης ἱλαρότητος (Barb.443: ἱ. : πραότητος) καὶ προσηνείας. D-3): Εἰ δυνατὸν καὶ καταφιλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐξομολογουμένου ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἐπιτιθεῖν αὐχένα (εἰ δυνατὸν...αὐχένα om Barb.443, ad καί.), F-6): μάλιστα ἐὰν ὁρᾷ αὐτὸν καταπονούμενον καὶ κατακυριευόμενον (κ.κατ. om Barb.443.) ὑπὸ τῆς ἀφορήτου λύπης καὶ αἰσχύνης καὶ πραείᾳ καὶ γαληνοτάτῃ φωνῇ λέγειν πρὸς αὐτόν.

[131] [K10:15]: Πῶς σου κύριε ἀδελφέ ἢ ἀδελφή ἐν πρώτοις ἡ παρθενία διεφθάρη; [...] Ὡς δὲ καὶ φόνου ἑκουσίου καὶ ἀκουσίου διερευνᾶν. [K11: 14]: Καὶ εἰ ἄρα ὕβρισε γονεῖς ἢ ἔτυψεν ἢ ἐλοιδόρησε [...] Ἢ ψευδομαρτυρίαν ἐποίησεν. Ἢ ὕβρισεν ἱερέα ἢ σύντεκνον. (Cf. ARR-KAN: 158 et 164).

[132] F-10): Καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν· περὶ πάντων ἐρευνᾶν μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας. ἐνδέχεται γάρ τινα πᾶσαν κακὴν ἐργασίαν μετελθεῖν.

[133] F-10): Πάντα οὖν ἐξετάσας καὶ ἀκριβασάμενος ἅπερ ἀκούσει τοῦτον ὁμολογοῦντα καὶ συγκατιθέμενον ὀφελεῖ καθ' ἕκαστον λέγειν· [K4:1a]: Ὁ Θεὸς

F-10): Et après avoir tout examiné, la confession finie,
le pénitent se prosterne et le confesseur dit:[134]

[K4:1c]: *(Que) Notre Maître et Seigneur Jésus Christ* (cf. OCP-92:26).
(NB: Sin.966: [K4:1h]: cf. OCP-92:24).

[K4:3]: *(Que) Dieu qui a pardonné par Nathan* (cf. OCP-92:28).

[K4:2]: *(Que) Dieu notre sauveur, qui pour nous s'est fait homme*
(cf. OCP-92:26).

[K1:1b]: *O Dieu notre Sauveur, qui par Nathan*
(avec des variantes ayant rapport à la confession) (cf. OCP-91:96).

[K1:4]: *Maître Dieu, qui appelles les justes* (cf. OCP-91:118).

[K1:3a]: *Seigneur Dieu de notre salut, miséricordieux* (cf. OCP-91:114).
(Barb. 443 ajoute ici: [K2:1]: cf. OCP-91:98).

[K3:1]: *Seigneur Jésus-Christ, Fils du Dieu vivant, agneau*
(cf. OCP-91:102).

[K1:5]: *Père Seigneur, ne livre pas tes serviteurs* (cf. OCP-91:122).
(NB: manque dans Barb.443 et Sin.966)
(Barb.443 ajoute ici: [K1:9]: cf. OCP-91:132).

H-3): En le relevant (le confesseur) embrasse (le pénitent)
et l'encourage en disant:

[K85:8]:

1 Voici que par la volonté de Dieu qui aime les hommes,
2 qui veut le salut de tous,
3 en faisant recours à la pénitence et en te confessant
4 tu as été débarrassé de toutes tes anciennes mauvaises actions:
5 que donc par négligence des divins commandements
6 tu ne te charges de nouveaux maux
7 et qu'il ne t'arrive selon l'Evangile
8 que le nouveau devienne pire que le précédent,

συγχωρῆσαι σοί. (Sin.966: συγχωρήσει σοί).

[134] F-10): Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀπαριθμήσασθαι πάντα καὶ τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν δέξασθαι, πάλιν ἐπάγειν κάτω κειμένου τοῦ ἐξηγειλάντος.

9 ce de quoi puisse-tu être épargné par la philanthropie de Dieu;
10 mais efforce-toi d'après tes possibilités d'observer
les commandements divins
11 et en conséquence d'arriver au salut.
12 (Sin.: Dans le Christ Jésus notre Seigneur
13 auquel soit la gloire dans les siècles des siècles. Amen.)[135]

Sophia, lecture d'Ezéchiel et évangile de Luc,[136]

trisagion, Pater, tropaires.[137]

Seigneur sois propice (3 fois),
Seigneur pardonne (3),
Κύριε ἐλέησον (40)

40 prostrations des deux.
Congé.[138]

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[135] H-3): Εἶτα διαναστήσας (Barb.: ἀναστάντα) αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεται καὶ εὐθυμεῖν προτρέπεται λέγων αὐτῷ (Barb.: οὕτως): [K85: 8]:
1 Ἰδοὺ θελήματι τοῦ φιλανθρώπου Θεοῦ
2 τοῦ θέλοντος πάντων τὴν σωτηρίαν
3 προσδραμὼν τῇ μετανοίᾳ καὶ ἐξομολογησάμενος
4 πάντων σου τῶν προτέρων πονηρῶν ἔργων ἀπηλλάγης·
5 μὴ τοίνυν δι' ἀμελείας τῶν θείων ἐντολῶν
6 δευτέροις κακοῖς σεαυτὸν ὑποβάλῃς
7 καὶ ἔσονταί σοι κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον
8 τὰ ἔσχατα χείρονα τῶν πρώτων·
9 ὧν διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν Θεοῦ λελύτρωσαι,
10 ἀλλὰ σπούδασον κατὰ δύναμιν τὰς δεσποτικὰς ἐντολὰς φυλάξαι
11 καὶ ἀκολούθως τῆς σωτηρίας τυχεῖν (1).
12 (Sin.966:9 ad ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν
13 ᾧ ἡ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Αμήν.)

[136] Εἶθ' οὕτως λέγει ὁ ἱερεύς· Σοφία. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ τελειῶσαι τὴν γραφεῖσαν κατήχησιν· Ἀνάγνωσις προφήτου Ἰεζεχιήλ· Τὰ λέγει Κύριος παντοκράτωρ· Ὁ ἄνομος ἐὰν ἀποστρέψῃ ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἀνομιῶν ὧν ἐποίησε [...] ζωῇ ζήσεται καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ· λέγει Κύριος παντοκράτωρ. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκᾶν· Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ἦσαν ἐγγίζοντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ πάντες οἱ τελῶναι [...] τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ ἑνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι.

[137] Ποιήσας οὖν τρισάγιον καὶ αὖθις τὸ τροπάριον ἦχου Δ'· Τὴν ταπεινήν μου ψυχήν. Ἄλλο· Διὰ πλέων τὸ πέλαγος. Τῇ Θεοτόκῳ ἐκτενῶς νῦν προσδράμωμεν. (Barb.443: Ποιήσας οὖν τρισάγιον καὶ τὰ προγεγραμμένα τροπάρια αὖθις εἰπών).

[138] Εἶτα τό· Κύριε ἱλάσθητι· τρίτον εἰπών, καὶ ὡσαύτως καὶ τό· Κύριε συγχώρησον, καὶ τό· Κύριε ἐλέησον Μ'. Καὶ μετανοίας Μ' ποιήσαντες οἱ ἀμφότεροι ἀπολύονται. (Barb.443: ἀπολύει.).

Ils s'asseyent et le confesseur dit:

[K84:1]: Fils, qu'est ce que tu la force d'observer?[139]

<Suit le traité des pénitences du Deuterokanonarion.>[140]

CONF-3:2): (II) Sinai 966: f. 22-24v (XIII s., Otranto) (DMI:203-205)[141]

=type CD: prières, psaumes, diakonika et lectures=

T-13): Autre rite pour la confession:[142]

A-7): Le prêtre entre dans l'église, se revêt et encense,
et il fait tout seul les réponses et les ecphonèses.
Et celui qui va se confesser est debout
entre les deux colonnes (de l'entrée du sanctuaire).[143]

Et le prêtre commence à dire:

Bénis, maître. (sic)
Bénis le Règne.
En paix prions le Seigneur...[144]
trisagion
prokeimenon – épître – alleluia – évangile
Disons tous de toute notre âme...
Paix à tous.

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[139] Ottob.Sin.: Μετὰ δὲ τελειῶσαι τὴν προγραφεῖσαν ἀκολουθίαν συγκαθίσας αὐτῷ λέγει· [K84:1]: Τί τέκνον ἰσχύεις φυλάξαι;

[140] (Barb.443 ajoute: Κανονάριον καὶ ἐπιτίμια τῶν εἰλικρινῶς ἐξομολογουμένων. Χρὴ γινώσκειν ὅτι·) Κατὰ γὰρ ἰσχὺν καὶ προαίρεσιν τοῦ δεχομένου τὰ ἐπιτίμια δίδονται καὶ οὐ κατὰ ἀναλογίαν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων αὐτῷ·... Cf. Ottob.344:85v-99v (MOR-AKO 83c-90d), Barb.443:127-139, Sin.966:10v-20v. (cf. ARR-KAN:174).

[141] Nous plaçons ici ce second rite de confession du Sinai 966, à la suite du premier, pour des raisons techniques; ce second rite aurait pu très bien être classifié parmi les rites presbytéraux de la première catégorie (supposant une confession spontanée, sans aucune espèce de questionnaire ni d'interrogatoire de la part du prêtre), s'il n'avait pas été suivi immédiatement après la fin, marquée par un classique "καὶ ἀπολύει", par un appendice de la même main contenant un questionnaire, de type hybride [K12], par lequel le confesseur prétend faire avouer in extremis des péchés possiblement omis dans la confession à peine terminée.

[142] T-13): Τάξις γινομένη εἰς ἐξομολόγησιν ἑτέραν (sic).

[143] A-7): Εἰσέρχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἀλλάσσει καὶ θυμιᾷ. Καὶ ἄρχεται καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀποκρίνων καὶ ἐκφωνῶν. Καὶ ὁ θέλων ἐξομολογήσασθαι στέκει εἰς τὸ διάστυλον.

[144] Καὶ ἄρχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς λέγων· Εὐλόγησον δέσποτα. Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία... Ἐν εἰρήνῃ..., Ὑπὲρ τοῦ δούλου..., Τῆς παναγίας..., Ὅτι ἀγαθὸς εἶ...

B-8): Le pénitent approche, se prosterne devant l'autel
E-13): et reste prostré aux pieds du confesseur.[145]

Le prêtre dit cette prière:
[K2:1]: *Seigneur notre Dieu, qui à Pierre et à la pécheresse* (cf. OCP-91:98).

[K1:4]: *Maître Dieu, qui appelles les justes* (cf. OCP-91:118).

[J1:1]: *<Seigneur> miséricordieux, bon et philanthrope* (absolution d'une peine canonique: cf. M. Arranz, *L'eucologio costantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI secondo l'Eucologio Bessarion...*, Roma 1992, b95).

E-14): Et il le relève et dit:

[K82:4b]:
1 Voici que par volonté de Dieu
2 qui veut que tous les hommes aient le salut
3 et qu'ils arrivent à la connaissance de la vérité,
4 tu as fait recours à la sainte Eglise de Dieu
5 pour te purifier de tout péché:
6 vois, fils, n'aie pas honte de moi
7 et ne me cache aucune de tes actions,
8 car tu serais condamné.[146]

Et l'autre répond:
[K91:9]: Père, j'ai péché contre le ciel et devant Dieu.[147]

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[145] B-8): Καὶ προσέρχεται ὁ μέλλων ἐξομολογεῖσθαι καὶ βάλλει γονυκλισίαν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης. E-13): Καὶ κεῖται ἐν τοῖς γονάσιν αὐτοῦ.

[146] E-14): Καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ἀνιστᾷ αὐτὸν ὁ ἱερεὺς <καὶ> λέγει·
[K82:4b]:
1 Ἰδοὺ θελήματι τοῦ φιλανθρώπου Θεοῦ
2 τοὺς πάντας θέλοντος σωθῆναι
3 καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν,
4 προέδραμες τῇ ἁγίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ
5 τοῦ καθαρίσαι ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας·
6 βλέπε οὖν τέκνον μὴ αἰσχυνθῇς με
7 καὶ ἀποκρύψῃς τίποτε ἐκ τῶν ἔργων σοῦ
8 καὶ κατακριθεῖς.

[147] Καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποκρίνεται· [K91:9]: Πάτερ ἥμαρτον εἰς τὸν ουρανὸν καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Et le prêtre dit:
[K4:1a]: *Que Dieu te pardonne* (cf. OCP-92:24).

F-11): Et ainsi à chaque (aveu) il répond:
[K4:1a]: *Que Dieu te pardonne* (cf. OCP-92:24).
Jusqu'à la fin.[148]

Et le prêtre dit:
[K83:3]:
1 Toutes ces choses que tu as dites, avant de les dire
2 moi misérable je les avais déjà faites, et d'autres plus grandes
3 que la langue tremble de dire,
4 mais je ne désespère point du salut
5 et me remets à l'abîme des miséricordes de la pitié de Dieu
6 pour qu'on nous accorde la rédemption des égarements.[149]

Et aussitôt il dit à genoux:
Ps 50,
Κύριε ἐλέησον (40 fois),
Seigneur pardonne (3),
Seigneur sois propice (3).[150]

Le prêtre dit:
Prions le Seigneur.
[K1:8]: *Seigneur Dieu des puissances et de toute gloire* (cf. OCP-91:128).

Prière d'absolution:
[K4:2]: *(Que) Dieu < > qui pour nous s'est fait homme* (cf. OCP-92:26).

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[148] Καὶ λέγει ὁ ἱερεύς· [K4:1a]: Συγχωρήσῃ σοι ὁ Θεός. F-11): Ὁμοίως κατὰ πάντα οὕτως ἀποκρίνεται· [K4:1a]: Συγχωρήσῃ σοι ὁ Θεός. Ἕως τέλους.

[149] Καὶ λέγει ὁ ἱερεύς· [K83:3]:
1 Ταῦτα πάντα πρὸ τοῦ ἐξειπεῖν ἡμᾶς ἃ ἔλεξας
2 ἐγώ γε ὁ τάλας πέπραχα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα
3 ἃ φρίττει ἡ γλῶσσα τοῦ λαλεῖν αὐτὰ
4 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπογινώσκω τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ σωτηρίας
5 ὅμως ἀφορῶ εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ ἐλέους τοῦ Θεοῦ
6 τοῦ δωρήσασθαι ἡμῖν λύτρον ἀμπλακημάτων. (DMI 204).

[150] Καὶ τοῦτον ὅλον ψάλλεται μετὰ γονυκλισίας, καὶ τό· Κύριε συγχώρησον Γ΄, Κύριε ἱλάσθητι Γ΄.

Et le prêtre donne le congé (ἀπολύει).

* * *

Et aussitôt les deux s'asseyent et <le confesseur>
demande, le visage rayonnant et dans une pure disposition d'esprit:
[K82:8]:
1 Vois fils de ne me cacher aucune faute
2 mais en ramassant tes forces dis tout;
3 dans toutes ces choses que tu as dites à Dieu et à mon indignité
4 moi aussi je suis tombé et dans bien d'autres encore.[151]

Et s'il le voit s'animer et réagir il l'interroge ainsi:
[K12]:
Dis, fils: as-tu offensé tes parents ...?
As-tu fait la communion après avoir mangé ou bu?
Es-tu tombé ... en carême?

Et pour finir: lorsque tout aura été demandé ...[152]

<Fin du cahier ajouté, cf. DMI 205. NB: Pour reconstruire le texte très abîmé et incomplet cf. infra [K12] de Grott.Gb14, p. 14, note 166>

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[151] Καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως καθεζόμενοι ἐρωτᾷ αὐτὸν ἐν φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ εἰλικρινεῖ διαθέσει· [K82:8]:
1 Βλέπε τέκνον μὴ αἰσχυνόμενος ἀποκρύψῃς τι πλημμέλημα
2 ἀλλὰ περισωρεύσας τὸ κῆρ πάντα ἔξειπε(ς):
3 πάντα ταῦτα ἅπερ Θεῷ ἐξεῖπες καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀναξιώτητι
4 κἀγὼ τοῖς αὐτοῖς περιέπεσα καὶ ἑτέροις πλήωσι.

[152] Καὶ ὅτε ἴδῃ αὐτὸν ἐμψυχοθέντα καὶ < > ἀπορρήψαντα ἀρχεῖ ἐρωτᾶν οὕτως· [K12]: Εἰπὲ τέκνον· ὕβρισες γονεῖς ἢ ἔτυψας ἢ ἐλοιδώρησας; Ἔφαγες καὶ ἔπιες καὶ ἐκοινώνησας; Ἔπεσας εἰς ὁμοφθορίας ἢ παρὰ φύσιν ἐν ἀνθ<0ριώπῳ> τῇ ἁγίᾳ τεσσαρακοστῇ ..., ἢ εἰς ... μαγίας ἢ εἰς φαρμακίας ..., καὶ εἰς πορνείαν ἢ εἰς μοιχείαν ἢ εἰς αἱμομιξίαν ..., καὶ περὶ αἱρέσεως ἤ τε καταλαλίας..., γενέσθαι παρὰ σοῦ φθόνον ..., ὕβρισας ἱερέα ἢ σύντεκνον...; Καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν· ὅτε ταῦτα πάντα ἐρευνήσας ἐρωτήσει ἀκριβῶς ἀπολείᾳ περιπεσεῖν ἢ ποιήσει... Cf. infra note 166.

CONF-3:3): Vatican 1554:f. 123v-134 =ALM:64-69 (XII s.)[153]
=type D: prières, psaumes et diakonika=

T-14) Ordre de ceux qui se confessent.[154]

Béni notre Dieu,
trisagion, Très Sainte Trinité, Pater,
Κύριε ἐλέησον (40 fois),
Agneau de Dieu, Fils du Père, qui enlèves...
(cf. OCP-92:446, note 15).

Et en faisant se prosterner le pénitent devant l'autel,
il dit:[155]

Ecoute-nous Dieu notre sauveur (3 fois).
Saints des saints ô Dieu: aie pitié de nous.
Seigneur Dieu: reçois notre supplication (3).
Très sainte souveraine Mère de Dieu: intercède pour nous
pécheurs. Sainte Mère de Dieu . . . , etc.
<le reste presque comme dans Grott.Zd2: OCP-92:445>
Ss. hiérarques..., Tous les choeurs des saints: intercédez...
Créateur de toute chose: écoute-nous.
Rédempteur du monde: reçois notre supplication.
Immanquable puissance de la...croix ne nous abandonne pas pécheurs.

En paix prions le Seigneur...

B-9): Le prêtre et le pénitent entrent dans le sanctuaire,
le premier chante:[156]

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[153] Ce codex avait été précédemment daté comme du Xe siècle; le rite de confession cependant conserve le mot archaïque de μετανοῶν à la place de celui plus habituel de ἐξομολογούμενος. A part le questionnaire et les lectures, il possède un schéma de confession assez proche de celui de l'Euchologe Slave du Sinaï ainsi que du Potrebnik de Moscou de 1623. Cf. ARR-KAN: 148 où par erreur on dit: CONF-3:2, devant dire: CONF-3:3.

[154] T-14): Ἀκολουθία ἐπὶ ἐξομολογουμένων.

[155] A-8): Καὶ ῥίπτων μετανοοῦντα ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης λέγει.

[156] B-9): Καὶ εἰσέρχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς σὺν τῷ μετανοῦντι εἰς δεξιὰ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ψάλλων τό·

Ps 50 et tropaires,[157]

et commence les prières et les psaumes:

[K1:1]: *O Dieu notre Sauveur, qui par Nathan* (cf. OCP-91:96).

Ps 6

[K1:3a]: *Seigneur Dieu de notre salut, miséricordieux* (cf. OCP-91:114).

(Ps?)

[K1:5]: *Père Seigneur, ne livre pas tes serviteurs* (cf. OCP-91:122).

Ps 102

[K2:1]: *Seigneur notre Dieu, qui à Pierre et à la pécheresse* (cf. OCP-91:98).

Ps 69

[K1:9]: *Seigneur Seigneur, qui veux..., regarde tes serviteurs* (cf. OCP-91:132).

Ps 99

[K3:1]: *Seigneur Jésus-Christ, Fils du Dieu vivant, agneau* (cf. OCP-91:102).

F-12): Et aussitôt le frère est interrogé avec une voix suave et un joyeux regard:[158]

[K10:1]: Comment, monsieur le frère, as-tu perdu la virginité?

Et le frère dit:

[91:6]:
1 Je te confesse
2 Seigneur du ciel
3 tout ce qu'il y a dans le secret de mon coeur.[159]

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[157] Ἥμαρτον εἰς σὲ..., Stichos: Κύριε μὴ τῷ θυμῷ σου..., Κράζω σοι Χριστέ..., Δόξα..., Ὅτι οὐκ ἔχουμεν παρρησίαν...

[158] F-12): Καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ἐρωτᾶται ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως πραείᾳ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ ἱλαρᾷ τῇ ὠπί· [K10:1]: Πῶς σοῦ...ἐν πρώτοις...

Et le prêtre l'interroge:

[K12:24]: Dis-moi fils avec combien...?[160]

F-13): Et aux femmes il demande:

[K11:4]: N'as-tu pas fait de philtre mortel...?[161]

G-2): Il le fait se prosterner devant le sanctuaire[162]

et il dit:

[K3:2]: *Maître Seigneur tout-puissant, Père* (cf. OCP-91:310).

[K1:4]: *Maître Dieu, qui appelles les justes* (cf. OCP-91:118).

[K2:2]: *Maître Seigneur Dieu tout-puissant, le Père* (cf. OCP-91:136).

L-11): Et ils chantent la supplication disant:
Κύριε ἐλέησον (9 fois).

Et il lui donne la pénitence convenable qu'il peut observer.[163]

<Suit un "kanon" de 61 pénitences des Apôtres: cf. ALM 69-73.>[164]

CONF-3:4): Grottaferrata Gb14: f. 35v-41 (XIII s.)
=type CD: prières, psaumes, diakonika et lectures=

NB: le schéma général se rapproche du second rite de Sinai 966 (p. 7).

T-14): Ordre pour ceux qui se confessent (comme Vat-1544, p. 11).

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159 Λέγει ὁ ἀδελφός· [K91:6]: Ἐξομολογοῦμαι σοὶ Κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πάντα τὰ ἐν κρυπτῷ τῆς καρδίας μοῦ.

160 Καὶ ἐρωτᾷ αὐτὸν ὁ ἱερεύς· [K10:24]: Εἰπέ μοι τέκνον· Εἰς πόσας ἔπεσας γυναῖκας; ... Μὴ ἔκλεψας; Μὴ ἐπιόρκησας; Μὴ ἐπόρνευσας;

161 F-13): Περὶ γυναικῶν ἐρωτᾷ· Μὴ ἐποίησας ποτὸν θανάσιμον;...Μὴ ἔπιες ποτὸν διὰ τὸ μὴ ποιῆσαι παιδίον;

162 Cf. G-2): Καὶ τότε ῥίπτει ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λέγων.

163 L-11): Καὶ ᾄδει μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιεῖ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκτένειαν λέγων τό· Κύριε ἐλέησον Θ', καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ τὸ πρέπον ἐπιτίμιον ὅπερ δύναται φυλάξαι.

164 Κανὼν τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καθενὸς ἀνθρώπου· Εἶπε δὲ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου...

A-9): Le prêtre se revêt et dit:[165]

Bénis, maître. (sic)
Béni le Règne,
En paix prions le Seigneur...

trisagion
  prokeimenon – épître (Tim)
  alleluia – évangile (Mt: vocation de Matthieu)
  autre épître (Jac)
  autre évang. (Jn: la femme adultère;in marg.: "pour les femmes")
Disons tous de toute notre âme..., Prions encore...

<manque un feuillet:
pour une possible reconstruction cf. supra II Sinai 966>

Et le prêtre dit:
[K4:1a]: *Que Dieu te pardonne* (cf. OCP-92:24).

Et il l'interroge de nouveau en disant:
[K12:20]:
Dis fils: as-tu offensé tes parents...?
As-tu pris la communion après avoir mangé ou bu?...[166]

Et le prêtre lui dit à chaque péché:
[K4:1a]: *Que Dieu te pardonne* (cf. OCP-92:24).

Et de nouveau il l'interroge:
[K85:1]:
1 Veux-tu pleurer et te repentir de ce que tu as fait,
2 pour ne plus y retourner?
3 Si dorénavant tu observeras les voies du Seigneur et marcheras dans elles,

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[165] A-9): Φορεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ λέγει.

[166] Καὶ πάλιν ἐρωτᾷ αὐτὸν λέγων· [K12:20]: Εἰπὲ τέκνον· ὕβρισες γονεῖς ἢ ἔτυψας ἢ ἐλοιδώρησας; ἢ ἔφαγες καὶ ἔπιες καὶ ἐκοινώνησας; ἢ ἔπεσας εἰς ὁμοφθορίαν; ἢ παρὰ φύσιν; ἢ ἐμ<αυλή>θης τῇ ἁγίᾳ τεσσαρακοστῇ; ἢ εἰς μαντίας; ἢ εἰς μαγείας; ἢ εἰς φαρμακίας; ἢ εἰς μοιχείας; ἢ αἱμομιξίας; ἤ τε μεγασχήματος μοναχοῦ; ἢ λογισμὸς πονηρὸς ἐπῆλθε σοὶ περὶ αἱρέσεως; ἤ τε καταλα<λι>ᾶ συνέβη γενέσθαι παρά σου; ἤ τε φθόνον καὶ μνησικακίαν ἔχεις μετά τινος; ἤ τε ἐπιόρκησας; ἤ τε μετὰ τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα ἐπλημμέλησας; ἢ ἐφόνευσας; ἢ ἀλλότριον πράγμα κ< >θήρπασας; καὶ ὕβρισας ἱερέα; ἢ σύντεκνον ἔπεσας μεταυτῆς; ἢ ἐκτηνοβάτησας; Cf. note 152.

4 non seulement tu seras pardonné,
5 mais tu te rendras digne de son royaume.[167]

G-6) Le prêtre dit en pliant les genoux, c.-à-d.en faisant des prostrations:[168]

Ps 50

O Dieu sois propice à moi pécheur (40 fois).

[K1:3a]: *Seigneur Dieu de notre salut, miséricordieux* (cf. OCP-91:114).

Prions le Seigneur.

[K3:1]: *Seigneur Jésus-Christ, Fils du Dieu vivant, agneau* (cf. OCP-91:102).

[K2:1]: *Seigneur notre Dieu, qui à Pierre et à la pécheresse* (cf. OCP-91:98).

[K1:1]: *Seigneur notre Dieu, qui par Nathan* (cf. OCP-91:96).

[K1:4]: *Maître Dieu, qui appelles les justes* (cf. OCP-91:118).

[K4:2]: *(Que) Dieu, qui pour nous s'est fait homme* (cf. OCP-92:26).

<Différentes dispositions de ceux qui se confessent
et de ceux qui les reçoivent.>[169]

CONF-3:5): Vatic.2111:p.27-40 (XIV) =ALM:76-79:

– I –

T-15): Ordre pour ceux qui sont en pénitence:[170]

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[167] Εἴθ' οὕτως ἐρωτᾷ πάλιν αὐτόν· [K85:1b]:
1 Θέλεις προσκλαῦσαι καὶ μετανοῆσαι ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔπραξας,
2 ἵνα μᾶλλον εἰς αὐτὰ μηκέτι ἐπιστραφῇς;
3 Ἐὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν φυλάξῃς τὰς ὁδοὺς Κυρίου καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς πορεύσῃ<ς>
4 μὴ μόνον συγχωρεθήσῃ<ς>
5 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἀξιωθήσῃ<ς>.

[168] G-6): Τοῦτο λέγει γονυκλιτῶν ἤγουν ποιῶν μετανίας, καὶ λέγων τό.

[169] Διαθέσεις διόφοραι ἐξομολογουμένων καὶ τῶν τούτους ἀναδεχομένων. Ὅτι δεῖ τὸν ἐξομολογούμενον... Ὅτι δεῖ τὸν τὰς ἐξομολογήσεις ἀναδεχόμενον... (cf. OCP-93:73, note 68) mais le texte s'interrompt avec la fin de ce même f. 41v.

[170] T-15): Ἀκολουθία εἰς μετανοοῦντας. NB: Ce manuscrit contient deux offices différents qui pourraient très bien être le vestige d'une praxis plus ancienne. La partie

tropaire
épître – alleluia – évangile
verset de communion.[171]

– II –

T-16): Rite pour ceux qui confessent leurs propres péchés:[172]

Béni notre Dieu,
trisagion, Très Sainte Trinité, Pater,
Venez, prosternons-nous,
Ps 50,
Credo,
Très sainte souveraine Mère de Dieu: intercède. (3 fois)
<invocation des saints>[173]
O Dieu, sois propice à nous pécheurs et aie pitié de nous.

trisagion, Très Sainte Trinité, Pater, 2 tropaires,
Κύριε ἐλέησον (3 fois).

Prions le Seigneur.
[K2:1]: *Seigneur notre Dieu, qui à Pierre et à la pécheresse* (cf. OCP-91:98).

Prêtre et pénitent s'asseyent, le prêtre demande:
Crois-tu en la Sainte Trinité...?
Crois-tu que le Fils de Dieu a pris chair de la sainte Vierge?
Crois-tu que...il est vraiment Dieu et vraiment Homme?

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didactique du second office nous rappelle d'autre part l'Euchologe Slave du Sinaï.

[171] Un κοινωνικόν à cet endroit-ci pourrait indiquer que l'office autrefois était destiné à ceux qui, ayant conclu leur période de pénitence, étaient réadmis à la communion. NB: Vu l'âge plutôt récent des mss qui suivent, et leur moindre possibilité de servir de modèle à d'autres mss, nous ne donnerons plus le texte grec en note que dans des cas vraiment exceptionnels. Puisqu'il ne s'agit pas de textes inédits, on peut toujours faire recours aux éditions que nous citons en tête de chaque document.

[172] T-16): Τάξις ἐπὶ ἐξομολογουμένους τὰ ἴδια ἁμαρτήματα.

[173] La forme de ces litanies, où parmi les saints classiques on invoque aussi les vénérables Nile et Barthélemy (fondateurs du monastère de Grottaferrata) et les saints Adrien et Natalie (patrons de la première église du même monastère), se rapproche davantage du modèle latin que les textes de mss plus anciens, comme Grott.Zd2 (cf. OCP-92:445, note 15).

Crois-tu que...Jésus-Christ a souffert, a été enseveli...?
Crois-tu que...il viendra de nouveau pour juger les vivants...
et que nous ressusciterons avec les mêmes corps?
Crois-tu que la sainte Vierge Marie est resté vierge après l'enfantement...?
Crois-tu que par cette confession que tu fais à moi pécheur
tu reçois la rémission des péchés?

Après avoir été instruit dans la foi orthodoxe:
1 Voici frère que par la grâce du Christ tu as une foi correcte:
2 si à moi pécheur tu diras en détail tes péchés,
3 tu vivras et ne mourras pas éternellement.

1 On commet les péchés de trois manières:
2 par pensée, par parole et par action.
3 Et on les corrige aussi de trois façons:
4 primo, par la contrition (κατάνυξις) du coeur,
5 secundo, par la confession orale,
6 tertio, par la satisfaction (ἱκανοποίησις).

[K12] Dis-moi donc si tu as contredit ton père, charnel ou spirituel;
ou ta mère; ou la sainte Eglise.
Si tu as commis adultère ou fornication.
Si tu as volé, ou porté faux témoignage, ou juré.
Ou si tu as fait quelque autre péché.

Et ainsi il l'examine en détail
et lui donne la pénitence selon son péché.
Il se lève et le pénitent s'agenouille et dit:

1 Je confesse à Dieu
2 et à la bienheureuse Vierge Marie et à tous les saints
3 et à toi père
4 que j'ai péché par pensée, parole ou action,
5 avec tous mes sens,
6 toutes les heures de la nuit et du jour,
7 volontairement et involontairement,
8 consciemment ou inconsciemment,
9 en privé et en public;
10 beaucoup de bien que j'aurais dû faire je ne l'ai pas fait,
11 beaucoup de mal que je n'aurais pas dû faire je l'ai fait,

12 et pour cela je dis ma grande faute
13 et je prie Dieu de me pardonner,
14 je prie la bienheureuse Marie toujours Vierge,
15 les saints anges et archanges,
16 le bienheureux baptiste et précurseur Jean,
17 les bienheureux apôtres Pierre et Paul
18 et tous les saints d'intercéder (pour moi).
19 Prie pour moi pécheur et absous-moi (me rendant) agréé.

Le prêtre dit:
[K5:2]: *Que Dieu tout puissant ait pitié de toi* (cf. OCP-92:66).

CONF-3:6): Laura 105:f. 243 (XV s.) =DMI 636-638 (cité par Raes):
=type B: prières et psaumes=

T-17): (Autre) Ordre pour ceux qui se confessent:[174]

Prions le Seigneur.
[K2:1]: *Seigneur notre Dieu, qui à Pierre et à la pécheresse* (cf. OCP-91:98).

[K1:1]: *O Dieu notre Sauveur, qui par Nathan* (cf. OCP-91:96).

Le prêtre prend le pénitent par la main et le conduit
devant le sanctuaire et lui découvre la tête...,
le fait se prosterner et dit:[175]

[K82:2]: Je ne suis pas digne de recevoir ta confession...[176]

Ps 50

[K84:4a]: Voici fils que par grâce de Dieu tu as fait recours...[177]

Et dit:

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[174] T-17): Ἑτέρα ἀκολουθία εἰς ἐξομολογουμένους·

[175] Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο κρατεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ προσφέρει αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ ἀποσκεπάζει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ... καὶ ρύπτει αὐτὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ λέγει οὕτως ὁ ἱερεύς·

[176] Οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος ἐγὼ δέξασθαι τὴν σὴν ἐξομολόγησιν... Cf. DMI:637 et 849: texte très proche de BOD (cf. OCP-92:450, note 22).

[177] Ἰδοῦ τέκνον, χάριτι Θεοῦ προέδραμες... Cf. DMI:637, 642, 850; cf. BOD (OCP-92:453, note 27).

[K82:9]: Aujourd'hui il y a joie au ciel pour un pécheur repenti.[178]

Et tout de suite il commence à se confesser,

et le prêtre dit:

[K82:10]:

1 Dis, frère, sans rougir tes actions:
2 comme des hommes corrompus nous avons été
tous molestés par l'ennemi:
3 nous avons péché et nous péchons beaucoup,
4 mais nous avons confiance dans les miséricordes de Dieu
5 que le grand nombre de nos maux ne vaincra pas
6 si par la pénitence nous approcherons de lui en sincérité.[179]

Et le prêtre aussitôt l'interroge:

[K10:8]: Combien d'années...y a-t-il que tu as perdu...[180]

Le fait se prosterner et ayant attendu, il dit:[181]

[K*:*]: *Seigneur Jésus Christ qui par Nathan as pardonné.*[182]

Il le relève et lui demande:

[K85:1a]: Veux-tu pleurer et te repentir de ce que tu as fait...[183]

Prions le Seigneur.

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[178] Καὶ λέγει οὕτω· [K82:9]: Σήμερον χαρὰ γίνεται ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐπὶ ἑνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι.

[179] Καὶ εὐθῢς ἄρχεται ἐξαγορεύειν καὶ λέγει ὁ ἱερεύς· [K82:10]:
1 Λέγε ἀδελφέ, ἀνερυθριάστως τὰς σὰς πράξεις·
2 πάντες γὰρ ὡς ἄνθρωποι φθαρτοὶ ἐνοχλήθημεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ,
3 πολλὰ καὶ ἡμαρτήσαμεν καὶ ἁμαρτάνωμεν,
4 ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ θαρροῦμεν·
5 οὐ μὴ νικήσει τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἡμετέρων κακῶν
6 ἐὰν διὰ μετανοίας εἰλικρινοῦς αὐτῷ προσιῶμεν.

[180] Καὶ εὐθῢς ἐρωτᾷ αὐτὸν ὁ ἱερεύς. [K10:8]: Πόσους, κύριε..., κυρία, χρόνους ἐν πρώτοις ἐφθάρη ἡ παρθενία σου... (cf. DMI:637).

[181] Τότε ρίπτει αὐτον τὸν ἐξομολογούμενον πάλιν ἔπροσθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ ἐπιμένων αὐτὸν ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεύς.

[182] Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ συγχωρήσας διὰ Νάθαν τοῦ Δάβιδ τήν ἐξομολόγησιν... Cf. DMI:637 qui erronément renvoie à GOA:538; nous avons omis ce texte, beaucoup trop confus, dans notre article sur les prières pénitentielles.

183 Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐγεῖραι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχῆς ἐρωτᾷ αὐτόν· [K85:1a]: Θέλεις προσκλαῦσαι καὶ μετανοῆσαι ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔπραξας... Cf. DMI:637, 850; cf. BOD (OCP-92:454, note 29).

[K1:4]: *Maître Dieu, qui appelles les justes* (cf. OCP-91:118).

Prions le Seigneur.

[K1:3a]: *Seigneur Dieu de notre salut, miséricordieux* (cf. OCP-91:114).

[K3:6]: *Sois propice Seigneur, sois propice aux oeuvres* (cf. OCP-91:320).

CONF-3:7): Hag.Tafos (CP) 136:26-35v (XV) =ALM:25-28
=type X: prières et diakonika=

<Introduction sur la personne et rôle du confesseur.>[184]

Béni notre Dieu,
trisagion, Très Sainte Trinité, Pater, tropaire du jour,

[K82:5b]:
Regarde, mon fils, comment le Christ est présent...
attendant ta confession: n'aie pas honte ni peur de moi...
si tu me caches quelque chose tu as double péché...
et ce péché sera tien et non point mien.[185]

<Catéchèse de Jean Nisteutîs: cf. MOR-LOG:91-93>[186]

Le pénitent en faisant 3 prostrations à l'entrée du sanctuaire dit:

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[184] Περὶ πνευματικοῦ, πῶς νὰ κάμνει χρεία νὰ εἶναι· Ἰωάννου τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ. Ὦ πνευματικέ, βάλε εἰς τὸν νοῦν... Περὶ πνευματικοῦ, ὅπως νὰ ἔχει τόπον ἱερὸν διὰ τοὺς ἐξομολογουμένους· Συμεὼν Θεσσαλονίκης. Ὁ πνευματικὸς... Ὅτι νὰ λαμβάνῃ ἐπιτραχήλιον... Καὶ τότε νὰ βάλῃ ἐπιτραχήλιον...

[185] [K82:5b]:
1 Βλέπε καλῶς παιδί μου·
2 ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς στέκεται ἀποπάνω σου ἀοράτως
3 καρτερόντας τὴν ἐξομολόγησίν σου·
4 καὶ μηδὲν ἐντραπῇς, ἢ φοβηθῇς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ
5 νὰ κρύψῃς κανένα ἀπὸ τὰ ἁμαρτήματά σου, ὅπου ἔκαμες,
6 νὰ μὴ μετὰ θάρους καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας εἰπὲ αὐτά,
7 διὰ νὰ λάβῃς συγχώρησιν καὶ εὐλογίαν
8 παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ·
9 εἰ δὲ καὶ κρύψῃς τίποτε ἀπ' αὐτά
10 θέλεις ἔχει διπλῆν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν·
11 καὶ πρόσεχε· ἐπειδὴ ἦλθες εἰς ἰατρὸν
12 νὰ μηδὲν μισεύσῃς ἀθεράπευτος χωρὶς ἰατρείαν
13 καὶ ἡ ἁμαρτία θέλει ἦσθε εἰς ἐσένα καὶ οὐχὶ εἰς ἐμένα.

[186] Ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός...(cf. OCP-93:80, note 86).

[91:4]: Je confesse à toi Père...[187]

Et le confesseur l'interroge sur les sept péchés mortels:
négation de la foi, désespoir, adultère, meurtre volontaire,
inceste, homosexualité et corruption de mineur;
et sur le reste; (suit questionnaire de type [K11]).

Il lui donne la pénitence d'après les saints pères et selon
sa discrétion, avec économie, voulant sa guérison.[188]

Prière qu'on dit sur la tête du pénitent:
Prions le Seigneur.
[K2:5]: *Dieu tout-puissant, qui seul as le pouvoir* (cf. OCP-91:142).

Prions le Seigneur.
[K4:7]: *(Que) Notre Seigneur et Dieu Jésus Christ, créateur*
(cf. OCP-92:34).

Que Dieu ait pitié de nous.

Congé.

Prière pour délier celui qui s'est confessé
après avoir accompli le temps de sa pénitence:[189]
[K3:4]: *Maître Seigneur notre Dieu, qui t'es présenté*
(cf. OCP-91:314).

Prière de rémission pour celui
qui va se communier des purs mystères:[190]
[K3:1]: *Seigneur Jésus-Christ, Fils du Dieu vivant, agneau*
(cf. OCP-91:102).

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[187] [K91:4]: Ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι Πάτερ Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς πάντα τὰ ἐν ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ τῆς καρδίας μου.

[188] Καὶ ἀκούων τὰ ἁμαρτήματα αὐτοῦ ὁ πνευματικὸς τὸν κανονίζει καθῶς ὁρίζουν οἱ θεόφοροι πατέρες καὶ κατὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν ὅπου βλέπει αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐξομολογουμένου οὕτως θέλει νὰ μηδὲν τὸν ἀφήσῃς ἀγιάτρευτον χωρὶς ἰατρείαν ἀμὴ μὲ πᾶσαν οἰκονομίαν καὶ τέχνην νὰ τὸν ἰατρεύσῃς.

[189] Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ λῦσαι τὸν ἐξομολογούμενον μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι τὸν χρόνον τοῦ ἐπιτιμίου αὐτοῦ· [K3:4].

[190] Εὐχὴ συγχωρητικὴ εἰς ἄνθρωπον ὁποῦ μέλλει κοινωνῆσαι τῶν ἀχράντων μυστηρίων· [K3:1].

CONF-3:8): Barber.344 (anc.245):f. 110-115 (XVI) =ALM:15
=type B: prières et psaumes=

T-18) Sur la confession.
Le meilleur rite pour se confesser.[191]

Introduction:...la confession est réservée
aux évêques et aux prêtres...

A-10): Le confesseur revêt les ornements sacerdotaux,
fait l'encensement, allume un cierge et bénit:[192]

Gloire à la sainte et consubstantielle...Trinité...
trisagion, Pater,
Credo,
Ps 6 (ou 37), Ps 50 Ps 69,
trisagion, Pater, 5 tropaires,

Prière:
Seigneur tout-puissant, Dieu de nos pères
Abraham, Isaac et Jacob.

Et à voix basse:
[B5:1]: *(Dieu) Miséricordieux et compatissant, qui scrutes*
les coeurs et les reins.[193]

Les deux s'agenouillent et font 12 prostrations,
ils se relèvent et le pénitent avec les bras levés
dit:
Seigneur, sois propice à moi pécheur (3 fois).

[K91:10]: Je confesse à toi, Seigneur, Dieu du ciel et de la terre.

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[191] T-18): Περὶ ἐξομολογήσεως· τάξις ἀρίστη τῶν ἐξαγορευόντων. Cf. ARR-KAN:148.

[192] A-10): Χρὴ οὖν τὴν ἱερατικὴν τὸν ἀνάδοχον περιβεβλῆσθαι στολὴν καὶ θυμιᾶν πρότερον, κηρόν τε ὑφάπτειν καὶ οὕτως εὐλογεῖν·

[193] · Εὐχή· Κύριε παντοκράτωρ, ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ ἱερεὺς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ· [B5:1]: Ὁ εὔσπλαγχνος καὶ ἐλεήμων <Θεὸς>, ὁ ἐξετάζων καρδίας καὶ νεφρούς... C'est la prière préparatoire à la bénédiction de l'eau baptismale: cf. GOA:288 ZER:137, etc; cf. OCP-85:74-78; OCP-86:150-151.

Le pénitent s'agenouille, le confesseur dit:

[B3]: *"Celui qui es" (YHWH), Maître, Seigneur, qui as fait l'homme à ton image et ressemblance.*[194]

Et commence à l'interroger:
[K10] + [K11]: Dis, frère, comment as-tu perdu la virginité...[195]

Le confesseur touchant 12 fois la tête du pénitent prie ainsi:[196]

[B2:1]: *En ton nom, Seigneur Dieu...j'impose ma main.*[197]

[K3:1]: *Seigneur Jésus-Christ, Fils du Dieu vivant, agneau* (cf. OCP-91:102).

[K2:1]: *Seigneur notre Dieu, qui à Pierre et à la pécheresse* (cf. OCP-91:98).

[K1:1]: *O Dieu notre Sauveur, qui par Nathan* (cf. OCP-91:96).

Congé:
Gloire à toi Christ Dieu..., Gloire au père,
Κύριε ἐλέησον (2 fois), Père bénis.
Christ notre vrai Dieu, par les intercessions de la pure...

Confesseur et pénitent s'asseyent, et le premier demande quelle pénitence l'autre aura la force d'observer...etc.

CONF-3:9): Vatic.1538:f. 146-154 (XVI) =ALM:22-23
=type D: prières, psaumes et diakonika=

Ordre pour ceux qui se confessent.

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[194] [B3]: Ὁ ὤν, Δέσποτα, Κύριε, ὁ ποιήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον... Il s'agit de la prière de la fin du catéchuménat avec quelques adaptations mineures (cf. OCP-84:61, GOA:276).

[195] Questionnaire très développé et organique; si sur les péchés de la chair il suit de près les questionnaires du Deuterokanonarion, il montre bien plus d'originalité sur d'autres aspects de la vie morale. Il entre aussi dans les obligations du ministère des prêtres et des évêques. Cf ALM:18-19.

[196] Ὅτε ἀνάδοχος καὶ ὁ τὴν ἐξαγορίαν ποιούμενος δωδεκάκις ἀψάμενος τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ ἐξαγορεύσαντος προσευχέσθω οὕτως.

[197] [B2: 1]: Ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας... C'est la prière pour faire un catéchumène, avec quelques adaptations: cf. OCP-84:52 (GOA:275); cf. aussi: [B1-III: 2]: prière pour les manichéens: OCP-83:65.

cf. A-1): Le prêtre l'introduit dans l'église, ferme les portes
et commence à dire:
Béni le Règne...,
Venez, gémissons,
Et il chante la prière de Manassé:
Seigneur tout-puissant, Dieu de nos pères, Abraham, Isaac...[198]
tropaires
Aie pitié de nous..., Nous prions encore...,
Car un Dieu compatissant...

Prions le Seigneur.
Prière composition du saint apôtre Jacques:
[K1:1]: *O Dieu notre Sauveur, qui par Nathan* (cf. OCP-91:96).

[K2:1]: *Seigneur notre Dieu, qui à Pierre et à la pécheresse* (cf. OCP-91:98).

[K1:3a]: *Seigneur Dieu de notre salut, miséricordieux* (cf. OCP-91:114).

[K3:1]: *Seigneur Jésus-Christ, Fils du Dieu vivant, agneau* (cf. OCP-91:102).

NB: Nulle mention de la confession elle-même.

RITE DES EUCHOLOGES IMPRIMÉS EN VIGUEUR

CONF-3:10): Barberini 306 (anc.302):f. 35-43v (XVI)
(MOR:118-122, ALM:61-64; cf. GOA:541;
cf. ZER:221, PAP:162, ROM:205; cf. TEB:37v):
=type D: prières, psaumes et diakonika=

T-19): Ordre de ceux qui se confessent[199]

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[198] Cf. Septuaginta, Rahlfs II,180.

[199] T-19): Ἀκολουθία τῶν ἐξομολογουμένων. Vu l'existence de quelque petite variante des rubriques entre les différentes éditions, nous optons ici pour le texte de MOR et d'ALM, d'autant plus que ALM se rapporte parfois à MOR (ainsi qu'à l'Euchologe de Rome de 1754). Morin (118) lui-même affirme qu'il doit son texte à un ms Barberini, qui ne semble pouvoir être autre que notre Barb.306. Goar (541) aussi affirme qu'il a copié son ordre de confession "ex antiquissimo euchologio barberino";

Le prêtre dit:[200]

Béni notre Dieu...
En paix prions le Seigneur...

Et le prêtre dit la présente prière:[201]
Prions le Seigneur
[K3:1]: *Seigneur Jésus-Christ, Fils du Dieu vivant, agneau* (cf. OCP-91:102).

trisagion, Venez adorons
Ps 50 et 3 tropaires,
Κύριε ἐλέησον (40 fois),

(le pénitent) prosterné dit:
[K91:11]: Seigneur j'ai péché, pardonne-moi (3 fois),[202]

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son texte correspond assez exactement à Barber.306, malgré la réduction drastique du questionnaire (omis aussi par ALM, qui renvoie à MOR:119-120) et l'omission de la prière [L3].

Les premières éditions orthodoxes de Venise qui ont adopté le rite de confession de Goar sont celles de 1692 (le rite est encore en appendice) et de 1750 (le rite occupe déjà sa place actuelle devant les prières pénitentielles isolées — en dehors de tout rite —, des premières éditions de Venise, qui avaient en cela gardé la disposition des anciens euchologes constantinopolitains). Cf. P. de Meester, *Studi sui Sacramenti amministrati secondo il rito bizantino*, Rome 1947.

Le même rite (malgré l'omission totale du questionnaire ainsi que de la traditionnelle prière [K2:1]) est celui de ZER et PAP, et en partie aussi de ROM (qui conserve [K2:1], mais qui ajoute d'autres prières).

Assez proche de Barb.306, mais non exactement égal, est le rite du Potrebnik de Kiev du métropolite Pierre Mogila, suivi plus tard par le Trebnik de Moscou du patriarche Nikon et encore en vigueur en Russie. Il possède un ordre des prières légèrement différent, quelques textes d'exhortation en plus et surtout un questionnaire bien plus classique que celui de Barb.306. Les deux rites: le grec et le slave, ont été traduits par E. Mercenier, *La prière des Eglises de rite byzantin*, I, Chevetogne 1947,359 et 364; et par D. Guillaume, *Confession et communion*, Diaconie Apostolique, Rome 1983, 33 et 37.

Mais puisque dans le présent travail nous n'avons pu tenir compte de la riche tradition des mss slaves, nous nous limitons pour le moment à renvoyer le lecteur au troisième volume d'Almazov, qui après les mss grecs présente une bonne collection de documents slaves. Cf. aussi N. D. Uspensky, *Evening Worship in the Orthodox Church*, Crestwood, N.Y. 1985: III: "The Collision of Two Theologies in the Revision of Russian Liturgical Books in the Seventeenth Century", 191; cf. idem en russe dans *Bogoslovskie Trudy* 13,1975,148.

[200] Λέγει ὁ ἱερεύς.

[201] Εἶτα λέγει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν παροῦσαν εὐχήν.

et en se relevant il dit :
O Dieu, sois propice à moi pécheur.[203]

Prions le Seigneur.
[K1:1]: *O Dieu notre Sauveur, qui par Nathan* (cf. OCP-91:96).

le pénitent avec les bras levés:
[K91:12]: Père, Seigneur du ciel et de la terre,
tu connais tous les secrets de mon coeur.[204]

Le prêtre l'interroge d'une voix modeste:
[K82:11]:
1 Frère, puisque tu viens vers Dieu et vers moi,
2 n'aie pas honte,
3 tu ne te confesses pas à moi, mais à Dieu
4 devant qui tu comparais. (MOR: in quo subsistis)[205]

[K12:56]: Comment as-tu perdu la virginité? etc[206]

Et après l'avoir interrogé en détail
il cherche dans le registre le péché en question
et en montrant le livre au pénitent il lui dit:[207]

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[202] Κείμενος λέγει· [K91:11]: Ἥμαρτον Κύριε· συγχώρησόν μοι, ἐκ Γ΄.

[203] Καὶ ἀνιστάμενος λέγει· Ὁ Θεὸς ἱλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ.

[204] Εἶτα λέγει ὁ ἐξομολογούμενος ἄνω τὰς χεῖρας ἔχων· [K91:12]: Πάτερ Κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς· σὺ γινώσκεις πάντα τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας μου. Cf. ZER.

[205] Εἶτα ἐρωτᾷ αὐτὸν πραείᾳ τῇ φωνῇ· (cf. GOA et ZER) [K82:11]: Ἀδελφέ, δι' ὃ ἦλθες πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ πρὸς ἐμέ· μὴ αἰσχυνθῇς· οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἀναγγέλλεις ἀλλὰ τῷ Θεῷ ἐν ᾧ ἵστασαι.

[206] Les 56 questions se suivent sans ordre logique. GOA ne donne que les 5 premières, ALM renvoie à la deuxième édition de MOR (Venise 1702: pp. 646-647), tandis que nous nous servons de celle de Paris 1651 (pp. 119-120).

[207] Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐρωτῆσαι αὐτὸν καταλεπτῶς, πίασον τὸν πίνακα καὶ ἐρεύνησον ὁποῖον ἁμάρτημά ἐστι καὶ κατάλαβε αὐτὸ ἔμπροσθεν τῆς βίβλου ταύτης ἢ ὁποῖον ἁμάρτημα ἐστίν. ZER omet toute la partie de la rubrique sur le registre.

[K85:9]:[208]

1 Mon fils spirituel, moi, bas et pécheur que je suis,
2 ce que tu a confessé à ma bassesse,
3 je n'ai pas le pouvoir de remettre sur terre les péchés,
4 mais Dieu seul par sa voix divine
5 adressée aux apôtres après sa résurrection, disant:
6 A ceux à qui vous remettrez les péchés, ils leur seront remis,
7 à ceux à qui vous les retiendrez, ils leur seront retenus.
8 Encouragés par elle nous aussi disons:
9 Que tout ce que tu as dit à ma minime bassesse,
10 tout ce que tu n'as pas réussi à dire,
11 ou par ignorance ou par quelconque oubli,
12 que Dieu te le pardonne
13 dans ce siècle et dans celui à venir.
14 Va en paix.

Ajoute aussi cette prière:[209]

[K4:3]: *(Que) Dieu qui a pardonné par Nathan* (cf. OCP-92:28).

Prière pour celui que se confesse:

[K2:1]: *Seigneur notre Dieu, qui à Pierre et à la pécheresse*[210] (cf. OCP-91:98).

Prière pour celui qui a mangé un met impur:

[L3]: *Maître Dieu qui habites les hauteurs et regardes*[211]

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[208] Εἶτα λέγει ταῦτα· [K85:9]:
1 Τέκνον μου πνευματικόν Δ.· ἐγὼ ὁ ταπεινὸς καὶ ἁμαρτωλὸς,
2 ὃ τῇ ἐμῇ ταπεινότητι ἐξομολογουμένος
3 οὐκ ἰσχύω ἁμαρτίας ἀφιέναι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
4 εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ Θεὸς διὰ δὲ τὴν θεόλεκτον φωνὴν ἐκείνην
5 τὴν μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ γενομένην πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους
6 λέγουσαν· Ἄν τινων ἁμαρτίας ἀφεθήσετε· ἀφίενται αὐτοῖς,
7 ἄν τινων κρατεῖτε· κεκράντηνται·
8 εἰς ἐκείνην καὶ ἡμεῖς θαρροῦντες λέγομεν·
9 Ὅσα ἐξεῖπες τῇ ἐμῇ ἐλαχίστῳ ταπεινότητι,
10 ὅσα οὐκ ἔφθασας εἰπεῖν
11 ἢ κατὰ ἄγνοιαν, ἢ κατὰ λήθην οἱανδήποτε
12 ὁ Θεὸς συγχωρήσ<ῃ> σοι
13 ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.
14 Πορεύου ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

[209] Σύναψον καὶ ταύτην τὴν εὐχήν· [K4:3].

[210] Εὐχὴ εἰς ἐξομολογούμενον.· [K2:1].

(cf. M. Arranz, *L'eucologio costantinopolitano...*, b104).

Tropaires de la Mère de Dieu (om GOA).

TABLEAU DES PRINCIPAUX ÉLÉMENTS DES IMPRIMÉS

	GOA	ZER	PAP	ROM	TEB
prière	[K3:1]	[K3:1]	[K3:1]	[K3:1]	[K1:1]
prière	[K1:1]	[K1:1]	[K1:1]	[K1:1]	[K3:1]
exhortat.	[K82:11]	[K82:11]	[K82:11]	[K82:11]	[K82:5]
questionn.	[K12:5]	(conf.)	(conf.)	(conf.)	[K12:*]
exhortat.	[K85:9]	[K85:9]	[K85:9]	[K85:9]	[K85:5]
prière	[K4:3]	[K4:3]	[K4:3]	[K2:1]	—
prière	[K2:1]	—	—	[K4:3]	—
prière	—	—	—	[K1:3-a]	[K1:3-a]
prière	—	—	—	[K5:7]	[K5:4]

CONCLUSION

Nous allons arrêter notre recherche au moment de l'apparition d'un rite de confession qu'on pourrait appeler officiel, puisqu'il a trouvé place dans l'Euchologe imprimé, même si comme nous avons vu, son entrée dans ce livre est due plutôt à un malentendu provoqué par la bonne volonté de Goar, qui pour défendre les Grecs de l'accusation latine de ne pas posséder de Sacrement de Pénitence, avait déniché dans un "très ancien Barberini" (du XVI s.) un rite, très incomplet si on le compare à celui d'autres manuscrits plus anciens, mais qui finalement avait été adopté par les éditeurs orthodoxes de l'Euchologe de Venise.[212]

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[211] Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ μιαροφαγησάντων· [L3]: Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεός ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ τὰ ταπεινά...(om GOA).

[212] Dans un exposé lu au cours de la 3e Conférence consacrée au Millénaire du Baptême de la Russie (S.-Pétersburg janvier-février 1988), publié depuis lors dans "Le Messager" (Vestnik R.S.K.D.), 153, Paris 1988, 25, J. Meyendorff affirme que les livres liturgiques grecs imprimés à Venise aux XVI-XVIIe s. (qui furent ceux qui servirent de modèle au patriarche Nikon de Moscou pour la correction de ses propres livres), subirent souvent des influences latines. Mais cette affirmation est totalement gratuite; en vérité nous ne connaissons d'autre infiltration que le rite de confession Barber.306...

Au début du XVe siècle, Syméon de Thessalonique consacre quelques chapitres à la confession.[213] Ce qu'il dit correspond à une certaine praxis, probablement à celle de son siège; mais elle n'a pas de valeur universelle vu la grande variété de rites de confession existant à l'époque.

Tout au long des six siècles d'histoire documentée de la confession byzantine, les idées ont eu un développement notable.

L'ancien Euchologe constantinopolitain n'avait possédé qu'une prière pour la confession, et cela peut être étonnant lorsqu'on a affaire avec un euchologe manuscrit qui prétend à tout prix être complet comme Coislin 213 (COI) de 1027, ou un autre, comme Athènes 662 (EBE) du XIIIe s., où l'on voit la main des moines qui, voulant restaurer la praxis de la Grande-Église après les dévastations provoquées par l'implantation du règne latin, n'ont pas hésité à introduire des adaptations monastiques indispensables (comme pour les vêpres et les matines, par exemple) mais qui ont ignoré la confession.

Cependant déjà au Xe s., les euchologes de l'Italie Méridionale, présentaient un rite simple de confession, dérivé probablement de la praxis cathédrale ou paroissiale.

L'Euchologe slave du Sinaï indiquait une praxis plus complexe. Il est possible que les missionnaires slaves en Moravie, où déjà existait une vie liturgique latine, aient été encouragés à élaborer un rite plus prolixe et surtout plus didactique. L'euchologe de Messine, qu'on peut considérer comme dépendant de la praxis studite de Constantinople, montre par les exhortations du confesseur que la praxis s'était développée dans la ligne d'une catéchèse pénitentielle modérée.

Il est possible que cette évolution soit due à l'apparition de la confession monastique, à l'état pur comme dans le Protokanonarion, ou dans les adaptations du Deuterokanonarion; curieusement l'euchologe de Messine, en plus du rite presbytéral, possède aussi un rite monastique.

Et l'évolution a continué... Le développement du rite de la confession ne s'est pas arrêté, même après la parution d'un rite dans l'Euchologe imprimé. On a continué à chercher d'autres voies.

Un Exomologîtarion du XVIIIe s. décrit par Almazov, le ms Athènes 85,[214] mériterait à lui seul une étude. Il contient quatre rites de confession avec ces questionnaires respectifs: les trois premiers (de type CD: prières,

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[213] Vide PG 155.

[214] Athènes 85:1-41 =ALM:44-61.

psaumes, diakonika et lectures) sont destinés aux hommes (93 questions), aux femmes (55 questions) et aux prêtres séculiers (68 questions). Le quatrième (19 questions) est pour les évêques; le rite est remarquable par son juridisme liturgique. Au début, l'évêque qui va se confesser revêt son omophorion et donnant au prêtre l'épitrachilion, il lui accorde le juridiction pour pouvoir le confesser. La confession se fait confesseur et pénitent étant assis, mais l'évêque occupe un siège plus bas, puisque il est jugé (κατακριτός) par le juge (κριτής) qui est le prêtre; les questions posées par ce dernier sont d'ailleurs peu complaisantes. La confession finit par la prière [K1:1] dite par le prêtre et par l'étrange absolution [K6:4] donnée au prêtre confesseur par l'évêque pénitent qui reprend son omophore.[215]

D'autres mss de l'Exomologîtarion du XVIIIe et du XIXe siècle, décrits par Almazov,[216] tous fournis de longs et détaillés questionnaires, prouvent qu'on a continué en grande liberté à chercher des formules d'application de la pénitence.

L'édition de l'Exomologîtarion de Nicodème de la Sainte-Montagne (où réapparaît la prière toute classique [K2:1], même si seulement comme appendice à la populaire [K3:1]), mettra-t-elle fin à la créativité des confesseurs anonymes? C'est peu probable, puisque la grande variété de rites des quelques échantillons que nous avons analysés dans cet article semblent démontrer que le don accordé par le Christ à ses disciples de remettre les fautes de leurs frères égarés dans le péché, est un charisme de gestion difficile, supposant toujours l'action de l'Esprit. Au fond, guérir les esprits, en faisant changer le coeur humain, est sans doute plus difficile que faire changer de place les montagnes.

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[215] ALM:61; cf. OCP-92:78.

[216] Cf. ALM:37-43.

Robert F. Taft, S.J.

Reconstituting the Oblation of the Chrysostom Anaphora: An Exercise in Comparative Liturgy*

In memory of Mark Searle
September 19, 1941 – August 16, 1992

In a previous article I have already discussed the text of the oblation and hymn of CHR and its antecedents.[1] That study showed the problematic

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Abbreviations:

AP = The no-longer extant Antiochene Greek Anaphora of the Apostles, the Urtext from which CHR and APSyr are presumed to derive.

ApConst = *Les Constitutions apostoliques* (see SC 336).

APSyr = The Syriac Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles (I).

ApTrad 4 = *The Apostolic Tradition* 4, ed. B. Botte, *La Tradition apostolique de S. Hippolyte. Essai de reconstitution* (LQF 39, Münster 1963) 12-17 = PE 81.

AS I-III = *Anaphorae Syriacae, quotquot in codicibus adhuc repertae sunt*, cura Pontificii Instituti Studiorum Orientalium editae et latinae versae, vols. I-III (Rome 1939-1981).

BAS = The Anaphora of St. Basil in its Byzantine redaction, specified as ByzBAS when discussed in conjunction with EgBAS = the Egyptian (Greek) redaction, or SahBAS = the Sahidic (Coptic) redaction, q.v.

EgBAS = Egyptian BAS, the Alexandrian Greek redaction of the Anaphora of St. Basil.

Fenwick, *Oblation* = J. R. K. Fenwick, *"The Missing Oblation." The Contents of the Early Antiochene Anaphora* (Alcuin/GROW Joint Liturgical Study, Nottingham 1989).

JAS = The Anaphora of St. James, in the Greek redaction unless otherwise specified (cf. SyrJAS).

MK = The Alexandrian Greek Anaphora of St. Mark.

PE = A. Hänggi, I. Pahl, *Prex eucharistica* (Spicilegium Friburgense 12, Fribourg 1968).

PO 26.2 = B.-Ch. Mercier (ed.), *La Liturgie de S. Jacques*. Edition critique, avec traduction latine (PO 26.2, Paris 1946) 115-256.

OCP 59 (1993) 387-402

nature of this section of the CHR anaphora, especially when compared with the parallel text of the related APSyr.[2] The relation between APSyr and CHR has been amply demonstrated: they are but two later, expanded redactions of a no longer extant Greek Urtext, called "The Liturgy of the Apostles" (= AP) in the sources of Late Antiquity.[3] But if the divergences in the presanctus of APSyr/CHR can be attributed to theological elaborations of the Greek Urtext at the turn of the fourth-fifth centuries,[4] the same cannot be said of the notable differences in the post-institution structure of our two extant redactions, the section of the anaphora that concerns us here.

There, both the Greek (CHR) and Syriac (APSyr) recensions betray signs of expansion and substantial reworking to fit the framework of their respective local traditions.[5] In the present study I shall use the methods of comparative liturgy in an attempt to get behind these extant recensions and imagine what the Urtext might have looked like. My concern will be purely textual: the theological issues I have already addressed elsewhere.[6]

I. THE TEXTS

For convenience of unifying references to the tables, I employ here the

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SahBAS = Ancient Sahidic version of the Egyptian redaction of the Anaphora of St. Basil.

SC 336 = *Les Constitutions apostoliques*, ed. M. Metzger, tome 3: Livres V-VIII (SC 336, Paris 1987).

SyrJAS = The Syriac (Jacobite) redaction of the Anaphora of St. James.

Taft, "Authenticity" = R. F. Taft, "The Authenticity of the Chrysostom Anaphora Revisited. Determining the Authorship of Liturgical Texts by Computer," OCP 56 (1990) 5-51.

[1] R. F. Taft, "The Oblation and Hymn of the Chrysostom Anaphora. Its Text and Antecedents," at press in *Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* (miscellanea in honor of Fr. Marco Petta).

[2] Since the same two parallel passages of these anaphoras will be referred to continuously in the following pages, I give here once and for all the editions where they may be found: APSyr: AS I, 203-27, here 218-20 = H. Engberding "Die syrische Anaphora der zwölf Apostel und ihre Paralleltexte einander gegenüberstellt und mit neuen Untersuchungen zur Urgeschichte der Chrysostomosliturgie begleitet," OC 34 = ser. 3 vol. 12 (1938) 213-247, here 224-28 = PE 267; CHR: Brightman 328-30 = PE 226.

[3] See Taft, "Authenticity," 5-51, esp. 5-21, 48-55.

[4] *Ibid.* 27-55.

[5] See the article cited in note 1.

[6] R. F. Taft, "Understanding the Byzantine Anaphoral Oblation," in press in a *Festschrift* for Aidan Kavanagh, O.S.B.

same numbering system as in my previous article[7] for the textual components of this part of CHR/APSyr under discussion here:

1. Remembering, therefore… [= anamnesis].
2. giving thanks…
3. offering you your own from what is yours [= oblation I].
4. always and in every way [= leader to the hymn].
5. We hymn you… [= hymn],
6. we thank you [= thanksgiving within the hymn text],
7. and we pray you,
8. be propitious and have mercy.
9. In silence and fear…
10. Again we offer… [= oblation II].
11. and ask you to send down your Holy Spirit [= epiclesis].

The text in CHR reads as follows:

Ὁ ἱερεύς· Μεμνημένοι τοίνυν τῆς σωτηρίου ταύτης ἐντολῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γεγενημένων, τοῦ σταυροῦ, τοῦ τάφου, τῆς τριημέρου ἀναστάσεως, τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναβάσεως, τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν καθέδρας, τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ἐνδόξου πάλιν παρουσίας	**Priest**: Remembering, therefore, this saving command and all that was done for our salvation: the cross, the tomb, the third-day resurrection, the ascension and sitting at the right hand, the second and glorious coming,
Ἐκφώνως· Τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέροντες κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα	**Aloud:** offering you your own from what is yours, always and in every way
Ὁ λαός· Σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν σὲ εὐλογοῦμεν σοὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν κύριε καὶ δεόμεθά σου ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν.	**People:** We hymn you, we praise you, we thank you, O Lord, and we pray you, O our God!
Ὁ ἱερεύς· Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ ἱκετεύομεν κατάπεμψον τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον…	**Priest:** Again we offer you this reasonable and unbloody worship and we invoke and pray and beseech you, send down your Holy Spirit …

[7] *Ibid.*

The related texts of CHR/APSyr follow in Table I. Non-italicized texts are common to both redactions, italicized segments are peculiar to one or the other, boldface highlights the passages that will be the focus of our attention here.

CHR	**APSyr**
1. Μεμνημένοι . . .	1. Dum igitur memores sumus...
	2. *Nos quoque Domine gratias agentes confitemur tibi*
3. *τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέροντες*	
4. κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα	4. **in omnibus et propter omnia.**
5. σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν σὲ εὐλογοῦμεν	5. **Te laudamus, te benedicimus,** *te adoramus*,
6. *σοὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν* κύριε	
7. καὶ δεόμεθά σου ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν.	7. **et rogamus te, Domine Deus noster,**
	8. *propitius esto, O bone, et miserere nostri.*
	9. *In silentio et timore...*
10. *Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν*	
11. *καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ* ἱκετεύομεν, κατάπεμψον τὸ πενῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον . . .	11. *Deinde, vero,* petimus *a te, Domine...* ut mittas spiritum tuum sanctum...

II. The crux interpretum

In these two closely related texts — they are but two variant redactions of the same anaphora — the most obvious and most serious problem is the oblation: there are two in CHR and none whatever in APSyr (Table I, 3, 10).[8]

Fenwick has quite rightly zeroed in on the Antiochene oblation as the *crux interpretum*.[9] Regarding CHR/APSyr, the focus of our interest here, the basic problem is that CHR, like BAS, has two oblations (the boldface

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[8] I deal with some of these issues in R. F. Taft, "Structural Problems in the Syriac Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles (I)," at press in *ARAM Periodical* (Oxford), special number in honor of Prof. Sebastian Brock.

[9] Fenwick, *Oblation*, esp. 12-13, 24-25.

προσφέροντες/προσφέρομεν text in Table I, 3, 10 above) whereas APSyr, closely related to CHR, has none (Table I). The nucleus common to BAS, CHR, and APSyr, in addition to the primitive shape of MK in the sixth-century parchment fragment *Manchester John Rylands ms 465*[10] and the Sahidic and later Greek redactions of EgBAS,[11] is illustrated in Tables II-III.

TABLE II

ApTrad 4	**ApConst VIII, 12:38-39**
1. Μεμνημένοι ...	1. μεμνημένοι ...
3. προσφέρομεν ...	3. προσφέρομέν σοι ...
6. εὐχαριστοῦντές σοι ...	6. εὐχαριστοῦντές σοι ...
11. καὶ ἀξιοῦμέν σε	11. καὶ ἀξιοῦμέν σε
ὅπως ... καταπέμψῃς	ὅπως ... καταπέμψῃς
τὸ μνεῦμά ...	τὸ ἅγιον σου πνεῦμα ...
SahBAS	**EgBAS**
1. μεμνημένοι...	1. μεμνημένοι...
3. σοὶ ... προεθήκαμεν ...	3. σοὶ προσφέρομεν ...
	4. σὲ αἰνοῦμεν ...
11. καὶ δεόμεθά σου...	11. καὶ δεόμεθα
καὶ προσκυνοῦμέν σε ...	καὶ προσκυνοῦμέν σε ...
ἐλθεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα ...	ἐλθεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα ...
BAS	**CHR**
1. μεμνημένοι ...	1. μεμνημένοι ...
3. σοὶ προσφέροντες ...	3. σοὶ προσεφέροντες ...
4. σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν ...	4. σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν ...
6. σοὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν ...	6. σοὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν ...
	10. ἔτι προσφέρομεν ...

[10] Later texts of MK clearly manifest several strata of material at this point: compare G. J. Cuming, *The Liturgy of St. Mark*, edited from the manuscripts with a commentary (OCA 234, Rome 1990) 43-46 with PE 112-14, 116-23.

[11] The Alexandrian Greek Liturgy of St. Gregory also has the anamnesis, oblation 1, hymn, epiclesis structure: A. Gerhards, *Die griechische Gregoriosanaphora. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Eucharistischen Hochgebets* (LQF 65, Münster 1984) 34 = PE 364.

11. σοῦ δεόμεθα	11. καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν
καὶ σὲ προσκυνοῦμεν ...	καὶ δεόμεθα
	καὶ ἱκετεύομεν
ἐλθεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα ...	κατάπεμψον τὸ πνεῦμα ...

APSyr	**UrAP**
1. Dum igitur memores sumus...	1. μεμνημένοι ...
2. nos quoque gratias agentes confitemur tibi...	2. εὐχαριστοῦντές σοι ...
4. te laudamus...	
11. deinde vero petimus... ut mittas Spiritum...	11. καὶ δεόμεθα κατάπεμψον τὸ πνεῦμα ...

III. OBLATION VERSUS THANKSGIVING

Here, as elsewhere, the basis of all comparative liturgical analysis is a set of similarities and dissimilarities in parallel texts, indicating traditions at once distinct and related.

The problem in such matters is always the same: to decide, first, whether the similarities are [1] traceable to a common origin or [2] are the result of the later assimilation of one text to another or of both to a third; and, conversely, whether the differences must be attributed [1] to separate origins or [2] to later interpolations into texts of the same stirp. I have already argued in favor of the priority of the APSyr thanksgiving (Table I, 2) over against oblation I of CHR (Table I, 3).[12] Since the text of oblation I (Τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέροντες) plus hymn (Σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν...) is found in BAS, CHR, and some of the standard Armenian anaphoras,[13] as well as in some though not all redactions of SyrJAS but is not native to Greek JAS[14] or

[12] See section III. 4 of the article cited in note 1.

[13] PE 280, 287, 290, 296, 305, 307, 322, 329, 335.

[14] The oldest ms of SyrJAS, the 8th c. palimpsest fragment *British Library 824 = Add. 14615*, is defective at this point: O. Heiming, "Palimpsestbruckstücke der syrischen Version der Jakobusanaphora aus dem 8. Jahrhundert in der Handschrift add. 14615 des British Museums," OCP 16 (1950) 190-200. Oblation I is not in what Heiming (AS II, 134) calls the "Edessan recension" of SyrJAS attributed to James of Edessa (640-708), found in *British Library 286 = Add. 14493*, ed. A. Rücker, *Die Jakobosanaphora nach der Rezension des J'aqôb(h) von Edessa mit dem griechischen Paralleltext herausgegeben* (Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen 4, Münster 1923) 18-19. But this recension is later than what Heiming dubs the "ancient recension" (AS II, 132), which does have this reading in the 10th c. *British Library 293 = Add. 14499*, ed. AS II, 148-49. But the evolution of JAS is not our problem at the moment. It is obvious that the

the other Syriac anaphoras,[15] where did it come from? It is not found in *ApConst* VIII, 12, which has between the command to repeat (12:37) and the epiclesis (12:39) the following anamnesis structure (12:38)[16]:

> Μεμνημένοι ... προσφέρομέν σοι ... εὐχαριστοῦντές σοι δι' αὐτοῦ ἐφ' οἷς κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς ἑστάναι ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἱερατεύειν σοι.

So I would judge the oblation-hymn combination now common in Antiochene-type anaphoral texts to be at the earliest a late fourth or early fifth century interpolation into the liturgy of Antiochia, as I have tried to show in another study.[17] But if the τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέρομεν/-οντες oblation is a later interpolation, the "offerimus" reprise — what I have called oblation II in CHR (Table I, 10) — is the earlier one, parallel to the single oblation in JAS:

> Μεμνημένοι ... προσφέρομέν σοι, δέσποτα, τὴν φοβερὰν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν, δεόμενοι ἵνα ... χαρίσῃ ἡμῖν τὰ οὐράνια καὶ αἰώνιά σου δωρήματα ...[18]

But where did CHR get oblation I, since it is not in APSyr nor, doubtless, was it in UrAP? Probably by assimilation to BAS. According to the fourth-century techniques of anaphoral construction as convincingly retraced by Fenwick, the oblation in BAS, from which oblation I of CHR doubtless derives, is not original to either CHR or BAS but was interpolated around 370 into UrBAS, the hypothetical form of the Anaphora of St. Basil presumed to be behind all extant redactions (BAS, EgBAS, SahBAS, etc.).[19]

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entire segment of SyrJAS comprising the oblation I and the hymn (AS II, 148-49 = PE 271.18-20), which are not in Greek JAS (PO 26.2:204.18-21 = PE 250), is a later interpolation of Syro-Antiochene material into the originally Greek anaphora of JAS. This is confirmed by its absence in both redactions of Georgian JAS: M. Tarchnišvili, *Liturgiae Ibericae antiquiores* (CSCO 122-123, scriptores Iberici 1-2, ser. I, vol. 1, Louvain 1950) Georgian JAS I: nos. 22-23 = text pp. 14-15, versio p. 11; Georgian JAS II, nos. 40-42, text pp. 49-50, versio p. 37; and in Armenian JAS: Armenian text in Y. Gat'rčean, Y. Tašean, *Srbagan pataragamatoyk' hayoc'* (K'nnakan hratarakakut'iun matenagrut'can maxneac' hayoc' I) = J. Catergian, *Die Liturgien bei den Armeniern. Fünfzehn Texte und Untersuchungen*, hrsg. von J. Dashian (in Armenian, Vienna 1897) 30-40 = PE 343-44; cf. A. Baumstark, "Denkmäler altarmenischer Meßliturgie. 3. Die armenische Rezension der Jakobusliturgie," OC n.s. 7-8 (1918) 1-32, here 17-18.

[15] PE 280, 287, 290, 296, 305, 307.

[16] SC 336:198.

[17] Taft, "Structural Problems" (note 8 above).

[18] PO 26.2:204.1-14.

[19] J. R. K. Fenwick, *The Anaphoras of St Basil and St James. An Investigation into their Common Origin* (OCA 240, Rome 1992) 305-306; id., *Oblation* 12; id., *Fourth*

Without repeating Fenwick's argumentation here, nor my own in earlier studies of this material,[20] I summarize here some conclusions relevant to our present discussion:

1. The structure of CHR (oblation I/ κατὰ πάντα plus hymn including thanksgiving/oblation II) and APSyr (thanksgiving instead of oblation I/κατὰ πάντα plus hymn without thanksgiving/no oblation II) are independent. Since the elements common to both (κατὰ πάντα plus hymn) are embedded in a different structure — in CHR of oblation, in APSyr of thanksgiving — they do not go back to UrAP but were added to CHR and APSyr independently from another source(s).

2. This means, as Fenwick has argued, that the early Antiochene post-institution anaphoral material — and hence UrAP from which both CHR and APSyr derive — had no oblation at all but rather an anamnesis/thanksgiving/epiclesis structure. This can be considered confirmed by the fact that the oblation in *ApConst* VIII, 12:38 is derived from *ApTrad* 4.

3. The shape of CHR results from the assimilation of AP to BAS. Hence its *memores/tua ex tuis offerentes/semper et ubique te laudamus/epiclesis* sequence.

4. The shape of APSyr results from the assimilation of AP to SyrJAS. Hence its *memores/gratias agentes/semper et ubique te laudamus/epiclesis* sequence.

One can even go a step further, perhaps, and propose that in the original Antiochene structure, prior to the reworking of *ApConst* VIII, 12 via *ApTrad* 4; and of CHR and APSyr via assimilation to BAS and JAS respectively; the original thanksgiving unit in the Antiochene Uranaphora was located before the institution narrative and not after it. In fact this is what we find in *ApConst* VIII, 12:35 and in CHR/APSyr:

1. *ApConst* VIII, 12:35, in a sort of pre-institution anamnesis, has: Μεμνημένοι οὖν ὧν δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπέμεινεν, εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, θεὲ παντοκράτορ, οὐχ ὅσον ὀφείλομεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον δυνάμεθα, καὶ τὴν διάταξιν αὐτοῦ πληροῦμεν.[21]

2. The presanctus of CHR/APSyr have just before the transition to the Sanctus: Ὑπὲρ τούτων ἁπάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι/Propter haec omnia

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Century Anaphoral Construction Techniques (Grove Liturgical Study 45, Nottingham 1986) 35-37.

[20] Notes 1, 8 above.

[21] SC 336:196 = PE 92.

gratias agimus tibi.[22]

This would reduce the AP Urtext to: "Remembering this saving command and all that was done for us we ask you to send down your Holy Spirit..." Be that as it may, this direct move from "command to repeat" to embryonic anamnesis to epiclesis petition, with no intervening oblation or thanksgiving unit, is what we see in Egypt in the sixth-seventh century Der Balyzeh Papyrus anaphoral fragment:[23]

Ο[σακις] εαν εσθιητε τον αρτον τουτον πινητε δε το ποτηριον τουτο τον εμον θανατον κατα-γ[γ]ελλεται την εμην αναμν[ησιν πο]ιειτε	As often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim my death, you make my remembrance.
τον θανατον σου κ[αταγγελλ]ομεν την αναστασιν [σου ομολογουμ]εν και δεομεθα τ[.........]	Your death we proclaim, your resurrection we confess, and we pray [...*following lines of text missing*].

IV. LATER EVOLUTION OF THE CHR TEXT

Perhaps the earliest extant texts of EgBAS and MK can help us retrace the later development of the CHR text via assimilation to BAS. Early Egyptian SahBAS, from a BAS Greek Urtext of which EgBAS is a later redaction, is preserved in a Coptic fragment from the first half of the seventh century, discovered in Cairo by J. Doresse and purchased for the University of Louvain.[24] The text of MK is from the sixth-century parchment fragment, ms 465 of the John Rylands Library in Manchester.[25] I give the relevant texts in Table III.

TABLE III

Rylands MK	**SahBAS**	**EgBAS**
σοὶ	σοὶ	
	τὰ σὰ	τὰ σὰ

[22] PE 224.14-15; 266.2-3.

[23] PE 126-27; translation adapted from R. C. D. Jasper and G. J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed.* Texts translated and edited with commentary (3rd ed. New York 1987) 80.

[24] J. Doresse, E. Lanne, *Un témoin archaïque de la liturgie copte de S. Basile* (Bibliothèque du *Muséon* 47, Louvain 1960) 1, 5. The Greek retroversion is from *ibid.* 19, 21. The text of EgBAS is found in PE 352.

[25] PE 122. On this ms see Cuming, *St. Mark* (note 10 above) xxviii.

ἐκ τῶν σῶν	ἐκ τῶν σῶν	ἐκ τῶν σῶν
δώρων προεθήκαμεν	δώρων προεθήκαμεν	δώρων σοι προσφέρομεν
ἐνώπιόν σου	ἐνώπιόν σου	
	τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον	
	καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο	
		κατὰ πάντα
		καὶ διὰ πάντα
		καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν
		σὲ αἰνοῦμεν
		σὲ εὐλογοῦμεν
		σοὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν,
		Κύριε, καὶ δεόμεθά.
		σου ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν.
καὶ δεόμεθα	καὶ δεόμεθά σου	Καὶ δεόμεθα
καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε		καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε
		φιλάνθρωπε, ἀγαθέ,
	ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν	Κύριε,
	ἡμεῖς οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ	ἡμεῖς οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ
	καὶ ἀνάξιοι	καὶ ἀνάξιοι
	καὶ οἱ ταλαίπωροι	δοῦλοί σου,
	καὶ προσκυνοῦμέν σε	καὶ προσκυνοῦμέν σε
	εὐδοκίᾳ τῆς σῆς	εὐδοκίᾳ τῆς σῆς
	ἀγαθότητος	ἀγαθότητος
ἐξαπόστειλόν σου	ἐλθεῖν	ἐλθεῖν
τὸ πνεῦμα ...	τὸ πνεῦμα ...	τὸ πνεῦμα ...
	σου τὸ ἅγιον	σου τὸ αγιον

These texts, when compared with ByzBAS, betray the growth of the liturgical unit within BAS. We can prescind from the question whether the two earlier texts of SahBAS and MK are similar because they derive from the same Formelgut, or whether a hypothetical, still earlier Cappadocian SahBAS, in the process of being acclimated to Egypt, had been Alexandrianized. I think the latter more probable, and presume that the Urtext of the oblation in Cappadocian SahBAS must have been structured, in its basic skeleton, somewhat as follows:

3. τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν
σοὶ προσφέρομεν

11. καὶ δεόμεθά σου
καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε

ἐλθεῖν τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ...

Can one argue in the same way for an even earlier Antiochene UrAP, without the interpolation κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα ... καὶ δεόμεθά σου ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν? First of all, it is clear that APSyr, like SyrJAS, has been reworked to conform, in part at least, to the Syriac standard modelled on JAS:

TABLE IV

SyrJAS	**APSyr**
1. Memores ...	1. Dum igitur memores sumus...
10. offerimus tibi hoc sacrificium tremendum et incruentum ...	
2. Et nos quoque tibi gratias agentes et confitemur tibi	2. Nos quoque, Domine, gratias agentes confitemur tibi
3. ex tuo tibi offerimus tibi	
4. in omnibus et propter omnia	4. in omnibus et propter omnia
5. Te laudamus, te benedicimus, te adoramus,	5. Te laudamus, te benedicimus, te adoramus
7. et rogamus te, Deus noster:	7. et rogamus te, Domine Deus noster:
8. propitius esto, O bone, et miserere nostri.	8.propitius esto, O bone, et miserere nostri.
11.Miserere nostri Deus pater ... et mitte Spiritum ...	11.Deinde vero petimus a te ... ut mittas Spiritum ...

Since this APSyr reading is not found in CHR, BAS, or Greek JAS, one could argue that it is of neither hagiopolite nor Cappadocian provenance, and could thus be safely taken as the Urtext. So I agree with Fenwick that the τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέροντες of CHR (not found, recall, in *ApConst* VIII, 12), is a later Constantinopolitan assimilation of CHR to BAS. This would reconstruct the hypothetical evolution from the AP Urtext as follows:

Step 1

The point of departure is our hypothetical AP Urtext:

We too, giving thanks to you, O Lord, beseech you, send down your Holy Spirit...	εὐχαριστοῦντές σοι, Κύριε, καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἱκετεύομέν <σε> κατάπεμψον τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ...

Step 2

In a second stage of its evolution, still in Antioch, the hymn would have

been added, and the text filled in and rearranged thus: "We too, giving thanks to you, O Lord, confess you κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα," followed by the Σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν hymn in one of its redactions:

εὐχαριστοῦντές σοι, Κύριε, καὶ ἡμεῖς,
ἐξομολογούμεθά σοι κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα
    σὲ αἰνοῦμεν
    σὲ εὐλογοῦμεν
    σοὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν, Κύριε,
    καὶ δεόμεθά σου
    ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν.
Εἶτα δὲ ἱκετεύομέν <σε>
κατάπεμψον τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ...

Step 3

Transported to Constantinople, probably at the beginning of 398 by Chrysostom himself,[26] AP — in which form, step 1 or step 2 above, cannot of course be determined, since all of this is hypothetical — the text would have been redacted to conform to the already customary oblation framework of Byzantine BAS, with the resulting CHR text looking something like this:

τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέρομεν
<κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα
    σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν
    σὲ εὐλογοῦμεν
    σοὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν, Κύριε,
    καὶ δεόμεθά σου ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν
ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατερείαν>
καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ ἱκετεύομέν [σου]
κατάπεμψον τὸ πνεῦμα σοῦ τὸ ἅγιον ...

With the addition of the hymn — the bracketed section — and the change to προσφέροντες, it assumed the form it already exhibits in the earliest ms of CHR, the mid-eighth century *Barberini 336*.[27]

It is possible, of course, that the hymn was not yet part of the anaphoral structure in Antioch, and hence not in AP when imported to Constantinople, and that steps 1-2 occurred in Constantinople, in one or two separate moments, depending on whether or not the Constantinopolitan redaction of

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[26] Taft, "Authenticity," esp. 33ff.

[27] Brightman 329.

BAS had already adopted the hymn. But I think the other scenario more likely: that the changes had already occurred in Antioch and were brought to Constantinople already in AP.

V. The Missing Oblation of APSyr

That latter scenario could account for Fenwick's "missing oblation" of APSyr. Since there is an oblation in SyrJAS (Table IV, 10), can one also posit an oblation in the AP Urtext as part of the Antiochene Urgut, and argue that it must have been suppressed in APSyr? Fenwick seems to lean toward this view,[28] but I would be skeptical. Of course things do get excised from texts, but there is usually a reason, and I cannot imagine why the oblation would have been dropped from APSyr either early on, in AP by the Antiochenes, since there is an oblation in *ApConst* VIII, 12:38 (Table II, 3); or later, by the Jacobites, since there is one in SyrJAS (Table IV, 10). So it appears that APSyr — and therefore AP — never had an oblation, and this lacuna may be considered characteristic of the early Antiochene-type anaphora.

One thing is certain, at any rate: there is no way in which the present shape of the transition from anamnesis to epiclesis in CHR can be original. For there is not only the problem of the *missing oblation* in APSyr. There is also the *double oblation* in CHR to be accounted for.

V. Conclusion: A Hypothetical Urtext

So I would revise as follows the hypothetical reconstruction already formulated above apropos of τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν:

Μεμνημένοι τοίνυν τῆς σωτηρίου ταύτης ἐντολῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γεγενημένων· τοῦ σταυροῦ, τοῦ τάφου, τῆς τριημέρου ἀναστάσεως, τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναβάσεως, τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν καθέδρας, τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ἐνδόξου παρουσίας,	Remembering, therefore, this saving command, and all that was done for us: the cross, the tomb, the resurrection on the third day, the ascension into heaven, the sitting at the right hand, the second and glorious coming,
προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ αἰναίμακτον λατρείαν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν καὶ δεόμεθά σου καὶ ἱκετεύομεν, κατάπεμψον τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ Ἅγιον ...	we offer you this reasonable and bloodless worship, and we invoke and pray and beseech you, send down your Holy Spirit ...

[28] Fenwick, *Oblation*, esp. 12-13.

The development of these ideas and their liturgical framework within the Antiochene sphere of liturgical creativity can be observed in the transition from *ApTrad* 4 to *ApConst* VIII, 12:38-39, to the later tradition:[29]

TABLE V

ApTrad 4	**ApConst VIII, 12:38-39**
1. Memores igitur mortis et resurrectionis ejus	1. Memores igitur passionis eius et a mortuis eius resurrectionis
	et in coelos reditus et futuri eius secundi adventus, in quo cum gloria et potestate veniet iudicare vivos et mortuos et reddere unicuique secundum opera sua
3. offerimus tibi	3. offerimus tibi, regi ac Deo, secundum mandatum eius
panem et calicem	panem hunc et calicem hunc,
6. gratias agentes quia nos dignos habuisti adstare coram te et tibi ministrare.	6. gratias tibi per eum agentes, quod nos dignos habuisti adstare coram te et tibi ministrare.
11. Et petimus	11. Et oramus te, ut benigne respicias haec dona in conspectu tuo proposita ... et ut placeat tibi ...
ut mittas Spiritum...	et ut mittas Spiritum ...

The fifth-century *Testamentum Domini* I, 23 redaction of the same *ApTrad* 4 material leaves the anamnesis-oblation relatively intact, but changes the epiclesis substantially:

> *Deinde [Episcopus] dicat*: Memores igitur mortis tuae
> et resurrectionis tuae,
>
> offerimus panem et calicem,

[29] A. Raes, "ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ. En tout et pour tout," OC 48 (1964) 216-220, here 219-20. For the respective Greek texts see Table II and, for Egypt, Table III.

gratias agentes tibi, qui es solus Deus in saeculum,
et salvator noster
quoniam nos dignos efficisti, ut staremus coram te
et tibi sacerdotio fungeremur.

Quapropter gratias agimus tibi, nos tui famuli, Domine.
Populus dicat similiter.
Deinde [Episcopus] dicat: Offerimus tibi hanc gratiam actionem, aeterna Trinitas, Domine Iesu Christe, Domine Pater, a quo omnis creatura et omnis natura contremescit in se confugiens, Domine, Spiritum sanctum mitte...[30]

Here too we see a "double oblation," possibly provoked by a reworking of the text necessitated by the interpolation of the people's hymn, as I have suggested was the case with CHR. On the other hand, such an offertory reprise is not unusual in Greek and Syriac anaphoras — *ApConst* VIII, 12:43-44, 48,[31] and the Maronite Anaphora of St. Peter III (Šarar),[32] for example, have several — so I do not wish to exaggerate its import.

From Table V, one can see, I think, the manifest dependence of *ApConst* VIII, 12:38-39 on *ApTrad* 4 in spite of the considerable filling in of the later *ApConst* text. If we bracket the thanksgiving (6), the same *memores-offerimus-[gratias agentes]-petimus* structure is repeated in CHR. But in CHR, thanksgiving for the liturgical ministry has already been offered in the presanctus: "For all [these] things do we thank you, and your only-begotten son, and your Holy Spirit, for all the things we know and do not know, your benefits seen and unseen, accomplished for us. We thank you also for this liturgy which you have deigned to receive from our hands..."[33]

So it is entirely possible that CHR omits a general thanksgiving here in the oblation because it already has one in this concluding thanksgiving of the presanctus.

Admittedly, however, all of this is speculation, a more or less founded hypothesis, not totally arbitrary, but based on the following two arguments, the first one [1] an undeniable fact, the other [2] a customary method of reasoning out of liturgical data.

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[30] I. E. Rahmani (ed.), *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi* (Mainz 1899) 43 = PE 221.

[31] SC 336:202-204.

[32] In the preanaphora, in the postsanctus, after the institution narrative, and at the beginning of the intercessions: AS II.3:301.4, 303.12, 19-20, 305.10.

[33] I discuss this text in Taft, "Authenticity," 45-48.

1. The text of CHR, in its transition from anamnesis to epiclesis, shows unmistakable signs of reworking, and, in its present form, poses obvious problems both stylistic, and, from comparison with the parallel pieces in other texts, structural.

2. In the absence of direct textual evidence, comparative liturgy is the only legitimate basis for any hypothetical reconstruction of the original shape of a text.

Pontificio Istituto Orientale — Robert F. Taft, S.J.

Simon C. Mimouni

La lecture liturgique et les apocryphes du Nouveau Testament

Le cas de la Dormitio grecque du Pseudo-Jean

Depuis longtemps déjà la critique s'interroge au sujet de la destination de la vaste production littéraire relative au sort final de Marie, mieux connue sous le nom de *Transitus Mariae*, ainsi qu'au sujet de sa fonction et de son statut dans le "corpus" que forme la littérature ancienne chrétienne.

Le présent propos voudrait tenter de restituer les *Transitus Mariae*, dans leur contexte, celui qui apparaît comme premier, à savoir la liturgie. En effet, la tendance, fort fâcheuse d'ailleurs, et qui de fait ne repose que sur une mention dans le Décret dit de Gélase, que l'on a de classer ces textes parmi les apocryphes du Nouveau Testament, nous fait perdre de vue quelle fut véritablement, pour la plupart, leur destination, leur raison d'être si l'on préfère. C'est-à-dire, très vraisemblablement, la lecture dans un cadre liturgique monastique, mais aussi cathédral.

C'est ce que l'on va tâcher de démontrer au cours de cette étude qui se répartira en deux moments: le premier sera une brève enquête dans les homéliaires où se rencontrent ces textes; le second sera une courte analyse d'un écrit sur le sort final de Marie.

1ER TEMPS: L'ENQUÊTE DANS LES HOMÉLIAIRES

Lorsqu'on regarde dans quels types de manuscrits se trouvent les *Transitus Mariae*, on se rend compte qu'ils sont bien souvent transmis, mais pas toujours, dans des homéliaires. Ceci peut paraître normal, mais pas tant si on considère ces Transitus comme des apocryphes, c'est-à-dire comme des écrits théoriquement mis à l'index. Cette mise à l'index, en effet, si elle eut vraiment lieu, est constatable en Occident avec le Décret gélasien[1]. On

[1] A ce sujet, cf. S. C. Mimouni, "Les Transitus Mariae sont-ils vraiment des apocryphes?", in *Studia Patristica, Eleventh International Conference on Patristic Studies*, Oxford 19-24 August 1991 (à paraître).

De l'avis général des savants qui se sont intéressés au Décret gélasien, il s'agit d'un document privé. C'est notamment l'opinion de E. Von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 348. Autrement dit, si tel était le cas, l'attribution du qualificatif "apocryphe" au livre du *Transitus Mariae* n'est pas une mesure officielle, il s'agit du jugement d'un particulier qui comme

ne connaît pas, pour l'Orient, un fait semblable. Photius, par exemple, ne dit rien au sujet de la littérature sur le sort final de Marie qu'il devait pourtant connaître.

En ce qui concerne l'utilisation des apocryphes dans la liturgie, la question se pose de manière radicalement différente en Occident et en Orient. En Occident, l'Eglise, à cause de l'affaire de Priscillien et des priscillianistes, a assez vite essayé d'interdire l'utilisation des extra-canoniques dans la liturgie. En Orient, l'Eglise, plus laxiste, mais surtout plus divisée, a laissé faire et les écrits extra-canoniques ont pénétré dans la liturgie.

L'examen des homéliaires n'est jamais dénué d'intéret. Dans le cas présent, il sera surtout révélateur de la fonction liturgique des *Transitus Mariae*, du moins pour le principal d'entre eux.

C'est pourquoi, on présentera plusieurs homéliaires: les premiers appartiennent à la tradition grecque; les seconds à la tradition arménienne.

Auparavant, il faut souligner que les homéliaires n'ont fait l'objet que de trop rares recherches[2]. C'est un domaine où il reste beaucoup à faire.

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tel n'engage que lui. D'ailleurs, ce n'est qu'au IXème siècle que le Décret gélasien pénètrera dans les collections canoniques (cf. aussi sur ce point E. Amann, in RB 10 (1913), p. 604).

[2] Pour une introduction générale, on peut se référer à H. Barré-R. Grégoire, Art. "Homéliaires", in DSp 7 (1969), col. 597-617.

D'un point de vue méthodologique, la consultation des travaux sur les homéliaires latins, dont il ne sera pas question ici, est néanmoins utile: R. Grégoire, *Les homéliaires du Moyen Age*. Inventaire et analyse des manuscrits, Rome, 1966; R. Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux*. Analyses de manuscrits, Spolète, 1980 (ce dernier reprend, en les modifiant, certaines données du premier). En ce qui concerne les homéliaires grecs, il existe bien sûr l'indispensable travail de A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhundert*, 3 volumes, Leipzig, 1937-1952 (TU 50-52), utilement complété par les recherches de F. Paschke, "Überblick über die hagiographischen und homiletischen Textsammlungen der griechischen Kirche", in *Die beiden griechischen Klementinen-Epitomen und ihre Anhänge*, Berlin, 1966, p. 81-108 et de L. Perria, *I manoscritti citati da Albert Ehrhard*, Rome, 1979. Il faut aussi relever une excellente recension de l'ouvrage d'Albert Ehrhard par C. Martin, "Aux sources de l'hagiographie et de l'homilétique byzantines", in Byz 12 (1937), p. 347-362.

Enfin, pour l'homilétique orientale, il convient de mentionner un précieux article de R. Gregoire, "Les homéliaires liturgiques des Eglises d'Orient", in *Melto* 4 (1970), p. 37-53.

Les homéliaires mariaux n'ont été que fort peu étudiés. On peut citer Victor Laurent qui a décrit un panégyrique marial[3]. Il s'agit du manuscrit de Paris BN Coislin gr. 274, copié au XVIIème siècle, qui transmet un homéliaire bien plus ancien, probablement du XIVème siècle. Ce codex contient des pièces pour les fêtes mariales de la Nativité (8 septembre), de la Présentation (21 novembre), de la Purification (2 février), de l'Annonciation (25 mars) et de l'Assomption (15 août)[4].

Il faut aussi attirer l'attention sur un homéliaire fort ancien pour les fêtes en l'honneur de Jésus et de Marie. Il s'agit du manuscrit Sinaïticus gr. 491, de la fin du VIIIème ou du début du IXème siècle, qui, outre le Protévangile de Jacques, fournit le texte unique d'une homélie de Théoteknos de Livias sur l'assomption[5]. Cette pièce est considérée, par son éditeur A. Wenger, comme la plus ancienne homélie sur le sort final de Marie, elle daterait de la fin du VIème ou du début du VIIème siècle, elle serait donc antérieure aux trilogies homilétiques d'André de Crète, de Jean de Damas et de Germain de Constantinople[6]. On devine l'importance d'un tel manuscrit qui, de plus, est si ancien.

Venons-en maintenant à certains homéliaires caractéristiques de la tradition grecque.

LES HOMÉLIAIRES DE LA TRADITION GRECQUE

Trois homéliaires seront principalement considérés: ce sont les plus anciens connus qui fournissent le texte de la Dormitio grecque du Pseudo-Jean. Il s'agit de trois manuscrits déposés à la Bibliothèque Vaticane. En outre, on examinera aussi un dernier homéliaire qui, lui, contient le texte du Discours sur la dormition de la Vierge de Jean de Thessalonique. Il s'agit d'un manuscrit déposé à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Vienne.

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[3] V. Laurent, "L'homéliaire marial du Coislin gr. 274 et l'activité paléographique du métropolite de Méthymne Gabriel Summaripa", in *Revista Arhivelor* 6 (1945), p. 145-155.

[4] Il s'agit d'un manuscrit déjà signalé par A. Ehrhard, op. cit., t. 2, Leipzig, 1938, p. 205. Le Paris BN Coislin gr. 274 ne contient que des homélies, aucun récit hagiographique. Pour la fête du 15 août, le programme est le suivant: André de Crète, homélies 3, 2 et 1; Jean de Damas, homélies 2, 1 et 3; enfin l'homélie de Modeste de Jérusalem.

[5] A. Wenger, *L'Assomption de la T. S. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VIème au Xème siècle*, Etudes et documents, Paris, 1955, p. 96-99, donne une description détaillée de ce manuscrit. Il était déjà décrit par A. Ehrhard, op. cit., t. 2, Leipzig, 1938, p. 195-197.

[6] Cf. A. Wenger, op. cit., Paris, 1955, p. 103.

On s'intéressera exclusivement aux programmes que ces manuscrits présentent pour la fête du 15 août.

Programme au 15 août dans le Vatican gr. 455[7]:

Koimesis. Homélie d'André de Crète.
Koimesis. Homélie d'André de Crète.
Koimesis. Homélie d'André de Crète.
Koimesis. Homélie de Germain de Constantinople.
Koimesis. Homélie de Jean de Damas.
Koimesis. Homélie de Jean de Damas.
Koimesis. Récit de Jean le Théologien.

Origine du ms.: ?
Date du ms.: IXème-Xème siècle.
Type de ms.: Panégyrique semestriel.

Dans le programme du Vaticanus gr. 455, la Dormitio du Pseudo-Jean vient à la suite d'une série d'homélies sur le sort final de Marie: les trois d'André de Crète, une de Germain de Constantinople (BHG 1119b) et deux de Jean de Damas.

Programme au 15 août dans le Vatican gr. 1671[8]:

Koimesis. Récit de Jean le Théologien.
Koimesis. Homélie de Théodore Studite.
Koimesis. Homélie d'André de Crète.
Koimesis. Homélie d'André de Crète.
Koimesis. Homélie d'André de Crète.
Koimesis. Homélie de Jean de Damas.
Koimesis. Homélie de Jean de Damas.

Origine du ms.: Copié au monastère du Studion à Constantinople.
Date du ms.: Xème siècle.
Type de ms.: Ménologe prémétaphrastique du mois d'août.

Dans le Vaticanus gr. 1671, au contraire, la Dormitio du Pseudo-Jean précède la série d'homélies parmi lesquelles on retrouve celles d'André de

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[7] Cf. A. Ehrhard, op. cit., t. 2, Leipzig, 1938, p. 113-119.
[8] Cf. A. Ehrhard, op. cit., t. 1, Leipzig, 1937, p. 113-119.

Crète et de Jean de Damas, en revanche la pièce de Germain de Constantinople est remplacée par celle de Théodore Studite.

Programme au 15 août dans le Vatican gr. 1633[9]:

Koimesis. Récit de Jean le Théologien.
Koimésis. Homélie d'André de Crète.
Koimésis. Homélie d'André de Crète.
Koimésis. Homélie d'André de Crète.

Origine du ms.: ?
Date du ms.: Xème-XIème siècle.
Type de ms.: Panégyrique annuel italo-grec.

Le programme que présente le Vaticanus gr. 1633 est bref: la Dormitio du Pseudo-Jean est suivie de la trilogie homilétique d'André de Crète, le premier panégyriste grec, d'origine palestinienne, sur le sort final de Marie.

Voilà pour les trois manuscrits qui fournissent le texte de la Dormitio grecque du Pseudo-Jean. Passons maintenant à un manuscrit qui contient le Discours de Jean de Thessalonique.

Programme au 15 août dans le Vienne hist. gr. 45[10]:

Koimesis. Discours de Jean de Thessalonique.
Koimesis. Homélie d'André de Crète.
Koimesis. Homélie d'André de Crète.
Koimesis. Homélie d'André de Crète.
Koimesis. Homélie de Germain de Constantinople.
Koimesis. Homélie de Germain de Constantinople.
Koimesis. Homélie de Germain de Constantinople.
Koimesis. Homélie de Jean de Damas.
Koimesis. Homélie de Jean de Damas.
Koimesis. Homélie de Jean de Damas.

Origine du ms.: Copié à Constantinople.
Date du ms.: XIème siècle.
Type de ms.: Ménologe du mois d'août.

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[9] Cf. A. Ehrhard, op. cit., t. 2, Leipzig, 1938, p. 134-142.

[10] Cf. A. Ehrhard, op. cit., t. 1, Leipzig, 1937, p. 682-688.

Dans le manuscrit de Vienne, le Discours de Jean de Thessalonique, qui remplace la Dormitio du Pseudo-Jean, précède les trilogies homilétiques d'André de Crète, de Germain de Constantinople et de Jean de Damas. C'est, si on peut dire, un programme complet, classique même, qui se rencontre tout particulièrement dans les homéliaires fournissant le texte de Jean de Thessalonique. N'oublions pas que le but avoué de l'archevêque de Thessalonique (première moitié du VIIème siècle) était de remplacer un écrit qualifié d'apocryphe, peut-être le Pseudo-Jean. Les programmes de nombreux manuscrits paraissent avoir respecté cet objectif.

Une comparaison de ces programmes est-elle pertinente, et surtout peut-elle nous aider à situer la Dormitio du Pseudo-Jean dans son milieu de vie, son *Sitz im Leben* (naissance, destination, croissance, fonction)? Il faut reconnaître qu'une telle comparaison n'est convainquante que sur un seul point: la fonction liturgique de ce texte.

Quant à la composition programmatique, elle semble répondre à un ordre plus ou moins précis: le récit de Jean le Théologien est accompagné d'un nombre variable d'homélies d'André de Crète, de Germain de Constantinople et de Jean de Damas. L'introduction d'une homélie de Théodore Studite dans ce type de programme est assez rare; le cas du Vaticanus gr. 1671 se comprend quand on sait que ce manuscrit a été copié au monastère du Studion à Constantinople, dont l'auteur de la pièce est le fondateur. Il en est de même dans le dernier manuscrit examiné, à la différence que le récit de Jean le Théologien est remplacé par le Discours de Jean de Thessalonique, comme cela est fréquemment le cas dans les manuscrits qui contiennent ce texte. Il est possible que le Vaticanus gr. 1633, qui ne contient que des homélies d'André de Crète, fournisse un programme qui soit premier par rapport aux autres. La trilogie homilétique d'André de Crète étant plus ancienne que celles de Germain de Constantinople ou de Jean de Damas. Mais on le voit, l'argument est faible. En revanche, il n'est pas impossible que le Vienne hist. gr. 45, qui contient les trilogies homilétiques des trois docteurs de la dormition, présente une forme programmatique achevée.

Ces constatations descriptives conduisent-elles à des remarques critiques? Permettent-elles de serrer de plus près l'histoire du milieu de vie du texte? En d'autres termes, une comparaison programmatique aide-t-elle à mieux comprendre le milieu de diffusion et de transmission d'un texte? Un

article récent de Michel van Esbroeck tendrait à répondre positivement à ces questions[11].

Passons maintenant à certains homéliaires caractéristiques de la tradition arménienne.

LES HOMÉLIAIRES DE LA TRADITION ARMÉNIENNE

Les homéliaires arméniens ont fait récemment l'objet d'études de la part de Charles Renoux[12], de Jean Muyldermans[13], mais aussi de Michel van Esbroeck et de Ugo Zanetti[14].

On examinera principalement le programme au 15 août que présente le manuscrit Paris BN arm. 110. Mais, il ne faut pas perdre de vue que bien d'autres manuscrits arméniens ont des programmes identiques ou presque identiques.

Programme au 15 août dans le Paris BN arm. 110[15]:

Lettre de Denys l'Aréopagite à Tite (BHO 642).

Jean Chrysostome, Sur la Vierge (l'homélie est probablement de Proclus)[16].

Transitus Mariae (BHO 640-641).

Histoire de l'assomption de la Théotokos et de l'image de Hogeac` Vank` (BHO 662).

Origine du ms.: Jérusalem.
Date du ms.: 1194.
Type de ms.: Homéliaire.

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[11] M. van Esbroeck, "Le manuscrit syriaque Nouvelle Série 4 de Léningrad (Vème siècle)", in *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont. Contributions à l'étude des christianismes orientaux*, Genève, 1988, p. 211-219.

[12] C. Renoux, "Casoc` et Tonakan arméniens. Dépendance et complémentarité", in *Ecclesia Orans* 4 (1987), p. 169-201; C. Renoux, "Le Casoc`, Typicon-Lectionnaire: origines et évolutions", in REArm 20 (1986-1987), p. 123-151.

[13] J. Muyldermans, "Note sur le Parisinus Arménien 110", in REArm 1 (1964), p. 101-120.

[14] M. van Esbroeck-U. Zanetti, "Le manuscrit Erévan 993. Inventaire des pièces", in REArm 12 (1977), p. 123-167; M. van Esbroeck, "Description du répertoire de l'homéliaire de Mus (Maténadaran 7729)", in REArm 18 (1984), p. 237-280.

[15] Cf. C. Renoux, op. cit., in *Ecclesia Orans* 4 (1987), p. 197.

[16] Cette pièce (= CPG 5804/BHG 1134) ne relève pas en principe de la fête de la Dormition et de l'Assomption mais de celle de la Mémoire de la Theotokos.

Le programme du manuscrit arménien 110 de la BN de Paris propose les lectures suivantes: la Lettre de Denys l'Aréopagite à Tite, un apocryphe connu seulement en arménien; une homélie attribuée à Jean Chrysostome, en fait un Pseudo-Chrysostome que la recherche moderne réattribue à Proclus de Constantinople; le Transitus Mariae arménien, encore un apocryphe; enfin une Lettre d'un Pseudo-Moïse de Chorène à Sahak Arcruni sur l'image de la Théotokos de Hogeac` Vank`, une tradition fondatrice d'un monastère et lieu saint en Arménie.

Il faut remarquer qu'un autre manuscrit, le Erévan, Maténadaran 7729, présente un programme presque similaire. Il y a seulement inversion dans l'ordre des lectures: le Transitus Mariae venant avant l'homélie pseudo-chrysostomienne[17].

Programme au 15 août dans le Erévan, Maténadaran 7729[18]:

Lettre de Denys l'Aréopagite à Tite (BHO 642).
Transitus Mariae (BHO 640-641).
Jean Chrysostome, Sur la Vierge (l'homélie est probablement de Proclus)[19].
Histoire de l'assomption de la Théotokos et de l'image de Hogeac` Vank` (BHO 662).

Origine du ms.: Arménie.
Date du ms.: 1200-1204
Type de ms.: Homéliaire.

On peut profiter de l'occasion pour signaler un manuscrit, le Paris BN arm. 117[20], qui contient des lectures exceptionnellement rares, comme les

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[17] Ces mêmes lectures se retrouvent aussi de manière presque semblable dans le Erévan, Maténadaran 993 (de 1456): 339. Lettre de Denys l'Aréopagite à Tite (BHO 642); 340. Transitus Mariae (BHO 640-641); 437. Histoire de l'assomption de la Théotokos et de l'image de Hogeac` Vank` (BHO 662). Notons que la dernière pièce ne figure pas au 15 août, mais qu'elle est copiée presque à la fin du ms, comme si elle avait été oubliée. A ce sujet, cf. M. van Esbroeck-U. Zanetti, op. cit., in REArm 12 (1977), p. 157 et 164.

[18] Cf. M. van Esbroeck, art. cit., in REArm 18 (1984), p. 274.

[19] Cf. supra, p. 6, n. 16.

[20] Le Paris BN arm. 117, est daté de 1307 et a été copié en Crimée. Pour une description, cf. F. Macler, *Catalogue des manuscrits arméniens et géorgiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Paris, 1908, p. 59-60.

versions arméniennes de l'homélie sur la dormition de Marie attribuée à Jacques de Saroug et de l'Epitomé du Discours sur la dormition de la Sainte Vierge de Jean de Thessalonique, pièces encore non publiées. Le même manuscrit fournit aussi le texte unique d'une homélie sur la dormition de Marie attribuée à Jean Chrysostome, en fait un Pseudo-Chrysostome; ce dernier va être incessamment édité par M. van Esbroeck[21].

Rappelons que les homéliaires arméniens, tout comme les lectionnaires, sont d'un intérêt majeur pour la connaissance de la liturgie palestinienne antérieure au Xème siècle. Les recherches de C. Renoux sur les lectionnaires et homéliaires arméniens ont démontré leur mutuelle dépendance et complémentarité, ainsi que l'influence de la liturgie hagiopolite qui n'est plus à démontrer[22].

D'autres traditions linguistiques permettent de telles approches. On peut citer en exemple des manuscrits arabes où la même structure se rencontre:

— dans le Vaticanus arabe 698, daté du XIVème siècle, aux folios 51v-84v on trouve une Dormitio, précédée aux folios 41v-48v d'une homélie sur l'assomption de Marie attribuée à Théophile de Landra et suivie aux folios 85-102 d'un sermon sur l'assomption de la Vierge attribué à Théodose d'Alexandrie;

— dans le Paris BN arabe 150, daté de 1606, la Dormitio que l'on trouve aux folios 157v-170v, est suivie aux folios 171-192v, d'une homélie sur l'assomption de la Vierge attribuée à Cyrille de Jérusalem.

Les exemples de la sorte pourraient se multiplier en ce qui concerne la tradition littéraire arabe sur le sort final de Marie[23].

Il faut souligner qu'une telle enquête n'est pas possible, ni pour tous les textes, ni dans toutes les traditions linguistiques. Dans la tradition syriaque, par exemple, elle est plus difficile. Les manuscrits syriaques qui nous transmettent certains Transitus Mariae sont très anciens, ils datent de la fin du Vème ou du début du VIème siècle. Ces manuscrits ne présentent plus de programme original. Il fournissent des textes soit fragmentaires, soit complets, mais qui dans un cas comme dans l'autre figurent dans un

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[21] M. van Esbroeck, "Une homélie arménienne sur la Dormition attribuée à Chrysostome", in OC 74 (1990), p. 199-233.

[22] Cf. supra, p. 6, n. 12.

[23] Voir encore les manuscrits Saint Macaire 381 (Hag. 15); Musée copte 730 (Hist. 486).

manuscrit composite[24]. D'autre part, dans les manuscrits, les récits et les homélies sur le sort final de Marie ne figurent apparemment jamais ensemble[25]. Cela tient peut-être à la composition des manuscrits syriaques qui semblent séparer les genres homilétique et hagiographique, les Transitus relevant alors de ce dernier.

On doit donc constater que les récits du Transitus Mariae sont bien souvent précédés, encadrés ou suivis par des homélies sur le sort final de Marie.

Sans vouloir généraliser les conclusions de ces analyses, il faut bien reconnaître, en ce qui concerne la littérature qui nous occupe, que ces homéliaires présentent les caractéristiques suivantes:

1. les Transitus Mariae figurent en date du 15 août, ils étaient donc utilisés pour la célébration qui avait lieu en ce jour;

2. ils sont précédés, encadrés ou suivis d'homélies sur le sort final de Marie qui étaient lues au cours de la célébration du 15 août.

On peut donc difficilement mettre en doute l'hypothèse que ces Transitus Mariae aient pu servir de lecture liturgique lors de la fête du 15 août. La fonction liturgique de ces écrits se trouve confortée, d'une certaine manière, par l'enquête dans les homéliaires.

Ajoutons qu'un texte grec sur le sort final de Marie, l'Epitomé du Discours sur la dormition de la Sainte Vierge de Jean de Thessalonique, a été retrouvé inséré dans un typicon. Il s'agit du typicon du manuscrit Patmos 266 qui appartient au rite dit cathédral de Constantinople; un document copié au Xème siècle reflétant, selon A. Baumstark, la liturgie de la capitale impériale au IXème siècle[26]. L'Epitomé de Jean de Thessalonique est

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[24] C'est le cas notamment du manuscrit Londres BL Add. 14484 dont le programme actuel est le suivant: f. 1-8: Dormitio fragmentaire (écriture de la fin du Vème ou du début du VIème s.); f. 9-11: Dormitio fragmentaire (écriture du Xème ou du XIème s.); f. 12a-14b: Protévangile de Jacques (écriture du VIème s.); f. 14b-16a: Évangile de l'Enfance du Pseudo-Thomas (écriture du VIème s.); f. 16a-45a: Dormitio complète (écriture du VIème s.). Ces trois dernières pièces sont de la même main. Cf. W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum. . .*, t. I, Londres, 1870, p. 98-100.

[25] Voir par exemple le Londres BL Add. 12165, volumineux homéliaire liturgique jacobite, qui ne contient strictement que des homélies, dont notamment pour le 15 août, le sermon sur la dormition attribué à Jacques de Saroug. Cf. J. -M. Sauget, "Pour une interprétation de la structure de l'homéliaire syriaque: Ms. British Library Add. 12165", in *Ecclesia Orans* 3 (1986), p. 121-146.

[26] Au sujet du typicon du Patmos 266, cf. A. Baumstark, "Das Typikon der Patmos-Handscrift 266 und die altkonstantinopolitanische Gottestdienstordnung", in *Jahrbuch*

introduit par la formule Δεῖ εἰδέναι. Cette formule est utilisée couramment en liturgie; elle introduit soit des usages liturgiques, soit des lectures patristiques et hagiographiques. On connaît trois autres manuscrits de ce texte, ils sont tous postérieurs au Patmos 266 et ils sont tous introduits par la formule Δεῖ εἰδέναι. Une rapide enquête dans les programmes de ces manuscrits permettrait d'établir les contextes dans lesquels cet écrit se retrouve. La version de cet Epitomé, qui figure dans le Patmos 266, publiée d'ailleurs par A. Dimitrievskij[27], est écourtée. La question se pose donc de savoir si cet Epitomé a été rédigé dans une optique strictement liturgique. C'est bien possible. En tout cas avec ce document, on a la preuve formelle de l'intrusion d'un soi-disant apocryphe dans la liturgie[28].

En ce qui concerne le sytème des lectures dans la liturgie grecque, il faut souligner qu'il s'agit là d'un terrain encore bien peu défriché[29]. Nos connaissances dans ce domaine sont trop élémentaires pour permettre d'établir des règles et de tirer des conclusions.

Déjà, en 1832, Thilo faisait remarquer, avec beaucoup de justesse, à propos du Protévangile de Jacques, un autre texte marial, soi-disant apocryphe, que les divers manuscrits connus sont en quelque sorte des livres liturgiques[30]. En effet, le Protévangile de Jacques apparaît souvent, dans les manuscrits, au milieu de pièces homilétiques et hagiographiques, disposées pour l'usage liturgique, c'est-à-dire précédées d'indications relatives à la fête.

Une question maintenant se pose: les Transitus Mariae ont-ils été rédigés dans ce but? Autrement dit, leur destination première a-t-elle toujours été la lecture liturgique?

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für Liturgiewissenschaft 6 (1926), p. 98-111. Le typicon du Patmos 266 appartient au rite dit cathédral de Constantinople; il s'agit d'un document copié au Xème siècle qui reflèterait, selon A. Baumstark, la liturgie de la capitale impériale au IXème siècle.

[27] Cf. A. Dimitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskih rukopisej*, t. I. Τυπικά, Kiev, 1895, p. 104-105.

[28] Nous tenons à remercier André Lossky, de l'Université de Lausanne, pour ses précieuses indications sur la liturgie byzantine.

[29] P. -M. Gy, "La question du sytème des lectures dans la liturgie byzantine", in *Miscellanea liturgica in onore di S. E. il Cardinale Giacomo Lercaro*, t. II, Rome, 1967, p. 251-261. Voir aussi, P. -M. Gy, "La Bible dans la liturgie au Moyen Age", in *Bible de tous les temps*, t. IV. Le Moyen Age et la Bible, Paris, 1984, p. 537-553. On doit aussi se reporter à C. Renoux, "La lecture biblique dans la liturgie de Jérusalem", in *Bible de tous les temps*, t. I. Le monde grec ancien et la Bible, Paris, 1984, p. 399-420

[30] Cf. I. C. Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, t. I, Leipzig, 1832.

Bien des indices orientent à répondre positivement à cette question. Pour cela, on présentera maintenant un des Transitus les plus célèbres dans l'Orient grec, en tout cas le plus utilisé dans la liturgie grecque, si on en juge par la richesse de sa tradition manuscrite, il s'agit de la Dormitio grecque du Pseudo-Jean.

2ÈME TEMPS: L'ANALYSE D'UN ÉCRIT SUR LE SORT FINAL DE MARIE

La Dormitio grecque du Pseudo-Jean a été l'écrit sur le sort final de Marie le plus diffusé[31]. Pour son étude, on procèdera en deux étapes qui correspondent à deux types d'analyse:

1ère étape: l'analyse littéraire. Après un résumé et une structure de l'oeuvre, la délimitation des espaces littéraires fera ressortir les différentes localisations qui les caractérisent.

2ème étape: l'analyse liturgique. On essayera de démontrer si les espaces littéraires correspondent à des espaces liturgiques.

Tout d'abord une question de vocabulaire: on distinguera entre les espaces littéraires (les scènes) et les espaces liturgiques (les stations). Le but d'une telle distinction est de parvenir à contrôler si les espaces scéniques correspondent aux espaces stationnals.

Analyse littéraire

Le texte de la Dormitio du Pseudo-Jean utilisé est celui édité naguère par Konstantin von Tischendorf[32]. Il s'agit d'un texte éclectique qui repose sur la collation de cinq manuscrits et sur la consultation de cinq autres manuscrits. Etant donné le grand nombre de *codices* qui sont censés contenir ce texte (entre 50 et 100 selon A. Wenger) et l'état actuel des recherches, on a choisi de baser encore ce travail sur l'édition de Tischendorf.

Remarquons que dresser la liste des manuscrits qui fournissent le texte de la Dormitio du Pseudo-Jean est un exercice périlleux. Deux exemples suffiront à faire comprendre les problèmes qui se posent: le ms. Paris BN Coislin gr. 121 a un récit sur le sort final de Marie attribué à "Jean l'apôtre et théologien", en réalité il s'agit du Discours de Jean de Thessalonique; le ms. Vaticanus gr. 1982 contient aussi un récit sur le sort final de Marie, également attribué au "Théologien et évangéliste saint Jean", là encore, l'attribution est erronée, il s'agit en réalité d'un Transitus erratique, totalement différent de celui du Pseudo-Jean.

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[31] Il s'agit de BHG 1055-1056. Ce texte attend encore une édition critique moderne.

[32] K. von Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae, Leipzig*, 1866, p. 95-112.

Il va de soi que le texte publié par Tischendorf ne rend pas compte de toutes les variantes que présentent les manuscrits. Ces variantes sont parfois importantes. D'autre part, les choix de Tischendorf sont parfois étonnants. Par exemple, pour le paragraphe 48, quatre manuscrits offrent une version fort différente de celle choisie par Tischendorf et qui n'est représentée que par un seul manuscrit (le Munich 276), la voici: les apôtres sortent de Jérusalem portant le cercueil, soudain douze nuées lumineuses les soulèvent avec le corps de Marie pour les déposer au paradis. Une telle version ne considère pas le passage de Marie au tombeau. Elle pourrait relever d'un milieu qui refuse l'idée de la mort de Marie et de son passage au tombeau. A une telle forme correspond aussi la version latine publiée par A. Wilmart[33]. D'après M. Erbetta, malgré l'avis de K. von Tischendorf, une telle forme pourrait être l'originale[34]. On le voit, ce texte pose de nombreux problèmes issus des opinions doctrinales fort divergentes que transmettent les manuscrits, opinions qui reflètent des milieux différents et opposés.

Entrons maintenant, de plein pied, dans l'analyse littéraire de ce texte. Après un résumé de cette narration, on tentera d'en proposer une structure.

Résumé de l'oeuvre:

Le récit commence par une présentation de Marie se rendant tous les jours au Tombeau de Jésus à Jérusalem, bien qu'elle habite Bethléem. Un vendredi, l'archange Gabriel lui apparaît et lui annonce qu'elle doit partir de ce monde comme elle en avait fait la demande.

De retour en sa maison de Bethléem, elle demande à Jésus de lui permettre de revoir Jean et les autres apôtres. Comme elle s'inquiète que les juifs ne brûlent son corps, Jésus la rassure en lui disant que celui-ci ne sera pas soumis à la corruption.

Les apôtres encore vivants (Jean, Pierre, Paul, Thomas, Jacques et Marc) et ceux déjà décédés (André, Philippe, Luc, Simon le Cananéen et Thaddée) sont rassemblés autour de Marie, miraculeusement transportés sur des nuées. Tous (il s'agit de Jean, Pierre, Paul, Thomas, Marc, Jacques, Matthieu pour les vivants; la liste des morts n'est pas reprise, mais on trouve une incise au sujet de Barthélemy, alors que dans la liste précédente il n'est pas nommé) lui racontent d'où ils viennent et comment ils sont parvenus jusqu'à elle.

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[33] A. Wilmart, "L'ancien récit latin de l'Assomption", in *Analecta Reginensia. Extraits des manuscrits latins de la Reine Christine conservés au Vatican*, Vatican, 1933, p. 357-362.

[34] Cf. M. Erbetta, *Gli Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, t. I/2, Turin, 1984, p. 491.

Des infirmes se groupent près de la maison de Marie; ceux qui l'invoquent sont miraculeusement guéris. Les juifs, jaloux de ces miracles, veulent donner l'assaut à la maison. Marie, avec les apôtres, est alors merveilleusement transportée de sa maison de Bethléem à celle de Jérusalem, tandis qu'un ange met à mal les assaillants.

Le dimanche suivant, l'Esprit Saint avertit les apôtres de l'imminence du départ de Marie. A la suite de quoi, Jésus apparaît à sa mère et lui annonce que son corps précieux va être transporté au paradis, tandis que son âme sera reçue dans les cieux, dans les trésors de son Père. A la demande des apôtres, Marie adresse à Jésus une prière pour le monde et spécialement pour ceux qui célèbreront sa "mémoire". Jésus reçoit alors l'âme de Marie, les apôtres devant s'occuper de son corps.

Au cours des obsèques de Marie, un juif nommé Jéphonias essaie de profaner son corps: ses mains sont miraculeusement desséchées et restent attachées au cercueil, il les recouvrera par une invocation à Marie, Mère de Dieu.

Les apôtres déposent le corps de Marie dans un sépulcre neuf à Gethsémani. Durant trois jours ils veillent auprès de son tombeau, écoutant des mélodies angéliques et sentant des parfums délicats. Au troisième jour, les chants cessent, à ce signe, les apôtres comprennent que Marie a été transportée au paradis (c'est la version du Munich 276).

Certains manuscrits s'accordent à faire transporter les apôtres au paradis en compagnie de Marie. Et même à les faire assister à une cérémonie de vénération des reliques (c'est-à-dire des restes) de Marie par Elisabeth, Anne et les saints de l'Ancien Testament.

On le constate, dans ce récit l'intervention du merveilleux ou du miraculeux, propre au genre hagiographique, est importante. On peut dire que l'irréel côtoie constamment le réel; que l'irréel est toujours la clé, le dénouement du réel. Par exemple, au désir de Marie de revoir les apôtres, le narrateur n'hésite pas à les réunir de manière merveilleuse, aussi bien les vivants que les disparus.

D'autre part, il faut souligner que Marie garde toujours l'initiative: elle demande à quitter ce monde; elle souhaite la présence des apôtres; elle tient un rôle important de médiatrice auprès de Jésus.

Structure de l'oeuvre:

Une distribution en quatre actes se laisse entrevoir dans le cours du récit:

— 1er acte: l'annonce de l'ange à Marie (§ 1 à 3): c'est le plus court, il introduit et présente le récit;

— 2ème acte: l'arrivée des apôtres auprès de Marie (§ 4 à 31): c'est le plus développé;

— 3ème acte: le départ de Marie (§ 32 à 45);

— 4ème acte: les obsèques de Marie (§ 46 à 50).

Les actes 3 et 4 sont les plus importants; ils sont essentiels au récit; ils fournissent les indications doctrinales sur le sort final de Marie[35].

Dans chaque acte, les juifs apparaissent de manière négative: à l'acte 1, ils se plaignent des visites assidues de Marie au tombeau de Jésus; à l'acte 2, ils sont irrités à cause des miracles réalisés par Marie; en acte 3, ils essaient d'incendier la maison de Marie; à l'acte 4, l'un d'entre eux, du nom de Jéphonias, tente d'outrager le cercueil de Marie. Leur réaction est présentée en *crescendo* : la plainte devient irritation; de la maison, on veut attenter au corps de Marie. L'hostilité des juifs contraste avec la modération du gouverneur romain (cf. § 30 et 36). Il est bien entendu que cette particularité littéraire, qui n'est pas essentielle à la narration, s'inscrit dans le cadre des polémiques entre chrétiens et juifs et relève du genre des *Adversus Iudaeos*. On peut souligner que le fait que cette caractéristique revient à chaque acte est un argument en faveur d'une lecture qui se déroulait en plusieurs temps, au cours desquels on rappelait chaque fois l'attitude négative des juifs à l'égard de Marie.

Chaque acte est localisé en un lieu particulier: l'annonce de l'ange se passe à Jérusalem; l'arrivée des apôtres, à Bethléem; le départ et les obsèques de Marie, de nouveau à Jérusalem. Aucune précision topographique n'est fournie au sujet des maisons de Marie, il est seulement dit qu'elles

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[35] Une analyse structurale de ce récit, ainsi distribué, donnerait le résultat suivant:

Annonce de l'ange à Marie. (ciel) ↑ — Obsèques du corps de Marie. (terre) ↑

Départ de l'âme de Marie. (ciel) — Arrivée des apôtres. (terre)

Une telle analyse, aussi succincte soit-elle, montre que l'annonce de l'ange à Marie impose, en quelque sorte, l'arrivée des apôtres afin qu'ils puissent s'occuper des obsèques du corps, Jésus se chargeant de l'âme. Jésus est l'adjuvant qui intervient à tous les stades du récit: au 1er acte, l'ange transmet le message de Jésus à Marie; au 2ème acte, il la tranquillise; au 3ème acte, il assure le départ de son âme; au 4ème acte, il garantit les obsèques de son corps et sa translation au paradis.

se trouvent à Bethléem et à Jérusalem. Le tombeau de Marie, quant à lui, est situé à Gethsémani, donc de manière précise[36]. Il n'est jamais question d'un lieu de culte explicite ou implicite. Toutefois, le récit est fortement marqué par les encensements (cf. § 1, 8, 9, 26, 38), qui lui donnent "une forte saveur liturgique", selon l'expression de M. van Esbroeck[37]. Remarquons de plus que les encensements ont toujours lieu à l'occasion d'une prière et sur ordre de Marie, sauf au § 1 où elle officie elle-même.

L'annonce de Gabriel à Marie a lieu au tombeau de Jésus sans plus de précision. Dans d'autres textes sur le sort final de Marie, l'annonce a lieu au Mont des Oliviers.

La structure du récit laisse apparaître une organisation très définie, réalisée dans un but précis: à savoir une lecture liturgique, peut-être dans le cadre d'une liturgie stationnale.

L'analyse liturgique

Les espaces littéraires du Pseudo-Jean coïncident, selon moi, à quatre espaces liturgiques de Jérusalem où se déroulaient les célébrations commémorant la fin de Marie.

Pour mémoire, on rappellera que le Pseudo-Jean se laisse facilement distribuer en 4 espaces littéraires qui correspondent à quatre espaces liturgiques, qui sont:

1. l'espace littéraire de l'annonce à Marie est situé à Jérusalem;
2. celui de l'arrivée des apôtres, à Bethléem/maison;
3. celui de la mort de Marie, à Jérusalem/maison;
4. celui de l'ensevelissement de Marie, à Jérusalem/tombeau.

Les stations mariales que l'on va rapidement présenter sont donc celles de Jérusalem, de Bethléem, de Jérusalem/maison et de Jérusalem/tombeau; elles relèvent toutes, précisons-le, des traditions sur le sort final de Marie qui y sont attachées.

Auparavant, sans trop s'étendre, il ne sera pas inutile de donner des éléments d'introduction sur les questions de stations et de processions.

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[36] Il n'est pas impossible que cette absence de précision dans les localisations, en dehors de Gethsémani, relève d'un état tardif du texte, d'une époque où toute la liturgie du 15 août se déroulait uniquement à Gethsémani.

[37] Cf. M. van Esbroeck, "Les textes littéraires sur l'Assomption avant le Xème siècle", in *Les Actes Apocryphes des Apôtres*, Genève, 1981, p. 269.

Eléments sur les questions de stations et de processions

Il est bien évident que ces deux questions entretiennent des rapports étroits: les liturgies stationnale et processionnelle dépendent l'une de l'autre, du moins en Orient.

En ce qui concerne la *liturgie stationnale*, l'ouvrage de John F. Baldovin, paru récemment à Rome, est devenue la référence première[38]. L'auteur examine la liturgie stationnale à Jérusalem, à Rome et à Constantinople; puis les caractères d'un tel culte dans le milieu urbain[39]. La présentation de Baldovin est essentiellement descriptive; les sources sont discutées mais aucune critique véritable n'est apportée. L'auteur parle des stations mariales mais ne dit rien au sujet d'une liturgie processionnelle.

Dans un article récent, M. van Esbroeck s'est intéressé à la liturgie mariale stationnale de Constantinople aux VIème et VIIème siècles, et l'a rapprochée de celle de Jérusalem[40].

Mais étant donné les changements intervenus dans la Ville Sainte à la suite de la conquête et de l'occupation perse de 614, il est difficile de projeter la liturgie du VIIème siècle au VIème siècle. Par exemple: après la restauration liturgique de Modeste, qui date de 629/630, on localise la tradition de la maison de Marie (lieu de la dormition) à Sion et non plus à Gethsémani et au Kathisma. Encore que les sources ne soient pas unanimes sur ce point, selon qu'elles sont antérieures ou postérieures à la domination perse en Palestine: les sources antérieures paraissent inclure la station au Kathisma alors que les sources postérieures ne considèrent que la station à Sion. Ce changement peut s'expliquer par l'insécurité qui régnait sur la

[38] J. H. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship. The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, Rome, 1987.

[39] La question qui nous occupe est pratiquement passée sous silence, Baldovin, signale seulement: 1. qu'après la reconstruction de l'église de la Sainte Sion par Modeste, la tradition de la dormition de la Vierge s'y trouvait fixée (Cf. J. H. Baldovin, op. cit., Rome, 1987, p. 50); 2. au cours de l'examen du Lectionnaire arménien, la mention au 15 août de la célébration d'une fête de la mémoire de Marie au deuxième mille de Bethléem (Cf. J. H. Baldovin, op. cit., Rome, 1987, p. 71); 3. au cours de l'examen du Lectionnaire géorgien, la mention au 15 août de la célébration d'une fête de la dormition de Marie dans l'église de Gethsémani (Cf. J. H. Baldovin, op. cit., Rome, 1987, p. 79).

[40] M. van Esbroeck, "Le culte de la Vierge de Jérusalem à Constantinople aux 6ème - 7ème siècles", in REByz 46 (1988), p. 181-190.

route entre Jérusalem et Bethléem, après le départ des perses, à cause des infiltrations des arabes musulmans[41].

En ce qui concerne la *liturgie processionnale*, pour Jérusalem, on ne dispose d'aucune étude particulière[42].

Après ces préliminaires, abordons maintenant l'examen schématique des diverses stations mariales distinguées et auxquelles le Pseudo-Jean ferait explicitement ou implicitement référence[43].

La station de Jérusalem:

Il s'agit de la station où a lieu l'annonce de l'ange à Marie au sujet de son départ prochain. Dans la Dormitio du Pseudo-Jean, il est seulement question de Jérusalem, sans plus de précision[44]. Dans d'autres textes, mais non dans tous, la scène est localisée au Mont des Oliviers. Il est possible que cette localisation soit à prendre en compte pour situer le 1er acte de notre texte.

Cette hypothèse est d'autant plus envisageable, que la liturgie d'ouverture de la fête du 15 août se serait déroulée dans l'église de Gethsémani; lieu où on localisa d'abord la tradition de la maison de Marie, avant d'y fixer la tradition de son tombeau. Auquel cas, la procession serait partie de Gethsémani pour y revenir après un crochet par Bethléem. Il n'est pas rare que les liturgies stationnales partent et reviennent au même endroit.

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41 Cf. à ce sujet, ce que dit Sophrone de Jérusalem dans un de ses sermons (CPG 7637/PG 87, col 3201-3212), empêché de célébrer la Nativité à Bethléem, il officie à Sainte-Marie-la-Neuve.

La première incursion des arabes musulmans en Palestine est datée de 629/630. A partir de 634/635, Jérusalem est isolée du reste de la Palestine; la ville ne capitulera qu'en 638.

42 Aussi est-on obligé de se reporter à des travaux d'epistémologie comme ceux de P. Doncoeur, "Sens humain de la procession", in MD 43 (1955), p. 29-36, de I. -H. Dalmais, "Note sur la sociologie des processions", in MD 43 (1955), p. 37-42 et de A. - G. Martimort, "Les diverses formes de procession dans la liturgie", in MD 43 (1955), p. 43-73.

On peut aussi se référer à un article intéressant qui porte sur les processions à Constantinople, cf. R. Janin, "Les processions religieuses à Byzance", in REByz 24 (1966), p. 68-88.

43 Cette présentation repose sur les résultats d'une étude de la genèse et de l'évolution des traditions anciennes sur le sort final de Marie, qui est en cours d'achèvement et de publication.

44 La mention du saint sépulcre de Jésus (§ 1) ne renvoie pas à une localisation précise. Dans le texte, en effet, il est question de τῷ αγίῳ μνήματι et non pas d'Anastasis (site traditionnel du tombeau de Jésus).

La station de Bethléem:

C'est la station où a lieu la réunion miraculeuse des apôtres autour de Marie. Le texte de la Dormitio du Pseudo-Jean ne donne pas de précision, ni sur le nom de la station, ni sur sa distance par rapport à Jérusalem ou à Bethléem, comme le font en revanche certains documents liturgiques.

Les sources liturgiques géorgiennes nous renseignent sur l'existence d'une liturgie mariale en l'église du Kathisma situé au troisième mille entre Jérusalem et Bethléem. On peut raisonnablement estimer que la station de Bethléem était localisée en ce lieu, assez connu par ailleurs dans les sources littéraires.

La station de Jérusalem/maison:

Il s'agit de la station où a lieu le départ de Marie, après une apparition de Jésus. Là encore, le texte ne donne aucune précision; aussi, en est-on réduit à des hypothèses.

Au VIIème siècle, la maison de la dormition de Marie est localisée au Mont Sion, la station liturgique qui l'historicise est fixée dans l'église de la Sainte-Sion. On sait, par ailleurs, que cette station liturgique réunissait les anciennes stations de Bethléem et de Jérusalem, celles que nous venons de voir. La question qui se pose alors est la suivante: Où était localisée, aux Vème et VIème siècles, l'ancienne tradition de la maison de Marie à Jérusalem? Certains faisceaux permettent de penser qu'elle était située à Gethsémani, là où fut fixée, par la suite, la tradition du tombeau de Marie.

En effet, au Vème siècle, on connaît à Gethsémani l'existence d'une église dédiée à Marie. Il n'est pas encore question d'une tradition du tombeau, et des indices, fournis par certains manuscrits des Actes de Jean du Pseudo-Prochore, autorisent à penser à une tradition de la maison. C'est à Gethsémani où s'est déroulée la première liturgie mariale de la Ville Sainte; c'est effectivement dans cette église qu'Hésychius de Jérusalem, peu avant le concile d'Ephèse de 431, prononce une ou deux homélies en l'honneur de Marie. Après 451, à la suite du concile de Chalcédoine, l'église de Gethsémani tombe aux mains des monophysites; Juvénal et ses partisans s'enfuient et construisent l'église du Kathisma où est alors localisée la tradition de la maison de Marie. Quelques années après, Juvénal récupère sa charge épiscopale, mais il est possible que l'église de Gethsémani soit restée entre les mains des monophysites, d'ailleurs le Mont des Oliviers deviendra un bastion de ce parti, comme en témoigne la Vie de Pierre l'Ibère, rédigée dès la fin du Vème siècle. C'est en tout cas, une manière d'expliquer

l'existence de deux traditions de la maison de Marie, l'une à Jérusalem, l'autre à Bethléem. Au VIème siècle, à cause du conflit christologique entre les partisans monophysites de Sévère d'Antioche et de Julien d'Halicarnasse sur la corruptibilité et l'incorruptibilité du corps de Jésus et de ses retombées sur la question du corps de Marie, on commence, afin de prouver l'existence réelle de Marie et donc de sa mort, à localiser une tradition du tombeau de Marie à Gethsémani, qui devait être aux mains des monophysites sévériens[45]. Nous voilà donc, durant le VIème siècle avec deux traditions monophysites, l'une de la maison, l'autre du tombeau, localisées à Gethsémani.

A la fin du VIème siècle et au début du VIIème siècle, à la suite de certaines restructurations (le décret de Maurice) et reconstructions (restauration de l'église de Gethsémani par Maurice), à la suite aussi de l'affaiblissement des mouvances monophysites de Jérusalem qui disparaîtront un temps, sous la pression des nestoriens du corps expéditionnaire perse, les traditions mariales, comme bien d'autres, sont remaniées. On retrouve alors la disposition suivante: les traditions de la maison du Kathisma et de Gethsémani sont réunies à la Sainte-Sion; la tradition du tombeau reste à Gethsémani[46].

Une telle reconstruction historique prend en compte tous les documents qui nous sont parvenus. La part de l'hypothèse existe, elle n'est, somme toute, pas si importante.

La station de Jérusalem/tombeau:

C'est la station où a lieu l'ensevelissement du corps de Marie par les apôtres. Le texte précise, du moins celui de certains manuscrits, que le tombeau de Marie est situé à Gethsémani. On connaît, dès le début du Vème siècle, l'existence d'une église dédiée à Marie. Avant d'y commémorer son tombeau, on y célébrait sa mémoire. L'attestation la plus ancienne d'un tombeau de Marie à Gethsémani, ne remonte pas au-delà du VIème siècle. Cette station ne posant pas de difficultés majeures, on s'arrêtera là sur ce point.

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[45] A ce propos, on peut ajouter que les julianistes contestaient la réalité humaine de Jésus et donc celle de Marie. La réalité humaine de Jésus et de Marie n'étant, pour eux, qu'une apparence, ils en vinrent à contester leur mort. C'est pourquoi, certains textes sur le sort final de Marie soutiennent justement qu'elle n'est pas morte et qu'elle est montée au ciel corps et âme (c'est le cas, par exemple de certains mss. du Pseudo-Jean). On devine donc l'intérêt que pouvait revêtir subitement l'existence d'un tombeau de Marie.

[46] Cette disposition se retrouve dans le Transitus géorgien du Pseudo-Basile de Césarée, qui n'est de ce fait pas antérieur au début du VIIème siècle.

Est-il maintenant possible d'imaginer une procession qui partirait de Jérusalem (Mont des Oliviers?), qui irait à Bethléem, qui reviendrait à Jérusalem/maison et qui s'achèverait à Jérusalem/tombeau? Au cours d'une telle procession, qui aurait eu lieu le 15 août, on aurait lu, par actes, la Dormitio grecque du Pseudo-Jean.

L'existence d'une telle procession est attestée, pour Jérusalem, sous une autre forme (Sion/Bethléem/Sion/Gethsémani: on la trouve dans le Transitus géorgien du Pseudo-Basile), dans les sources géorgiennes du VIIème siècle. Pourrait-elle remonter, sous la forme postulée, au VIème siècle? Rien n'empêche de postuler une telle éventualité.

Une lecture liturgique du Pseudo-Jean dans le cadre d'une liturgie stationnale est-elle envisageable? Le texte actuel du Pseudo-Jean permet-il une telle hypothèse? C'est là que le terrain devient glissant, les données formelles manquant cruellement, on en reste réduit à des hypothèses qui auront du mal à dépasser ce stade.

Un des buts de la liturgie stationnale de Jérusalem était, au VIème siècle en tout cas, d'unir ou de réunir entre eux les différents lieux de culte qui appartenaient parfois à des factions rivales, par exemple: les chalcédoniens et les monophysites. Si tel était le cas, une procession au 15 août pouvait fort bien remplir cet objectif. Une telle procession, allant de la Sainte-Sion à Gethsémani, est mentionnée implicitement dans les manuscrits Sinaïticus géorg. 59 et 65, datant du Xème siècle, mais dont certains éléments remonteraient au VIIème siècle[47]. Mais pour le VIème siècle, il faut le répéter, on ne dispose d'aucun témoignage.

Il faut savoir aussi qu'une telle procession est toujours pratiquée à Jérusalem au 15 août; elle ne part plus bien sûr de la Sainte-Sion, mais du Saint-Sépulcre[48].

M. Erbetta avait relevé déjà que le Pseudo-Jean présentait la Vierge comme un modèle pour les pèlerins, notamment à cause de sa visite journalière au Saint Sépulcre, mais aussi pour les mentions de la maison de Marie à Bethléem et à Jérusalem, ainsi que de son tombeau à Gethsémani[49]. On ne

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[47] Cf. G. Garitte, *Le Calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (Xème siècle)*, Bruxelles, 1958, p. 304. Dans le Sinait. géorg. 59, au 16 août se lit: *A Sion ad Gethsemani addutio Deiparae* . De même, dans le Sinait. géorg. 65, au 16 août se lit: *Sanctae Deiparae a Sion ad Gethsemani abductio* .

[48] Cf. A. Couturier, *Cours de liturgie grecque-melkite*, t. II, Paris, 1914, p. 492. Cf. aussi un article dans *La Terra Santa* de 1950, aux pages 299-301.

[49] Cf. M. Erbetta, op. cit., t. I/2, Turin, 1984, p. 484.

peut manquer de constater que la Dormitio du Pseudo-Jean décrit un véritable circuit dans Jérusalem et les environs.

CONCLUSION

L'examen des traditions attachées aux stations mariales de Jérusalem et des environs doit prendre en compte les sources de toutes sortes qui permettent, autant soit peu, d'éclairer leur histoire, à savoir leur naissance, leur croissance et leur déplacement quand cela est le cas.

Certains savants ont essayé de situer l'éclosion des traditions relatives au sort final de Marie le plus haut possible dans le temps, à savoir le IIème siècle. On peut citer, en dernier lieu, les travaux de F. Manns qui considère que la Dormition de Marie est un écrit du IIème siècle originaire d'un milieu judéo-chrétien de type nazaréen[50]. Ce n'est pas le lieu de critiquer une telle thèse.

Quelques points sont à mettre en valeur: à Jérusalem, aucune tradition mariale n'apparaît avant le début du Vème siècle, alors que la première célébration mariale, la fête de la Mémoire de la Théotokos, est de cette époque. Toutes les autres commémorations liturgiques en l'honneur de Marie, y compris la fête de la Dormition et/ou de l'Assomption, sont du VIème siècle, du temps de Justinien, grand dévot de la Théotokos, comme le prouvent toutes ses constructions d'églises et de couvents dédiés à la Vierge Marie: les plus célébres étant l'église de la Sainte-Marie-la-Neuve à Jérusalem et le couvent de Sainte-Marie au Sinaï[51].

Une telle hypothèse rend compte du silence de l'homilétique en ce qui concerne le sort final de Marie: en effet, la première homélie en l'honneur de l'assomption, celle de Théoteknos de Livias, est datée de la fin du VIème ou du début du VIIème siècle.

On voudrait conclure en posant une série de questions qui nous paraissent importantes pour dirimer le débat méthodologique que ne peut manquer de soulever une telle démarche.

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[50] F. Manns, *Le récit de la Dormition de Marie (Vatican grec 1982). Contribution à l'étude des origines de l'exégèse chrétienne*, Jérusalem, 1989.

[51] C'est également au VIème siècle que la Théotokos commence à devenir le symbole protecteur de Constantinople. Elle le deviendra vraiment au début du VIIème siècle lorsque la capitale de l'empire sera menacée par les Avars. A ce sujet, cf. A. Frolow, "La Dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine", in RHR 127 (1944), p. 61-127; A. Cameron, "The Theotokos in Sixth Century Constantinople. A City found its Symbol", in JThS 29 (1979), p. 79-108.

1. Peut-on mettre en parallèle une analyse littéraire et une analyse liturgique?

2. Est-on en droit, à partir d'une étude de la composition de certains manuscrits, de tirer des éléments sur la destination des écrits dits "apocryphes"?

17 quai Voltaire
F-75007 Paris

M. Simon Mimouni

Osvaldo Raineri

Il *Pastore* di Erma nel secondo testimone etiopico

INTRODUZIONE

Il libro greco intitolato il *Pastore*,[1] riferisce, come è noto, le rivelazioni che Erma, l'autore (II sec. d.C.), ricevette a Roma da due personaggi celesti, cioè da una donna anziana e da un angelo, apparso nelle sembianze di un pastore. Da quest'ultima figura è derivato il titolo dell'opera, che si presenta come un sermone sulla penitenza, diviso in tre parti, costituite da cinque visioni, dodici precetti e dieci parabole. Organicamente però il libro si divide in due parti distinte: 1) Visioni 1-4 (la quinta visione serve da introduzione alla seconda parte); 2) I dodici comandamenti e le parabole 1-9. Segue una conclusione.

Il *Pastore* di Erma in etiopico (ge'ez) fu pubblicato, con traduzione latina, da A. d'Abbadie nel 1860,[2] in base a una copia fatta eseguire da un cod. di Gundāgundē (Tigré) nel 1847. A. Dillmann,[3] che già aveva corretto il testo edito, lo accompagnò con osservazioni e note, e, più tardi, George H. Schodde[4] raffrontò l'etiopico con l'Erma greco, dalla quale lingua risulta direttamente tradotto.[5] Vari decenni dopo, A. Mordini[6] presentò e descrisse un ms. etiopico del *Pastore* di Erma (sec. XVI), di sua proprietà, già appartenente a Gundāgundē. Lo stesso studioso, in seguito, fece

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[1] Per la bibliografia in generale, v. J. Quasten, *Patrologia*. Vol. I, Fino al Concilio di Nicea, Ed. Marietti, Torino 1967, pp. 89-100; R. Joly, *Hermas le Pasteur*, SC 53bis, 2e éd., Paris 1968; A. Quacquarelli, *I Padri Apostolici*, VII ed. Città Nuova Editrice, Roma 1991, pp. [235]-346.

[2] *Hermae Pastor*. Aethiopice primum edidit et Aethiopica latine vertit Antonius D'Abbadie, "Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft unter der verantwortlichen Redaktion des Prof. Dr. Hermann Brockhaus. II. Band. N° 1.", Leipzig 1860.

[3] "Bemerkungen zu dem äthiopischen Pastor Hermae", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 15 (1861) 111-125.

[4] HÊRMÂ NABÎ. The Ethiopic Version of Pastor Hermae Examined. A Dissertation presented to the philosophical Faculty of the University of Leipzig for the Purpose of obtaining the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. George H. Schodde, Leipzig: Brockhaus 1876.

[5] Cf. *Hermae Pastor*, cit., p. 183.

[6] "Il Convento di Gunde Gundiè", RSE, 12 (gennaio-dicembre 1953), Roma 1954, p. 52.

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omaggio di una copia fotografica del suo Erma alla Bibl. Vat. (ms. fot. 133), del quale A. van Lantschoot[7] diede un resoconto circa le caratteristiche e il contenuto. Da questo esame risultò che il ms. di Mordini, pur provenendo da Gundagundē, non è il cod. dal quale fu tratta la copia poi pubblicata, e che quindi costitutisce il secondo testimone etiopico conosciuto di Erma, anche se, purtroppo, avendo perso un fascicolo, comporta una considerevole lacuna, che preciserò più avanti. Sempre A. van Lantschoot[8] rilevò che le due copie presentano "numerose divergenze di ordine ortografico" e che varie "correzioni grammaticali apportate da Dillmann al testo di d'Abbadie sono superflue per quello di Mordini, offrendo quest'ultimo frequentemente, per le parole in oggetto, l'ortografia preconizzata da Dillmann".

Ad utilità degli interessati all'argomento, espongo qui di seguito, "materialiter", tutte le varianti da me rilevate nel ms. fot. 133 della Vat. rispetto all'ed. etiopica[9] del *Pastore* di Erma, riprendendo alla fine quelle di maggior rilievo nella mia versione latina messa a confronto con quella latina di d'Abbadie[10] e, nel caso di corrispondenza, col testo greco di "Sources Chrétiennes N° 53bis". Nella trascrizione delle varianti ho adottato i seguenti segni:

A	testo etiopico ed. da d'Abbadie, con richiamo delle pagine, delle colonne (a/b) e delle linee;
add	addit;
B	ms. fot. 133 della Vaticana, col numero dei fogli e la rispettiva indicazione di r[ecto] e v[erso];
gr	greco;
om	omittit;
=	indica quanto scrive B, rispetto ad uno stesso termine o passo di A.

[7] "Un second témoin éthiopien du Pasteur d'Hermas", Byz 32 (1962) 93-5; Id., "Inventaire sommaire des mss Vaticans Éthiopiens 251-299", ST 219, In Civitate Vaticana 1962, p. 505.

[8] "Un second . . .", cf. n. 7, p. 95.

[9] *Hermae Pastor*, cit., pp. 1-110.

[10] V. sopra, n. 1.

VARIANTI

[ራእይ፡፩]

A 1a 1-13 ዘሄርማ፡ነቢይ፡፡ዘሐፀነኒ፡ሤጠኒ[...]ሜ፡፡ወረከብ
ክዋ[...]ካመ፡ኅሳትየ፡እምድኅረ[...]ሕዴፕ፡መዋዕ[...]ዋ፡ትትሐ
ፀብ [...]ወርኢይየ፡ሥና፡ሐ[...]አቤ፡እምአብ[...]እሴተ፡እ
ንተ፡ከ[...]ገዕዘኒ፡፡ወዘንተ[...]ወአኮ፡ባዕዴ=B 2r *illeggib.*
A 17 ዐቢይ=B <እፍ፡> ዐ"; A 1b 10 ምተ=B ምንተ; A 12 ኀ
ጢአትከ፡በቅ"=B "ተከ፡ቅ"; A 14 ተስተዋ"=B ታ"; A 15 ስማ
ዓኒ=B ስም"; A 18 ኀሠሎ=B "ሉ; A 2a 2 ወምንተ=
B 3r ም"; A 4 እግዚ"=B "ዝ"; A 8 ወሳሓቃ"=B ወሰሐቀ";
A 9 እኪይተ፡ፍትወት=B እኪተ፡"ተ; A 12 እኪይት=B እኪ
ተ; A 14 ወትቤለኒ፡እ"፡ጻድቅ፡ብእሴ=B ት"፡እ"፡"ቀ፡"ሲ; A 16
ጽድቅ=B "ቀ; A 20 ምተ=B ሞ"; A 21 "ፋዴሰ=B "ፋድሰ;

A 2b 1 ወሐጕል=B 3v "ሉ; A 4 ኀጢአት"=B "ተ; A 10 ይ
ከውን=B "ነኒ; A 14 ከመ=B om; A 16 ርእኩ=B "ኢ"; A 20
ልህቅ=B "ቅት; A 25 እግዚ"=B 4r "ዝ"; A 26 ምንት=B "ተ;

A 3a 4 ወሀለወት=B 4r ሀለ"; A 13 ፈተወት=B ፈት"; A 15 "ጋ
ሓስ=B "ገሐሰ; A 24 አንታ=B 4v "ተ; A 3b 3 አባሰ፡ወኀጢ"=
B ኀጢ"፡ወእ"; A 9 አንታ=B "ተ; A 13 ፈቀደ=B "ቃ"; A 15 እ
ኪይት=B እኪት; A 16 ገሥጸ=B "ጽ; A 21 ነገረ=B 5r "ር;
A 24 "ለኒኬ=B "ለኒ; A 25 ጽድቀ=B "ቅ; A 4a 4 እ
ግዚአ"፡እግዚአ=B እግዚእ፡እግዚአ"; A 8 ዓለመ=B "ም; A 10
ቃሉ=B "ሎ; A 14 "ቲያን=B "ቲያኑ; A 19 በብዙኅ=B 5v "ዝኅ;
A 27 ወጸውዐ"=B ወጸወዐ"; A 4b 2 እግዚ"=B "ዝ"; A 3 ዶ
ንሎዊ=B ዴኅሎዴ; A 7 ለእለ=B እለ; A 10 ማጸረ፡ም"፡ዘመን
ገሰ=B መ"፡ም"፡መ"; A 12 ተፈጸመ፡ሎ"=B om.

A 4v 15 ሎእይ፡፪ = B 6r om
A 24 ዘቃ"፡ ኀጢአትየ = B ዘቀ"፡ ኀጠውእየ; A 26 ስሃ" = B ስሀ";
A 5a 9 ኀተሎ = B "ሉ; A 13 ግብቶ = B "ተ; A 15 ወኢየ" = B "ያ";
A 18 ይክሥቶ = B 6v "ተ; A 20 ዘርኢኩ = B "ካ; A 27 ዘንተ =
B add ቃለ; A 5v 1 ወለደ" = B "ዱ"; A 8 ቃዲሙ፡ ወይቲ" = B
ቀ"፡ "ቶ"; A 14 ሰዓቶ = B 7r ዕለቶ; A 15 ኀመ፡ኢየ" = B ወኀመ፡
ኢይ"; A 19 ደኀሪቶ፡ዕለቶ = B ዳኀሪቶ; A 20 "ንንተ = B "ቶ; A 25
"ብርዋ፡ለጽድቅ = B "ብሩ፡ጽድቀ; A 27 መሳ" = B ወመሳ";
A 6a 4 "ሕድዎ = B "ዋ; A 8 የሐጕሉ = B ሐ"; A 12 "ታሢ =
B "ተሢ; A 13 ኢቶቶቃ" = B 7v "ቀ"; A 16 "ቃዲሙ = B "ቀ"; A
18 እንታ፡ ኢተቃ" = B "ተ፡ "ቀ"; A 20 "ታሰ[...]ብዘሐ = B "ቶ"፡
[...]ብዘኀ; A 25 "ሐቴ፡የ"፡ "ኄቅ = B "ሕቴ፡የ"፡ "ኄቀ; A 27
የዋሀ" = B የውሀ"; A 6v 1 "ቶካ = B "ቶ; A 5 ምእዋ፡ለእኪ
ዪቶ = B ለኀተሉ፡እኪቶ; A 10 "ሲም = B "ሲሞ; A 14 ወሙዳ
ድ = B 8r ወሜድድ; A 17 እነውም = B እን"; A 20 መነ፡ኢቶ" =
B መነሢ፡ቶ"; A 23 መኑ = B መኑመ; A 25 ሳሃ" = B ለሃ"; A 26 ይ
ኢቴ = B "እ"; A 27 ቃ" = B ቀ"; A 7a 1 ኀተሉ = B "ሎ; A 2
ይኢቴ፡ "ቴሃ = B "እ"፡ "ቴአ; A 5 ሳሃ" = B ለሃ"; A 8 ሠናየ = B
"ይ; A 11 እንታ፡ተ" = B 8v "ተ፡ታ"; A 12 "ሎሙ = B "ሉ; A 13
"ፍተ፡ ወ"፡ ለቃ" = B "ቶ፡ወ"፡ለቀ"; A 20 ተፌጸመ፡ሎ"፡፪ = B om.
A 22 ሎእይ፡ሠለስቱ = B om
A 23 "አኩ = B "ኢኩ; A 24 ብዘሐ = B "ሕ; A 7v 1 "ይኢቴ =
B "እ"; A 3 "ኢቴ፡ሳሃ" = B "እ"፡ለሃ"; A 4 እንታ = B "ተ; A 7 "ር
እየከ = B "አ"; A 9-10 "ዘኢእቶየ፡ አይ፡ ብሔር = B "ዝ"፡ አየ፡"ሬ;
A 11 ሠናይ = B 9r "የ; A 13 "በር፡ዘቃ" = B "በሬ፡ዘቀ"; A 14

መተርአስ=B መስተርአስተ; A 8a 22 "ቃትሉ፡በእተ=B 9v "ቀ"፡በእንተ; A 23 "ታሰ፡ብዙሃ=B "ተ"፡ብዙኀ; A 25 ወአዘ"፡የ ወሀተ፡ቶ"=B "ዘ"፡የው"፡ተ"; A 8b 4 ኮ=B ወ; A 5 ተቃ"=B ተ ቀ"; A 6 "ቃዩ=B "ቀዩ; A 9 መንገለ=B 10r ገጹ; A 10 ሐመ=B ሐ መመ; A 13 ወእም"=B እም"; A 24 ፈቃ"=B "ቀ"; A 26 ተ"=B ታ"; A 9a 4 ይኤቲ=B "እ"; A 7 ዘእግዚ"=B 10v "ዘ"; A 10 ዘያ"=B ዘየ"; A 12 ወያ"=B ወየ"; A 15 ያእ"=B የእ"; A 16 "ቀሳይ=B "ቃ"; A 19 ወያ"=B ወየ"; A 22 ተሐጸሁ=B ተሐደሁ; A 23 "ተርኢ=B "ተርአየ; A 24 አሐቲ=B በእ"; A 25 ዘያ"፡እብን =B "እ"፡ዘያ"; A 9b 1 ወይወ"=B ወይዌ"; A 3 ብዙኀ=B "ኅ; A 7 ወቦክብብተ፡ወኢይ"=B 11r "በብተ፡ወኢየ"; A 12 ዲእሙ=B om; A 19 ርእ"፡ዘ"፡ፈቃ"=B አርእ"፡ዘ"፡ፈቀ"; A 20 እግዚ"=B "ዘ"; A 23 ምንቶ፡ፍ"፡ወቶበ"፡አንታ=B "ተ፡ፍ"፡ወቶቤ"፡"ተ; A 26 እግዚ" =B "ዘ"; A 10a 8 ሰማ"፡ዝእ"=B 11v ስዝ፡ማ"፡እ"; A 10 ፍ ካሬ=B "ሬሁ; A 11 ቦቱ፡"ታሰ፡ኢቶኅዝን=B ቦ፡"ተሰ፡"ኅድግ; A 13 እንታ=B "ተ; A 14 ያንገርጹ፡እነ፡ይኢቲ=B የሐገጹ፡እኒ፡"እ"; A 16 ቃዲ"=B ቀዲ"; A 18 ቶፈ"፡ቶስ"=B ዘቶፈ"፡ተስ"; A 19 ወእፎ"=B ወእፎ"፡ሰከ; A 21 እግዚ"=B "ዘ"; A 23 "ምር=B "ምርኑ; A 24 ይኅተን=B "ኩ"; A 10b 3 ተሐተቶ=B 12r ተ"፡ወኢታሰቶቶ; A 5 "ከ በ=B "ክባ; A 6 ምንቶ=B "ተ; A 13 እግዚ"=B "ዘ"; A 15 ያሐ"=B የሐ"; A 18 ቃ"፡ተ"፡፡እሉ=B ቀ"፡ተ"፡፡እለ; A 22 ያሳ"=B የሳ"; A 11a 2 ወፈ"=B 12v ፌ"; A 8 እግዚ"=B "ዘ"; A 9 "ዛን=B "ዛን; A 11 ወእው ሣ"=B "ሠ"; A 12 እንታ=B "ተ; A 15 ወይቃ"=B "ቀ"; A 16 ሰከ=B om; A 17 ይሴ"=B ይሰ"; A 19 "እየከ=B "ኢየከ; A 27 "ውኑ=B 13r "ውእ; A 11b 2 "ፈቃ=B "ፍቃ; A 9 ዘሞቱ=B "ተ; A 10 ያሳ"=B የሳ"; A 12 ወበይ"=B ወበበይ"; A 13 እምቃ"=B "ቀ"; A 16 ቃደማ=B ቀ"; A 19 ተ

ቃ"=B 13v ተቀ"; A 20 እሳ"=B እሱ"; A 24 እግዚ"=B "ዝ"; A 25 ይበውኡ፡ዘ"፡"ቃሌ=B "እ፡ዘ"፡"ቀሌ; A 12a 14 እሙንቱ"=B om; A 19 ወጸ"=B 14r ጻ"; A 21 ይእዜ፡ዘ"፡ይልሕቅ=B ዘ"፡ይኀልቅ; A 12b 2 ርኁቅ=B "ቀ; A 8 ውስተ=B om; A 11 ወገድ"=B "ደ"; A 21 ጽልእ=B 14v ጸ"; A 13a 10 "በቅ=B "ብ"; A 12 እግዚ"=B "ዝ"; A 15 ዘተ"፡፡እሉ"=B 15r ዘታ"፡እሉ; A 26 ብቁ"=B ብቁዑ"; A 13b 2 ከበብቅ=B ከባብ; A 4 "ዕቅ=B "ዕተ; A 6 "ቅሬ=B "ተሬ; A 10 አንታ=B om; A 11 ዘቅባ"=B "በ"; A 13 ኩኑ፡እ"፡ብቁ"=B ኮኑ፡እ"፡ብቁዑ"; A 17 "በቅ=B 15v "ብቅ; A 22 ያአምኑ=B አምኑ፡፡ወእስመ;

A 14a 1 ዩሐ"=B የሐ"; A 5 ይሐ"=B የሐ"; A 9 ሥጋሆሙ=B om; A 12 ይነኮሬኩሬ=B አንኮርኩር; A 18 ወይ"=B 16r ወየ"; A 19 እኪይተ=B እኪተ; A 22 ቅሐር፡እ"፡ለእሳ"=B ቅሖር፡እ"፡ለእሱ; A 14b 3 ያ"፡፡እ"፡"ኃን=B የ"፡፡እ"፡"ኀ; A 10 አሕመመ=B ሕማም; A 20 ስሌእዩ=B 16v "ኢዩ; A 22 "ጠተኒ=B "ጠተኒ፡ወነጸረተኒ; A 26 እግዚ"=B "ዝ"; A 27 "ፈዱ፡እሉ፡እሙንቱ=B "ፈደ፡እሉንቱ; A 15a 4 ቃዱ"=B ቀዱ"; A 8 ይእቲኪ፡ወ"፡ይኢቲ=B "ቲኒ፡ወ"፡ይእቲ; A 13 ይቅጋ"=B "ገ"; A 20 የዋ"፡፡ወፍ"=B 17r የው"፡፡ፍ"; A 22 ወእም"=B "መ"; A 24 ሐይወ=B "ዩ"; A 26 ይኢቲ=B "እ"; A 15b 3 ወተሰዋ=B ወይተልዋ; A 8 ወፍሥ"=B ወቅፍሥሕቅ; A 10 "ንጽሕ=B "ንጽሕቅ; A 12 "ድቀ=B "ድቅ; A 14 ይቅቃ"፡በ"፡፡ወይከ"=B ይቅቀ"፡በ"፡፡ወይክ";

A 16a 1 ወተአክ"=B 17v "ከ"; A 2 ቀዱ"=B ቀደ"; A 3 መንፈስ"=B "ሳ"; A 7 "ዘከ=B "ዘዘ; A 10 ወእመሰ=B "መ; A 14 ሐነጽኩ"=B ሐጸንኩ"; A 22 ወይእ"=B 18r ወይእ";

ስምዑኒ; A 23 "ናክሙ:: "ቅቅክሙ = B "ናቲክሙ::"ቲቅ"; A 16 b₁ "ጋሆሙ = B "ጋሆሙ:: ወይመርዑ:ነፍስቶሙ::ወቦ፡ እለ፡በኀጢአት፡ ዘይበልዑ:ይማስኑ፡ሥጋሆሙ; A 3 "ያእ" = B "የአ"; A 5 እሳ = B እለ; A 9 ዕቃ" = B ዕቀ"; A 13 "ረክቡ = ፍኖተ = B "ረክቡ: "ቅ; A 19 "ወክሙ = B 18v "ዉ"; A 25 አሰመ: ሰ": ሥርዐይ = B om; A 17a 2 "ሰክሙኒ = B "ሙ; A 18 ቃልየ = B 19r ቀ"; A 23 ወካልአ = B "አን; A 26 "ሉ = B "ሉሰ; A 17b 1 ቅፈክር = B ቅ"፡ሊተ; A 8 በቃ" = B በቀ"; A 9 ማጸረ = B መ"; A 11 ገጸ = B ገጸ; A 12 ወቃ" = B ወቀ"; A 14 "ኢቲ: አ": ዘቃ" = B 19v "እቲ: አ": ዘቀ"; A 18 ይኢቲ = B "እ"; A 22 "ታክቅ = B "ታክቲ; A 27 "አብር = B "አብሑር;

A 18a 1 "ኢቲ = B "እቲ; A 7 ዘየዐ" = B ዘየዐ"; A 14 ታአ" = B 20r ተአ"; A 15 "ቅሙ = B "ቅክሙ; A 16 ልብ" = B ልበ"; A 21 እንከ = B "ከ; A 22 ቃዱ" = B ቀዱ"; A 24 "ቅክ[...] ማጸረ = B "ተከ[...] ምጽዋረ; A 26 ይኢቲ = B "እ"; A 18 b₁ ፍጥረትክሙ = B om; A 7 ቅቃ" = B 20v ቅቀ"; A 9 ርእሰ" = B "ሰ"; A 16 ምጽ" = B ምጸ"; A 18 ማጸረ፡ምስማክ = B መንጸረ፡ምስክ[ብ]; A 19 ዴዌሆ = B add ከመ; A 23 ቅቃ"፡ወገጸ = B ቅቀ"፡ወገጸ; A 24 ይእቲ = B om; A 19a 1 "ሬሁኒ = B "ሬሁ; A 2 ወቃ" = B ወቀ"; A 6 ግብተ = B <ወእምዝ>; A 9 ወኢሰክብ = B 21r ወኢይረክብ; A 12 ዘቃ" = B ዘቀ"; A 14 "ቅሙኒ = B "ቅሙኒ; A 21 "ርእየ = B "ርኢየ; A 24 "ድኒ = B "ዷኒ; A 26 "ቃርክሙ = B "ቀ"; A 19b 1 ነአሰ = B 21v ና"; A 5 ዘቃ" = B ዘቀ"; A 10 "ቅሙኒ = B "ቅሙኒ; A 16-7 ይቃ":: ወዓለምኒ፡በ"፡ይቃ" = B ይቀ"፡ ወለእሙኒ፡በ"፡ይቀ"; A 19 እማንቲ = B "ሙ"; A 25-6 ተፈጸሙ፡ሎ"፡ሰ" = B 22r *illeggib.*

A 20a 1 ሎእዲ፡እርባዕቱ=B ሎእዲ፡[፩፡]
A 3 ቃሎሙ=B ቃ"; A 5 ወእንዘ=B እ"; A 7 "ሕቱ፡ጜ"፡ገ"። ወዩ"=B "ሕ
ቱ፡ጜ"፡ገ"፡፡ወየ"; A 16 ወይሀ"=B ወየሀ"; A 23 "ሥእኒ=B 22v ወኦ
ው ወኢኒ (sic); A 27 ስሩር=B ሱ"; A 20b 3 እንዊነ=B "ኒ; A 5 ይዐ"
=B የዐ"; A 6 እንስሳት=B add እንጋ; A 8 ወይ"=B ወየ"; A 12 "ኒሰ፡
ከ"፡ዘእ"=B "ኒ፡ከ"፡እ"; A 17 ወይወ"=B ወይው"; A 22 "ስተባ"=
B "ስተብ"; A 21a 3 ለውእቱ=B 23r om; A 6 "ብሰ፡ሀገሬ=
B "ብ፡ሀገር; A 8 ቃሬ"=B ቀሬ"; A 13 ኢቶ"=B ኢተ"; A 15 ወቦቱ=B
ውቦቱ; A 17 ከመዘ=B ከመ; A 22 ለውእቱ፡መ"፡ሳሳስ፡ዎስጋሬ=
B 23v ወው"፡መ"፡ሠሳሳ፡"ገሬ; A 25 ወኅትሉ"=B "ለ"; A 21b 2 ይእ
ቲ=B "እ"; A 4 ዘቃ"=B ዘቀ"; A 6 ይኢቲ=B "እ"; A 9 ፋርማ፡እን
ታ=B እንተ; A 11 ወእውሣ"=B ወእው ሥ"; A 12 "ከባከ=B "ከ
ብከ; A 19 እዎማ"=B እማ"; A 21 ልብከ=B 24r "ባ"; A 23 ለእማዜ
እ=B om; A 22a 3 "ፕቶከ=B "ፕተከ; A 6 "ርኬ=B "ር;
A 7 ዕበቱሁ=B "ቢ"; A 15 ወርኅትስ=B om; A 17 ተቃ"=B ተቀ";
A 18 ወሐግሙ=B ወሐይግሙ; A 20 ይጸ"=B ይጸን"; A 26 "ዎዓ=B
24v "ዎዑ; A 22b 3 ወእቤለ=B om; A 7 ቶን"=B ተን"; A 8 ወቶ
ቤ=B ወእቤ; A 16 ይሐ"=B ይፋልቂ; A 17 ወዝኒ=B ወበዝኒ; A 21
ይኅትስ=B "ከ"; A 22 ለይኩን፡ፈ=B 25r ለከመ፡ፈ; A 24 ተዐገ"፡
ወይጸ"=B ታዐገሠ፡ወይጸው፡ሩ; A 26 እዎጽ"=B "ጺ";
A 23a 3-4 ብቋዓነ፡፡ው"፡ላንጸ=B በቃሉ"፡ው"፡"ጸ; A 8 እስሙ"
=B እሙ"; A 20 ወዘንተ=B 25v ወተዘተ; A 23 "ጣየ=B "ፕየ; A 24
ተፈጸመ፡ሎ"፡፩=B *illeggib.*
A 26 ሎእዲ፡ኃዎስቱ=B *illeggib.*
A 23b 1 ኅቤየ=B add እሐዒ; A 7 ትእማ"=B እመ"; A 14-5 እንታ
ኒ፡፡ወ"፡ኢቶ"=B 26r "ተኒ፡ወ"፡ኢታ"; A 21-2 በጊዜሃ፡ወ"፡ሬ"፡፡ወተ

ቃጥቃ" = B በጌ"፡ ወ"፡ ሬ"፡፡ ወተቀጥቀ"; A 24a 1-2 "ዝከ፡ ከ"፡
ዘ"፡ ቃ" = B "ዝዘከ፡ ከ"፡ ዘ"፡ ቀ"; A 5-6 ዘቃ"፡ ወ"፡፡ ወበዕድሰ = B ዘቀ"፡
ወ"፡፡ "ይ"; A 10 ጽሒፌ = B om; A 11 ዘዘቃ" = B 26v ዘዘቀ"; A 14 ዝ
ዘ = B "ዘዘ; A 16 ሰማዕክሙ፡ ወዐቃ"፡፡ ወገበርክሙ = B "ኩ"፡ "ቀ"፡፡
ወገበ"፡ ወሐርክሙ; A 18 ቅሬክቡ = B add. እምኅበ; A 19 "ፌክሙ፡
እግዚ" = B "ፌ ወክሙ; A 22-3 ንጤእተ፡ ቶ"፡ ፍ"፡፡ ወዘንተ = B ንጤእ
ቶክሙ፡ ቶ"፡ ፍ"፡፡ ዘንተ.

A 24b 1 ትእዛዝ፡ ኃምሳ = B *illeggib.*

A 1 ቃዴ" = B ቀዴ"; A 3-4 ኀተሎ፡፡ ወገ"፡ እም"፡ እስፍ = B ወገ"፡ እም
ውስተ፡ ዘእ"; A 5 ይኀተን = B "ኩ"; A 9 "ማን" = B 27a "ሚ"; A 10 ዕ
ቃብ = B "ቀ"; A 14 ዐቃ" = B ዐቀ".

A 15 ትእዛዝ፡ ክልኤቱ = B ቶ"፡ ፪

A 16 ኀተን = B ኩን; A 17 ዘእኪ ይእመር = B ዘእኪ የእምሬ; A 19 እመ"
= B እም"; A 21 ወእለ" = B ወኢለ"; A 22 ለዘሐምይ = B ለዘ፡ የሐም
ይመ; A 23 እንታኒ = B "ተ"; A 25a 2 እንታ = B 27v "ተ; A 3 ቢ
ጽኑ = B "ጸ"; A 6 እኪይት = B እኪት; A 7 ይኤቲ = B "እ"; A 14 "ን
ተ = B "ንተኒ; A 15-6 ይኤቲ [...] ይኤቲ = B "እ" [...] "እ"; A 22 ወእ
ንታ" = B "ተ"; A 24 ያዐቡ = B የ"; A 25b 2 ይትኀሎ" = B 28r "ኅሎ";
A 8-9 "ፌሰጥ፡ ወኢ"፡ ለ"፡ እ"፡፡ "ኩሰ = B "ፌለጥ፡ ወኢ"፡ ለ"፡ እ"፡፡ "ኩ; A
11 ለኅበ = B በኅበ; A 15 ወዕቃብ፡ ዘ"፡ እ" = B ዕቀብ፡ እ"፡ ዘ"; A 16 ይ
ኀተ" = B ይኩ".

A 20 ትእዛዝ፡ ሠለስቱ = B 28v

A 22 ወኀተሎ = B "ሎ; A 25 ይኀተን = B "ኩ"; A 26a 2 ዘየ"፡ "ክ
ሙ = B ዘየ"፡ "ከ; A 7 ምእ" = B "እምእ"; A 19 ሐዴወ = B 29r "ዴ";
A 23 ሐየውኩ = B ሐዩኩ; A 26 "ሠእኒ፡ ዓ"፡ የ" = B "ሥ"፡ ዓ"፡ የ";
A 26b 2 ዘንተ = B ወዘ"; A 5-6 "ድቀ፡ ቶ"፡፡ ወ"፡ ከዕበ = B "ድቀ፡ ቶ"፡፡

ወ"; A 7 ወእኩይ = B "ይ; A 15 ዕቃብ = B 29v "ቀ"; A 16 "ቃዲ" = B "ቀዲ"; A 17-8 "ኰንክ[...]ይኰን = B "ኵ"[...] "ኵ"; A 22 ታሐዩ = B ተ"; A 24 "ሰምሃ = B "ሰምዓ; A 25-6 "ገሐሥ:"ኪዶት = B "ገ": "ኪት.

A 27a 1 ትእዛዝ:አርባዕቱ = B *illeggib.*

A 8 ዐቢየ = B 30r "ዩ; A 13 ባዕደ = B "ድ; A 14 ይኤቲ = B "እ"; A 17 ውእቱ:ምት = B ውእቱ:ግብር:ሞተ; A 18-9 እምኔሁ:ለዓ" = B እም ውእቱ:ዓ"; A 21 ተጋ" = B "ገ"; A 23 እንታሃ = B "ተ"; A 25 ትነብሩ። "ት ክሙ = B "ንበ": "ተ"; A 27b 2 "ንዶት = B "ንደተ; A 4-5 ዘቃ":እብእቶሙ = B 30v ዘቀ":ኀጢአቶሙ; A 9 አንታ:ባ":ረ" = B ባ": ረ": አንተ; A 13-4 ወኢምንትኒ[...]ዘቃ" = B "ተኒ[...] ዘቀ"; A 15-6 እስመ:አ":እነ። "ትኒ = B እስመ:ጥቀ:አ":እነ። "ተኒ; A 20 ኢኮነ:ጥበበ = B ኢይኮነ:ጥበብ; A 22-3 "በሳ:ወእኩየ = B "በሰ:"ይ; A 28a 6 ኰሉ = B 31r "ሎ; A 7 ወቃ" = B ወቀ"; A 13 "ቃባ = B "ቀባ; A 15 "ሎች = B "ሎችካ; A 19 "ክቲ = B "ታክቲ; A 20 ታሐ" = B ተሐ"; A 22-3 ሠናየ:ስም"[...]ወርቱ = B 31v "ይ:ሰማ"[...]ወርቱዕ; A 28b 1 ኰሉ:ች":አይዓዕከ = B ኰሎ:ች":አየድዐከ; A 2 "ንተ = B "ንየተ; A 5 ያአምኑ = B አምኑ; A 8 ዘቃ" = B "ቀ"; A 12 "ምረ = B "መረ; A 13 ይቃ" = B "ቀ"; A 15 ለእለ:እመ:ሕያው = B ለእጓለ:እምሕ"; A 17 እኪዶተ = B 32r እኪተ; A 22 "ያዩኒ = B "ያየ; A 29a 5 ያሐዩ = B የ"; A 18-9 ዘምታ:ሞተ።"ሰበ = B 32v ሞተ:ምታ።"ሰባ; A 20 "ሰበ = B "ሰባ; A 23 ዐቢየ = B "ይ; A 26 "ቃባ:አንከ = B "ቀ:አንተ; A 29b 1 "ቃብ = B "ቀብ; A 5-6 ወዘቃዲ መሰ[...]ዓቃብከ = B ወዘቀ"[...]ዓቀ"; A 7 ኰሎሙ = B ለኰሎሙ; A 8 ይዕቀቦ = B የ".

A 29b 11 ትእዛዝ:ኀምስቱ = B 33r ት":፭

A12-3 "ግሥ፡ኩን፡ወመ" = B "ግሠ፡ኩን; A14-5 ዓም"፡ እ"፡ ወነተሉ = B እ"፡ ወ
ነተሉ; A16 "ሥ = B "ሠ; A18 ዘይ" = ዘየ"; A20-1 ወይ" [...] ወይ" = B ወየ" [...]
ወየ"; A30a 1-2 ለ"፡ክነ[...]ይትጋ" = B ለ"፡<ለእመ፡>ኢየነ[...]"ገ"; A5 ቅ
ኩይ፡፡ወእከመ = B እኩይ፡ወእም"; A9-11 "ሥቱ፡እ"፡ይ"[...]ገኒን፡ይ"፡፡ወካ" = B
"ሥቱ፡እ"፡የ"[...]እንጋ፡ይ"፡ወክ"; A14-7 ይ"[...]ዕጉ"[...]"ስኑ = B33v የ"[...]
ግዕስታር[...]"ስኖ; A20 ኅጻጥ = B ሕቀ; A30b 1 "ዑም = B "ዑመ; A6-7 ይ"
[...]ወእልቦ = B የ"[...]"ባ; A15-6 "ዓቃ"[...]"ዓቃ" = B34r "ዓቀ"[...]"ዓቀ";

A31a 4 እኪይት፡ ይኤቲ = B እኪት፡"እ"; A13 ሎመ፡ታካ" = B34v ታክ"; A19
እመ" = B ወእመ"; A23 ወይ" = B ወዘይ"; A31b 2,4 ይኤቲ = B "እ"; A10 እ"፡"ቦቱ = B ወእ"፡
"ባ"; A14 "ናት፡"ምት = B35r "ናተ፡"ምተ; A15-6 ቃ"፡እ"፡ይእ" = B ቀ"፡እ"፡"እ"; A21
-3 እኪይት[...]ዘነተሉ = B "ኪት[...]ነተ"; A32a 1-4 "ኃገ፡እ"፡ውእቱ[...]"ገሐሥ = B
"ሐ፡እ"[...]"ገ"; A6-10 ወይኅ"[...]ይው"[...]ዕሬቅ = B ወየኅ"[...]የው"[...]
ዕሩቅ; A15-7 እነተይ[...]ኢይ"[...]ዒበ = B35v "ኩ"[...]ኢየ"[...]ዒበ፡ነተሉ; A
25-7 "ኩክሙ[...]ወዐቃ" = B "ኩከ[...]"ቀ"; A32b 5 ትእዛዝ፡ስ" = B; A
7-10 ቃ"፡ከመ፡ትዕቃ"[...]በል = B ቀ"፡ካ"፡"ቀ"[...]ኦሆ; A13-6 ይጸ"[...]
"ታሰ = B ይጸ"[...]"ተሰ; A20-2 ይኤቲ፡፡"ታሰ[...]"ሕተ = B36r "እ"፡ተሰ[
...]ሕት; A24-7 ይኤቲ[...]ይኤቲ[...]ያሐ" = B "እ"[...]"እ"[...]የሐ"; A33a
2-3 ያሐ"፡፡ወእልቦሙ = B የሐ"፡"ቦ; A6-9 ፍናት = B "ተ; A12-6 "ሐው
[...]ቃዒማሃ[...]ወካልኡ = B "ሖሩ[...]ቀዒሚሃ[...]"ኡኒ; A21 ወይ" = B "የ";
A33b 1 ነተሉ = B36v ነተ"፡ስብሐት፡ሠናይ; A6 ወእሆ = B "እ"; A11 "ነተይ
= B "ኩይ; A19 መዓተ = B37r "ተ; A22-4 ወዝ"[...]ወስካር = B ዝ"[...]
om; A34a 7 "ታሰ = B "ተሰ; A13-5 እገከ[...]ወእሆ = B *om*[...]"እ"; A
17-8 እነተይ[...]ብእሲተ = B37v "ኩ"[...]"ሲ; A21-2 በክብር፡"ቶሙ = B በግ
ብር፡"ቶ; A34b 1-4 ያገ"[...]"ዮቶ = B ያገብ"[...]"ዮቱ; A11 ኢገ" = B *add* <ኢገ
በርከ>; A14 ትእዛዝ፡ሰብዓቱ = B *illeggib.*

A16-7 "ቃብ[...]ትዐ" = B "ቀብ[...]ተዐ"; A17-8 ጽኑዐ[...]"በ

ርክ = B "ዐ[...]"በርክሂ; A 24 ወኢዎ" = B 38r ወኢበዎ"; A 25-
6 ወእምነመ[...]ትቃ" = B እም"[...]ትቀ"; A 35a 14 ወር
ቅዐ = B om; A 15 እንከ = B om; A 21 ያዐ"፡ቅ"፡ያሐ" = B 38v
የዐ"፡ቅ"፡የሐ"; A 23-4 ያዐቅቡ፡ያሐ" = B የዐ"፡ቅእዘዘ፡የሐ"; A 35b
1 ወቅአ"፡ያዐ" = B ወየዐ"፡ቅእ"; A 2-3 በእግዚ"፡፡ወ"፡ኢይ" = B በግ
በ፡እግዚ"፡ወ"፡ኢየ".

A 6 ትእዛዝ፡ሰመንቱ = B ት"፡፳

A 10 ይኢቱ = B "እ"; A 20 ኢትግበ = B 39r "በር; A 23 ያጸ" = B የጸ";
A 25 ወግብር = B om; A 36a 1 "ብእሲት = B "ብእሲቶ; A 3
"ታየ = B "ታይ; A 7 ሐሜቶ = B ሐሜይ; A 9 ዘያኸኩ = B ዘይኸኪ; A 10-1
በሕ"፡፡ወ"፡ትቅን"፡እ" = B በሕይወቱ፡፡ወ"፡ትትገ"፡እምዝንቱ; A 13 ሐጸ
ወ = B "ይ"; A 17 ዘያ" = B ዘየ"; A 19 ይትቄ" = B 39v "ዐ"; A 22-3 ወእ
ክይ[...]ወኅተሉ = B እክይ[...]ወኅተሎ; A 25-6 እኅቱይ[...]እምዝ"
= B እኩይ[...]ወእምዝ"; A 36b 2 እንከ = B om; A 3 ይቶ" = B
ቶቶ"; A 8 "ግባሮ = B "ግባሩ; A 11-2 ወግበር = B om; A 13 ቃዲ" = B
ቀዲ"; A 18-9 ዘያ"፡፡ወዘ" = B 40r ዘየ"፡፡ዘ"; A 20-1 ዕቃብ[...]ወኸ
ክብርት = B እቀብ[...]"ብር; A 22-3 ተቃበበል[...]ተቃብብሎ =
B ተቀበል[...]ተቀብሎ; A 24-5 ምግባባር[...]ወኸቶሎቶ = B ምግባሬ
[...]ኸቶ"; A 37a 2 ተአማሳ = B "መ"; A 4 ውስተ፡ልብከ = B om;
A 6 ምንዱባን = B "በ; A 8 ለምንዱባን = B ለእብዳን; A 10 ወባሕ" = B
ወባዕ"; A 18 "ዕቃብ = B "ዕቀብ; A 22-3 ያዐቅብዎ[...]ወያሕ" = B
40v የዐቅቡ፡ዎ(sic)[...]ወየሐ".

A 25 ትእዛዝ፡ተስዓቱ = B

A 37b 1 ወእመቦ፡"ልከ = B እ"፡"ልዮ; A 5 ብዙኀ፡"ሱኩ = B "ሐ፡
"ስኩ; A 15 ወእንታኒ = B "ተ"; A 17 ቃዲ" = B ቀዲ"; A 20-1 "ፊቃ
[...]ትቃ" = B "ፊቀ[...]ትቀ"; A 23 ይነፍቁ፡ይቃ" = B 41r ይና";

ይቀ"; A 25 ኢይድምዓ = B "ዱምዑ; <u>A 38a</u> ዲይይና" = B ኢይና"; A 2-3 ኀተሎ [...] እመ፡ኢነ" = B "ሉ [...] እመሂ፡ነ"; A 4 ያሐዩ = B ዩ"; A 11-2 "ትከ፡ስእለተከ = B "ተከ፡"ትከ; A 15-6 "ትከ፡ዘሰአልከ = B "ተ፡ስእለትከ; A 17-8 ወአንቃሰ [...] ፈቃጸ = B "ተ"; "ቀ"; A 19-20 ወቃበጽከ፡ወኀደጋ [...] ርእሰከ = B "ቀ"፡"ገ [...]; A 23 እኀዚ [...] ይኢቴ = B 41v "ኩ" [...] "ከ"; A 26-7 ወሰዩ [...] ችትጓሕለዎሙ = B ወለተ [...] ተጓሕ"; A 38b 2 "ኖትከ = B "ኖተከ; A 4 "ፈወ = B "ፌወት; A 7 e 11 ይኢቴ = B "እ"; A 12 ተቃ" = B ተቀ"; A 15 አልባ፡ጎ"፡፡ወታ" = B "ባቲ፡ጎ"፡ወተ".

A 20 <u>ትእዛዝ፡ዓሠርቱ</u> = B

A 22 ይኢ"፡እሕታ = <u>B 42a</u> ይእቲሂ፡እ"፡ይእቲ; A 25 ይኢቲ፡"ለኒ፡ሊተሰ፡ኬ = B ይእቲ፡"ለንኬ፡ሊተሰ; <u>A 39a</u> 1 አንቃሰ = B "ተ"; A 6-7 ይኢቲ [...] ወታጠውቆሙ = B "እ" [...] ወተጠውቆ; A 8 ኀበ = B ኀበሂ; A 11 ቃቲለ = B ቀ"; A 14 ወኢፈቃ" = B "ቀ"; A 16 ወይደሙ = B om.; A 19 ኢይእ" = B ኢየእ"; A 22-3 ዝክተ፡ምግባርሙ = B ዝተግባ"; A 24-5 ወናይ፡፡ሶበ፡ይሰትዎ = B 42v "ዩ፡ሶበ፡ይሰት<ት>ዮ; A 39b 1 ያእምኑ = B ዩ"; A 3-5 ቃዳሚ፡"ዎሙ [...] ዘይእምሩ = B ቀ"፡"ዎ [...] ዘዩ"; A 7 ይሰምዓ = B "ዑ; A 11 "ቲሂ = B "ተሂ; A 23 ቀቃጥቅጠ፡ለ"፡ሐ" = B ቀቀጠቅጣ፡ሐ"፡ለ"; <u>A 40a</u> 6 ወይቶማ" = <u>B 43r</u> "ወ"; A 11 እስመ፡እኩዩ = B እስመ፡<እስመ፡>; A 20-1 ያሐንዎ [...] መዓትሂ = B ያሐዝንዎ [...] ወ መ"; A 22-3 እምኔከ፡እንከ፡፡መ"፡፡ወሐዘነ = B እንከ፡ እም"፡መ"፡"ዘን; A 24-6 ዘይሐ" [...] ወያያሐ" = B ዘየሐ" [...] ወየሐ"; A 40b 5-6 እንባቲ [...] ይኢቲ = B 43v እንተባቲ [...] "እ"; A 11-2 ወእኀ" [...] ያእኪ፡፡ ወቃ" = B "ኩ" [...] የእኪ"፡ወቀ"; A 18 በተ" = B በኢተ"; A 21 "ሕቶ:

በ ዘዩ"= B "ሕተ፡በዘየ"; A 24-6 ምሥዋዕ[...] በውስተ = B "ዐ[...]ውስ
ተ; A 41a 4-5 ትዕርግ[...] ለምስለ = B "ሬግ[...] ምስለ; A 10-1 "ይ
ኢቴ፡ሐ"፡እኪይት፡ወታ" = B 44a "ይእቲ፡ እኪት፡ሐ"፡ ወተ".
A 12 ትእዛዝ፡ዓሠርቱ፡ወአሐዱ = B *illeggib.*
A 20 ዓጸፈ = B መ"; A 24 መሃይ" = B መሃይም"; A 25-6 ዓጸፈ[...]
ሐሳዌ = B መ"[...]"ዊ; A 41b 5 ወእኩ = B እኩ; A 8 ሐሳዌ = B 44v "ዊ;
A 10-2 ቅዱስ[...] እኪይት = B om [...] እኪት; A 14-5 ለክንቶ፡ለ"፡"ቶ፡
ዩ"፡፡ወው-እ"፡ክንቶ = B ክንቱ፡ለ"፡"ቱ፡ዩ"፡ው-እ"፡ ክንቶመ (sic); A
16-8 ወዘኮሙ[...] ወዘኮሙ = B add <ወዘኮሙ፡>[...] ወበኮሙ; A 25
ወለብስዎ = B "ዋ; A 42a 2 ኮሙ = B om; A 6-7 ለሐሳዌ[...] ነተ
ሎ = B "ዊ[...]"ሉ; A 16-7 መንፈስ፡"እሎ ሙ[...] ፈቃደ = B 45a "እሎ፡
[...] ይፈቅድ; A 18-9 ወድኅተም[...] ንጹሕ = B "ኁ"[...] "ሐ; A 25 ታመክ"
= B ታሜክ"; A 42b 3-5 የውህ[...] ወይትጋ" = B የዋህ[...] "ገ"; A 9-
10 ምንቴሂ[...] ይሴእ" = B "ተ"[...] ይሰእ"; A 11-2 ወበበሕቴቱ[-
-] በከጊዜ፡ፈቀደ = B ወበባሕቲቱ[...] በጊዜ፡"ቀ"; A 13 ዘየየ፡ድዮ፡ለ" = B 45v
ዘአይድዮ፡መንፈስ; A 15-7 ፈቃደ[...] ዘመንፈ = B "ቀ"[...] "ፈስ; A 20
ሃይማኖተ = B "ት; A 25 ወእቲ = B "ተ; A 43a 3 ፈቃደ = B "ቀ";
A 10 ወቃዲሚሁስ = B ወቀዲሚሁ; A 13 ወኢይ" = B ወኢየ"; A 17-8 ይ
ትኔበይ፡፡ወእመ፡ኢ"፡አይነ" = B 46a "ነበይ፡ ወእመሰ፡ኢ"፡ኢይን"; A 19-
20 ወመንፈስ[...] በአይቴ፡ይነ" = B መ"[...] በአ[ይ]ቴ፡ይእነ"; A 24 ወኢ
ይቃርቡ = B ይቀ"; A 43b 1 ወያሐ" = B ወየሐ"; A 4-5 ይነግሮሙ[...]
ዘክንቶ = B "ሮሙ[...] "ቱ; A 8 ምስለ = B add ንዋይ; A 9 ወእም
ከ = B "ከመ; A 13 ያእብድ = B የ"; A 15 ወይትቃጠቃዋ = B 46v
ወይትቀ<ቀ>ጠቀጥ; A 21-2 ጻሕብ[...] ፈቃ"፡"ጋሕሥ = B "በ[...]
ፈቀ"፡"ጋብእ; A 23-5 መዝገብ፡፡ወ"፡ጸሕብ[...] ወዕሎቱ፡ች"፡በ"፡ሣም
ኮ = B "በ፡፡ወ"፡"በ[...]"ቶ፡ች"፡በ"፡ሤምኮ; A 44a 1 መእ"

= B ማእ"; A 9 እንታሰ = B "ተ"; A 11 ኅደ A = B "ለ; A 16 ስማዕ፡ ደ"፡ ምሰ" = B 47r ሰማዕ፡ ደ"፡ ምስ"; A 19 ትቅረበ = B "ር"; A 24 ይነሥእ፡ ግዚኦየ = B "ኡ"፡ እግዚእ; A 44 ቤ 1 ርኢየ = B "እ"; A 3 ይኤቱ = B "እ"; A 8 ደሰ ቀሎ = B ደሰ"; A 12 "ሐርኒ = B "ሖር.

A [illegible] ትእዛዝ፡ ዓሥርቱ፡ ወክልኤቱ = B 47v

A 19-20 እእቶ [...] "ኪዶቶ = B እእቶቶእምኔክ [...] "ኪቶ; A 22-3 እፍቃ" : "ልእ = B "ቀ" : "ልእ; A 24-5 ይኤቲ፡ ፍ"፡ እኪዶቶ = B "እ"፡ ፍ"፡ እኪቶ; A 45a 1 ታሉቡ፡፡ ወ"፡ ይኤቲ = B "ብብ፡ ወ"፡ "እ"; A 2-4 ፕቀ፡ [...] ወፌድፋድሰ፡ ለ"፡ ወ"፡ ወሰቀ = B om [...] "ደሰ፡ ለ"፡ ወ"፡ ውሰተ; A 6 ያሐልቅ = B የ"; A 8 ለፍትወዝ = B "ወትዝ; A 10 ምቶ = B ሞቶ; A 12-4 እኪዶቶ [...] ምቶ፡፡ ወ"፡ ከ"፡ እቶጋ" = B እኪቶ [...] ሞቶ፡ ወ"፡ ክ"፡ "ገ"; A 16 ቶቃቶሎሙ = B "ቀ"; A 17-8 እኪዶቶ፡፡ ቃ" = B 48r እኪቶ፡ ቀ"; A 18-9 ብእሲቶ፡፡ ወእብዝኖ = B "ተ፡ ብእሲ፡ እብ"; A 21-2 ወእበድ፡ ው"፡ ለእብርተ = B እበድ፡ ው"፡ ለእግ"; A 23-4 እኪዶቶ [...] ይኤቲ = B እኪቶ [...] "እ"; A 45b 2-3 ምቶ [...] ምክዕቢቶ = B ሞቶ [...] "ቢተ; A 4 ወ እንታሰ = B "ተ ኬ; A 6 ንጡ እቶ = B "ተ; A 8 ያሐድር = B የ"; A 9-10 ወናይ፡፡ ወ"፡ እኪዶቶ = B "ደቶ፡ ወ"፡ እኪቶ; A 13-4 "ታሰ፡ እ"፡ ቶጉየ ይ = B "ተሰ፡ እ"፡ ቶጉደይ; A 16-7 ወእንታሰ [...] ምእቶ = B "ተ" [...] ሞ እቶ; A 20 ዘነሠእከ፡፡ ወተቃ" = B 48v "[ክ]"፡ "ቀ"; A 22-3 ተቃ"፡ ለፍቶወቶ = B ተቀ"፡ "ተ; A 25 እኪዶቶ፡፡ ወ"፡ ዘከመ = B እኪቶ፡ ወ"፡ ለዘ"; A 46a 1 ይእቶቃነይ = B "እቶቀ"; A 5 ወሃይማኖቶ = B om; A 9 ወፌጺም፡ ፲ወ፪ ቶእዛዝ = B "ሞ፡ "ዛዝ; A 12-3 ንጹሐ፡ ይነሥን = B "ሐ፡ "ኡ"; A 16-8 ይነስሑ [...] ወአኀብሮሙ = B ደኔ" [...] ወታኄ".

A 21 ቃዳሚሃ፡ ለአምሳል፡ አምሳል፡ አሐዱ = B 49r ቀ"፡ ለ"፡ አ"፡ አ"

A 46b 9 "ቃቦን፡ ይቃልል፡ ለኩ፡ ወኢየ" = B "ቀ"፡ ይቀልለኩ፡ ወኢይ";

A 11 ትትክል = B ኢት"; A 13 ኢዐቃ" = B "ቀ"; A 18 ደንገጸኩ = B "ኩ;
A 21 ርእየ = B 49v "የኒ; A 47a 3 እመሕየው = B "እም"; A 5-6
ይኄ":: "ኒ = B "ኰ": "ንደ; A 8 ይቀኒ: እ": እመ = B "ቀ": እ": እም;
A 11 ይማእን = B ይመውእን; A 16 ወሎሙ ሰኄ = B ሎሙ ኄ; A 18
በልብኩሙ: እብዳን::...— A 55a 9 ... ወይሁ በኩ: ወእለ = B om;
A 55a 10 ይቀብፁ = B 50r ‹ይ›ይቀብጹ; A 15-6 ዝዓለም[...]ወገ
ብሩሂ = B "መ[...]ወክሩሂ; A 20 "ዕሩሂ = B "ዕሩኒ; A 23 ሊቃነ = B
"ቀ"; A 25 ዘተረፈ = B ዘተፈፈ (sic); A 55b 1 ዝንቱ:: ወ": "ለበዎ =
B ወዘ": ወ": "ሰብዎ; A 9 አሰብወኒ: እግ" = B 50v እግ": አለ"; A 13 ሄ
መ: መ" = B ሄመ[:መ]"; A 14 ይዕቃ" = B "ቀ"; A 16-7 ሐሚም[...]
ዘይካል = B "ም[...]"ክ"; A 20 ንጢአተ = B "[ተ]; A 22 ዘተወፈ
የ = B ዘነሥእ; A 26-7 ፈቃደ[...]ተቃንየ = B "ቀ"[...]"ቀ";
A 56a 2 "ንትኒ = B "ንትሃ; A 6 ቡሩን = B ክቡሩን; A 11 ይእዜኒ =
B ዘይ"; A 14-5 እርኵ"[...]ሐዪው" = B 51r "ነተ"[...]"ው; A 16-
7 "እቤሎ[...]ቃዪሙ = B "ይቤሎ[...]ቀ"; A 21 ዘበኢ" = B በኢ"; A
23 እስመ: ብዙሕ = B በዙኅ (sic); A 24-5 ታዓቃብ: እ": "እዜ[..
.] ወመንፈስከ = B ተዓቀብ: እ": "[እ]ዜ[...]"ሰ"; A 26 ለእግዚእ" =
B add እምሳል: ፯.
A 27 እንብር = B እነ"; A 56b 7 ምስሌየ = B 51v ምሴሌየ; A 10 እ
መ = B om; A 12-3 እከየ: ለ":: ወእጥብዓ: "ኖተ = B "ክ": ለ":
"ብዑ: "ኖቶ; A 14-5 ወኢት"[...]እንከ = B ወእት"[...] om; A 18-9
ገዳመ: ወእርእየከ[...]እግዚእ = B "ም: ወእርእ"[...]እግዚእብሔ
ር; A 23 "ግዐ: ብዙኃነ = B "ግዕ: ብዙኃን; A 57a 1 ትሬኢት:
"ዎ = B ትሬእይኑ: "ዊ; A 6 እኪይት = B 52r እኪት; A 7-8 ም
ት:: ወቦ: ኅበ = B ሞቱ: ወቦ: ውስተ; A 9-10 እሉ: እ": እሉ: እ": እለ =
B om; A 11 ወይቤሎ = B ወእቤሎ; A 13-4 እይ: ዘ": ይሑር = B

ወእዴ፡ዘ"፡የ"; A 16-7 እለ፡ርእክ[...]ለርስሐት = B ርእክ[...]
"ት; A 19 በዘየ" = B "የ"; A 57b 2 እምጽጽቅ = B "ጽድቅ; A
4-5 ይትቀ"፡፡ ወምት = B ትት"፡ወሞት; A 8-9 ዐቢየ፡ወዴ"፡ወከመ፡
ለዋው = B "ዴ፡ወዴ"፡ከመ፡ዘለ"; A 14 ወ፮"፡በ"፡ወውስተ = B 52v
ወ፬"፡በ"፡ውስተ; A 17 e 19 "ምሳሌ = B "ሌ; A 21-3 "ርዕዩ[...]
ዘነሥኦ፡ሠ"፡ወ"፡፡ወእኤዴክሳ = B "ርዕየ[...]ዘነሥኦ፡ሠ"፡ወ"፡፡"ክ
ሳ; A 26 ወይነ"፡ሳዕሉ = B ወይን"፡ለዕሉ; A 58a 2 ጥቀ = B
om; A 5 እኤዐ" = B እኤየዐ"; A 8-9 ዘምሳሌ[...]እኤየስት" = B "ሌ
[...] ወእኤየስት"; A 11 መልአክ = B "ክ; A 20 መቅሠፍት = B 53r "ተ;
A 22-3 ትፍግዕት[...]ይእቲ = B "ትፈ[...]"እ"; A 26 እሐተ፡ሰዓት = B
"ቲ፡"ተ; A 58b 1 e 6 ይትቃወፉ = B "ቀ"; A 3 ዓመት = B "ት; A 10
ይትቃ" = B "ቀ"; A 15 ንግ"፡ጥዩቀ = B 53v ጥ"፡ንግ"; A 18-20 እኤት
ፈቅድ[...]ወብኪ፡ትትቃ" = B "ቀ"[...]ወልብኪ፡"ቀ"; A 26 "ቃ
ደ፡፡ወእሐሉ = B "ቀ"፡ዘይሐሉ; A 59a 2 ምስሌክ፡፡ወሰ" = B 53v
ገብሩ፡ወሰ"; A 4 "ግዕት = B "ግዕቱ; A 6 ዕለት = B "ተ; A 8 ይትቃ"
= B "ቀ"; A 10-2 እስመ[...]"ቅሠፍ፡ወ"፡ን"፡ወተቃ" = B እስመ፡ዐ
ቢይ[...]"ቅሠፍት፡ወ"፡ን"፡"ቀ"; A 18-9 "ቃሠፍ[...]እስመ፡ሕይ
ወት = B 54r "ቀ"[...]እስመ፡እንዘ፡የሙ፡"ተ; A 21-3 ይእቲ፡ት"፡
እኪይት[...]ግብር፡ዘ"፡ገብር = B "እ"፡ት"፡እኪት[...]ገበር፡ዘ"፡ግ";
A 24-5 ዘከመ[...]ይገብር = B ከመ[...]ወይ"; A 59b 3-4 ወያሐጊ
[...]ወዘየ" = B ወዴ"[...]ወዴ"; A 12 ወይሐምሞሙ = B "[ም]ሙ;
A 22-3 እኪይት[...]ነገ"፡እለ፡ይ" = B 54v እኪት[...]ዘነገ"፡እለ፡
ይ"; A 25 "ማመ፡፡ኦመሰ = B "ማም፡ወእ".
A 60a 1 አምሳል፡ሰመንቱ = B እ"፡፰
A 8-9 መቅሠፍት[...]አጠቃኒ = B "ተ[...]"ቀኒ; A 14 ያመ" =
B ወያመ"; A 17-8 ንግዴ[...]እግንቱ = B ንጠይ"፡እሙንቱ;

A 20 ዐቢይ = B 55a ወዐ"; A 22-3 መልእክ[...]ወበበ" = B "ክ[...]በበ"; A 25 እሙንቱ" = B "[ን]"; A 60b 1 እምፍ":ዘዓለም = B ለፍ":ዘንቱ: ዓ"; A 3 "ሠናት = B "ሠናተ; A 7 እትቃ" = B "ቅ"; A 9-10 ኅጺጣን: ድኅን = B ዓኅን; A 13-4 ያሐው:"ዘ:ዓኅን = B የ":"ዘኢ:"ኑ; A 15-6 ዘ የሐው[...]እምኀሉ = B ዘየ"[...]"ሎ; A 21-2 ኀሉ:ተ"::ወርቱዕ[...] ይኔስሕ = B 55v "ሎ:ተ":ወርቱ[ዕ...]"ሑ; A 26 እምካው = B እምኬ;

A 61a 4-6 ርኢክዎ[...]እምኀሉ = B ርእዮ[...]"ሎ; A 9 "ትክ:: ኣ":ሀለውክ = B "ተክ:እ":ሀሎክ; A 12-3 "ብእካ:ኅቤየ::ወ":ጸእኀቶ = B "ብእ:ኅ":ወ": እእ"; A 15 "ትክ::ወነገሪክ = B "ተክ:"ርክ; A 17-8 "ገሥክ:ጥቀ::ወእ"[...]ሀለው = B "ገሠ:ጥቀ:ወ[እ]"[...]ሀሎ; A 23-4 ወበቃ":ያሐምውክ = B 56a "ቀ":ያሕምምክ; A 25-6 ታሐ"[...]ወካ ንክ = B ተሐ":"ነክ; A 61b 1-2 ታቴሕት:ርእስክ::ን":"ሙዩ = B ታት": "ሰኩ:ን":"ምዩ; A 4-5 "ቅክኪ::ይሐሩ = B "ቀክኪ:"ር; A 7-8 ዓ ቃ"[...]ወቤትክ = B ዓቀ"[...]"ተክ; A 10-2 ያሐ"[...]ያእትት:እ ንክ = B ይሐ"[...]ዶእ".

A 61b 16 እምሳል:፱ = B አምሳል:[?]

A 20 መጽኡ = B ወመ"; A 22 ይቃ" = B "ቀ"; A 25-6 ዐቢይ[...]ለ ይኢቴ = B 56v ዐቢየ[...]"እ"; A 62a 1-2 እምኒ:ክዕፀዊሃ = B om; A 2-4 የጸሉ:ታ":ለይኢቴ[...]አብትረ = B የጸልሉ:ታ":"እ"[...] "ተረ; A 8-9 ወይኢ"[...]ዓእሙ = B "እ"[...]om; A 10-3 ቃጺሙ:ር": ይኢቴ[...]ተመትሮ = B ቀ":ር":"እ"[...]"ቴሮ; A 16-8 ወሀለወት[...] አዕፀዊሂ = B ሀ"[...]"ዊሃ; A 21 አብትር = B "ረ; A 62b 1-2 እብሬ"= B 57a አብትሬ"; A 6-7 ይቄሙ:እንተ:ባሕቲቶሙ = B እ":ባ":ይ"; A 8-9 ወዐውሎ:ካ":ይቡሳኒሆን = B "ው:ካ":"ሆሙ; A 10-1 እ ዘዘሙ:እንተ:ባ":ይቄሙ:እንክ = B እንተ:ባ":እዘ":ይ"; A 13 ወእሙ" = B <ወእ>ወእሙ"; A 16 "እንኪ:አብትሬ" = B "እን:ሶብቲሬ"; A 18

-9 "ዐቅሢ፡ቦቶን፡፡ወውእቶሙሢ =B "ዐቀሢ፡ቦ[ቶ]ን፡ ወእሙንቱሢ; A 21 ዓዲ፡ "አንሢ=B "አን; A 25-6 ወመ"፡ካል"[...]"ቆን=B ወአምጽኡ[...]"[ቆ]"; A 63a 3-5 ወመጠዉ፡ ክልኤንሢ፡ አብቅ"[...] "ሚሳቅ =B 57v ወወሀቡ፡ ካልእን፡ አብቲ አሆሙ[...] "ሚል; A 6-7 ቆሙ[...]ካዕበ =B om[...] om; A 8-9 ይቡሳቅ ፡፡ ወ"፡ ኃመልሚል =B ይቡስ፡ ወ"፡ "[ል]; A 10-1 እሙንቱሢ[...]ቆሙ = B እሙ"[...] om; A 12-3 ወመጠዉ[...]ኀተሰንተ" =B ወአምጽኡ[...] ኀተሰንታ"; A 14-5 "ሳቅ[...] ንቁዐቅ =B "ሳተ[...]"ተ; A 18 ካልእንሢ =B "አን; A 20-2 ወወእቶሙ[...]ቆሙ=B ወእሙንቱሢ፡ቆሙ[...]; A 23-4 ወመጠዉ፡ክል"፡አ"፡፡ኀተሰ"፡"ልሚል =B ወመጽኡ፡ካል"፡አ"፡፡ ወኀተሰ"፡"ልሚለ; A 25-6 እምክመ፡ነ"፡አኀበ =B በከመ፡ነ"፡እምኀበ; A 63b 1 አብቲ" =B አብቅ"; A 4-5 በይነ፡ዝንቱ፡፡ወመጠዉ፡ክል"= B 58r ወመጠዉ; A 9-10 ተፈ"፡ጥቀ፡ው"፡"ከ፡ኄር =B ጥቀ፡ተፈ"፡ ው"፡"ክ; A 12 ኀተሰንታሆሙ =B add ወዓዲ; A 15 ሰብእ፡እለ፡ከመዝ =B ሰብኡ፡እለ፡ከመ; A 21 ጥቀ =B om; A 24-5 ወአምጽኡ[...] ወአስተቃ" =B ወአ"፡እክሊ ሳተ[...] "ቀ"; A 64a 5-6 ኀተል"="ለቅ =B ኀተሰንታሆሙ፡"ልቅ; A 11 ዐርጉ =B 58v የዐ"; A 14-6 "ሚሳን፡"ታሆሙ[...] ውስተ፡ማሳ" =B "ሚሳቅ፡"ታሆን[...] om; A 19 ለዝንቱ=B "[ን]"; A 21-2 ውለእሉ፡ው"፡አሬፍተ =B ለእሉ፡ው"፡"ቅ; A 26 ጠፉ"፡በሕቱ =B "ይ"፡ባ"; A 64b 1 "ንዎሙ፡፡ወ"፡ባ" =B "ነዎሙ፡ወ"፡ ወባ"; A 4 ኖላዊ =B 59r ለኖ"; A 7-9 ለኢሉ፡ኀተ"፡አብቅ"፡፡"ክሎን፡ "ቢዮሙ =B አብቅ"፡ለ"፡ኀተ"፡"ክሎን፡"ቢዮን; A 11 አሮ፡እግዚኦ = B እግ"፡አሮ; A 14-5 ይኢቲ[...]ያሐዩ =B "ኢ"[...] ዩ"; A 16-7 ተከለ፡ አ"፡"ቅር[...] ብዙኀተ፡ያ" =B ቅከለ፡አ"፡"ቅሬ[...]"ኀቅ፡ዩ"; A 19-20 ሀባ[...] ወእመቦ =B ሀብ[...] ወእመ; A 21-3 ንቅፈሣሕ፡ባቲ[...]መስቅቅ =B "ሐ፡ቦቱ[...]"ቅተ; A 25 እምቅዋ" =B "ዋማ"; A 65a 6 ተከሎን =B 59v ብዙኀ፡ማየ; A 5 e 7 ሰቃዮን =B "ቀ"; A 11 ለእሳንቱ =B

ላእለ"; A 14 ይሌ"=B ወይሌ"; A 19-20 ማይ[...]ያሐዩ=B ማየ
[...]የ"; A 22 ይእኢቲ=B "እ"; A 24-6 ዘመጠነዛ[...]ምንተኒ=B
"[ነ]ዛ[...]መ"; A 65b 1 ወበበ"=B በበ"; A 3 ዐቢይ=B "ባ"; A
7 ዘተ"፡ለነዋሉ=B 60a ወዘተ"; "ሉ; A 11-3 ጽለሉተ[...]ትም
ህርቶ=B ጽሳ"[...]"ቶሙ; A 17-9 ይዕቃቦሙ[...]ያእምኑ=B
"ቀ"[...]የ"; A 21 ወሀቦሙ፡ሕጎ፡ለ"፡ዐቃቡ=B ወሀ"፡‹ጎ፡›ሕጎ፡
ለ"፡"ቀ"; A 66a 1 ትሬእ"=B "ኢ"; A 9 "ናት፡ዘኢየ፡ሕደ"=
B 60v "ናነ፡ዚአየ፡ሕድ"; A 18-20 ተቃጸሉ[...]ተጋጸልዎ፡ለ"፡
ወምእዎ=B "ቀ"[...]"ሉዎ፡ለ"፡ወሞ"; A 23 "ትሬሀሙ፡እ"፡"ሚ
ሳት=B "ቲ"፡እ"፡"ሚሊት (sic); A 26 ተጸርሩ=B ተጸዓሩ; A 66b 1
ወኢቃ"=B "ቀ"; A 5-6 "ሚሳን[...]ጻድቃን=B "ሚሳት[...]ጽ";
A 8 ሶሩ[...]ለእግዚ"=B 61a ሕ"[...]እግዚ"; A 10-1 ወእምዝ፡ት"፡
ባዕዳን፡አ"፡እመ፡ተፈነወ፡ወፈቀ"=B እምዝ፡ት"፡"ዳኒ፡አ"፡አመ፡ፈተ";
A 19-22 ቅንት፡በ"፡ዓጌ፡ወተለአከኒ[...]ንጹሐ=B ቅንቱ፡በ"፡ዓጌ፡ወተ
ለክኒ[...]ንጹሕ; A 22-3 ርእየኒ[...]ወተጸልአ"=B ር[እ]"[...]"ለ";
A 24-6 ዕጸው[...]በቢጸሙ፡በካመ=B ዕጽው[...]በበቢ"፡መከመ
(sic); A 67a 6 ወመጠወ፡ቃ"=B መ"፡ቀ"; A 8 ቃፈሙ፡ኢተ
ሬ"=B 61v ቀ"፡ተሬ"; A 11 ወይንበሩ=B om.; A 14-5 ወየእም"
[...]ንመልሚል=B ወየ‹ን›እም"[...]"ሚሳት; A 15-7 ይቡሳት፡
"ዓት[...]ሳ፡እለ፡መጠወ=B "ትሂ፡"ዓተ[...] om.; A 21-3 ተሬክቡ
[...]ወብሉዓት፡ም"፡ቃ"=B "ባ[...]"ፋሂ፡ም"፡ቀ"; A 25 አቡትሁ"
=B አቡት[ሁ]"; A 67b 1 ንቅዓተ=B "ት; A 5-6 ተሬካባ፡"ሚ
ሳት[...]ወማ"=B "ካ"፡"ሚ[ሳ]ተ[...]ማ"; A 9 ተቃጸሉ=B 62r
"ቀ"; A 13 ንቅዐት=B "ተ; A 15-6 ዘንተ፡ባሕ"=B ዘእንተ፡[ባ]ሕ";
A 19-20 "ክበ፡"ሳት፡"ሞሙ=B "ክበ፡"ሳተ፡"ሞን; A 23 ተመይጡ
=B ወተ"; A 68a 3-5 ነዋሉን[...]መንፈቅን፡ይቡሳት፡

ወብሱዓት፡፡ወቦን፡እለ፡ሠረፀ = B ኵሉ[...] መንፈቆን፡ወቦን፡እለ፡ይቡሳ
ትሂ፡ወ[ብ]ሊዓትሂ፡ወቦን፡እለ; A 6 ወአቃ" = B "ቀ"; A 10 "ሚሳት፡፡
ወሣልስ = B 62v "ሚሳተ፡ "ሳት; A 12-4 "ሚሳት፡ኵ"፡፡ ወብዙኃት[...]
ወዘብ" = B "ሚሳን፡ኵ"፡ኃን[...] ወብ"; A 15-6 "ሚሳት፡፡ ወ"፡ "ሳት፡"ት
ሂ፡፡ ወኵ" = B "ሚል፡፡ ወ"፡ "ሳትሂ፡"ት፡፡ ወእሉሂ፡ኵ"; A 18-9 ካል
አንሂ፡ባዕዳንሂ = B ኵሎሙ፡ባዕዳን; A 20-2 እድ፡ይ"፡፡ ወሣልስ[...]እ
ምኔሆሙ = B እድ፡እለ፡ይ"፡፡ ወሣልስት[...]‹እለ›; A 22 ወጠዉ፡ [B add] ሐማ
ልማል፡ኵሳንታሆሙ፡ወብዙኃን፡መንፈቆሙ፡ይቡስ፡ወዘብዙኃን፡መንፈ
ቆሙ፡ሐማልሚል፡፡ ወካልአን፡ይቡሳት፡ወብሉዓትሂ፡ወእሉሂ፡ኵሎ
ሙ፡ተፈነወ፡ምስለ፡ቢጾሙ፡ወመጠዉ፡ኵሎ(63r)ሙ፡ባዕዳንሂ፡
አብትሪሆሙ፡እለ፡ክልኤ፡እድ፡ይቡሳት፡ወሣልስት፡ሐማልሚሳት፡ወ
ብዙኃን፡እምኔሆሙ፡እለ፡መጠዉ፡‹መንፈቆሙ›; A 25 ኵልን" = B
ኵለን"; A 68b 2-3 ወጽንፎን፡ይቡስ፡፡ወንቅዐተ = B "ፎሙ፡ይ"፡፡
"ዐት; A 5 "ሚሳት = B "ሚልት; A 17-8 ኵለንታሆን[...]አብትር፡ተፈሐ
= B 63v "ሆሙ[...]"ትሪሆን፡ተፈሥሐ; A 20-1 ወሖሬ፡እ"፡ውስተ፡ቢ"፡
ይቄ ማ = B ወሖሬ፡እ"፡ውእቱ፡ቢ"; A 23-5 ለኵሎሙ[...]ይእቲ = B
ኵሎ[...]ይ[እ]ቲ; A 69a 4-5 ወክብርት፡ይእቲ = B "ር፡ "እ"; A
11 ወይትቀ" = B "ቅ"; A 13-4 ወጉሐሎ" = B 64r ወጉሕሉ"; A 24-6
"ተመ፡ነሥእሙ፡፡ "ቃቡ[...]ወይ" = B "ተሞ፡ ወነሥእሞ፡"ቀ"[...]ወ[ይ];
A 69b 1-2 ክነሥኡ፡"ተም፡ዘእ"፡ "ኰቱዎ = B ነሥኡ፡"ተሞ፡እ"፡ኰ
ቱዎ; A 4 ነፍሶሙ = B ‹ነ›ነ"; A 8-10 ይክሕዱ[...]በኀጣይ" =
B 64v [ይ]ክ"[...]በኀጣው"; A 12-3 ዩኃ"፡በ"፡ስመ = B የኃ"፡በ"፡
እስ(sic); A 14-6 ምቱ[...]እይኔስሒ = B ሞቱ[...]እይ"; A 20 ሕ
ይወት = B "ት; A 23-4 ወእሉሂ[...]መደ" = B ወእሉ[...]መድ";

A 70a 2 ወኢይሐ" = B ወኢየሐ"; A 9 ይኢይ" = B 65r ኢ
ይ"; A 21 መንፈቆን፡ይ"፡ አብ" = B "ቆሙ፡ይ"፡ኢብ"(sic); A 24

ይናፍቁ = B "ቅ; A 70b 2 ወያሐ" = B ወየሐ"; A 5 ንሐ = B 65v ን
ስሐ; A 8-9 ንስሐ: ሃሎሙ: እለ: ንስሑ: እም: ውስቴ" = B ለን": ወሃ
[ሎ]ሙ: እለ: ነ": እም፡ ውስተ"; A 14-5 ሞተ፡ እመዊት = B ሞት: እ
ሞት; A16 "ሚል: መጠው = B "ሚለ: ወመጠወ; A 19-20 ወቦሙ:
ባሕቱ: ተቃ": "ቲሆሙ = B ወባሕቱ: ቦሙ: ተቀ": "ቲሆን; A 23
ተቃንዖ = B "ንእ; A 27 ይነስሑ = B ይኔ"; A 71a 4-5 ወያ
ሐ": ሕይወቶሙ = B 66r ወየሐ": "ቶ; A 7-9 ያዐ": ት": እግዚ እብ
ሔር: ይእቲ [..]እልቦ = B የዐ": ት": እግዚእ: "እ"[..]ወእ"; A 12 ይእ
ቲ = B "እ"; A 16 ሞት = B ሞተ; A 18 መንፈቆሙ = B "ቆን; A 21-3
ወእተለ "[..]ምቱ = B "ል"[..]ሞቱ; A 71b 6-8 ሐጕሉ: ሕ": በእን
ተ: እ": ምግባሮሙ = B እሕ"; ሕ": ወበ": እ": ምግባርሙ; A 17-9
"ጕሉ [...] ወሰልሰ = B 66v "ጕል [...] ወ[ሳ]"; A 20-2 ክሕዱ [..
.] እለ = B om; A 72a 2-3 ንስሐ: ለ": ፍጡነ: ነ":: ወእነ" = B
ንስሑ: ለ": ፈለጡ: ነ": ወነ"; A 5-7 ምተ [...] እንከ = B ሞተ [...] om;
A 8 እብቶሪ" = B "ሪ"; A 16 ሐይወ :: ወሐወዘሙ = B 67r ሐይወዘ
ሙ (sic); A 23 እ ወዐእ = B :ሰ (sic): ወእ"; A 72b 4 እስሙ: እተ
እምኑ = B እስመ: <እስመ>: ን "መኑ; A 6-7 ጋእዝ: ሚእ": "ሬቁ
= B "ዘ: በሚእ": "ፌቁ; A 11-3 ምግባሮሙ [..] ወነበሩ = B ምግ
ባ" [..] "በሩ; A 15 ወእሉ: እለ: መጠዉ: እብቶ" = B ው እ": ለ
መጠዉ: እብ <ብ>ቶ"; A 17-8 ንቅዐተ :: እ": እ": እለ: ለ": ጸድቃነ =
B 67v "ተ:: እ": እ": እሉ: ለ": "ቃን; A 22 :ተ:: = B ፍትወት; A
25 ይኔስሑ = B ይነ"; A 73a 5-6 መጠዉ: እ": ይበውሰቶ = B
"ው: እ": "ተ; A 8-9 ዓእሙ [..] ወምግባሮሙሰ = B እሙንቱ [..
.]"ሮ[ሙ]ሰ; A 11 ስሞ = B ስም; A 13-4 "ንዎሙ: ወተቃ" = B "ኒዎ:
ወተቀ"; A 17-8 እይና" [..] ወናየ = B 68r እ[ይ]ና" [..] "ይ; A
23 ወርስቶሙ = B om; A 73b 2-3 ያሆቦሙ: ለሃሎሙ = B እ

ሀብ፡ ለኵሉ ; A 10 እትአመን[1] = B om ; A 15 ወይኔስሕ = B "ሑ ; A 17-8 በ
ኵሉ፡ ል"፡ ይኔስሑ = B "ሉ፡ ል"፡ ይኔ" ; A 20 ወእይደ"፡ እ"፡ ወስኮ = B 68
v "ድ"፡ እ"፡ እስከ ; A 22-3 ዘቃ"፡ ንጣይ" = B ዘቀ"፡ ንጣው" ; A 25 ወ
ይሐ" = B ወይሐ" ; A 74a 1-3 ንጣይኢ"፡፡ ወየ"[...] ወየቃ" = B ንጣ
[ይኢ] ሆሙ፡ ወይ"[...] ወየቀ" ; A 5-8 ትእዛዝየ፡ ወ"፡፡ ወኵሉ[...] የሐዩ = B
በቸ"፡ ወ"፡ "ሉ[...] የ" ; A 12 መዋዕል = B "[ል].

B 68v <u>አምሳል፡ ፩</u> = A om

A 74a 13 ቃዲሚሃ = B ቀ" ; A 15-6 "ሳሊሁ[...] ለመልአክ = B "ሳሊሁ
[...] መ" ; A 19-22 ዘእርእየከ[...] በእርእይ፡ "ይን = B "እየከ[...] "እየ፡ "ይ[ን] ;
A 22 ጸናዕከ = B 69r "ኩ ; A 74b 2 ውእቱ = B "ቱ ; A 7 "ዘሰ፡ እስተ
ርእ" = B "ዜኒ፡ ያስተርእ" ; A 12 ተፈጸምኩ = B "ከ ; A 15 ቃዲሙ = B ቀ" ;
A 18-20 ዘመብእስ[...] ወእርእየኒ = B 69v መ"[...] እ" ; A 21-3 ዓመርቱ፡
ወክልኤቱ፡ አድባር[...] ለእሉ = B ወዐ"፡ ወኤልኤቱ (sic)፡ አድባ[ር...] ለው
እቱ ; A 25-6 ወቃዲማዊ[...] ወካልኡ፡ ይቡስ፡ ሣዕር = B "ቀ"[...] "እ፡ ይ
ቡስ፡ ዘአልቦ፡ ሣዕረ ; A 75a 2-3 ደብሩ[...] ሐመል" = B ደቡሩ[.
.] ሐምል" ; A 5 "ውስቴ፡ ሣዕር = B "ውስተ፡ "ሩ ; A 7-8 ደብር[...] ፈ
ድፋደ = B ድ"[...] om ; A 11-2 ቦኅበ[...] ኀቅዐታ" = B ቦበኅበ[...] ኀ
ቅዐ[ታ]" ; A 13-4 ቦሣዕረ[...] ዘጽም" = B ወቦ"[...] ዘድም" ; A 16
ቦሣዕረ = B 70r "ር ; A 20 ይትሬዐዩ = B "ይ፡ ውስቴቱ ; A 20-3 ወመጠ
ነ[...] ፈድፋደ፡ ወፈድፋድሰ = B መ"[...] "ድ፡ "ደሰ ; A 25 ቦቱ = B
om ; A 75b 1 እምነ፡ አንቅዕቲሁ = B እምኔሁ ; A 3-4 ወታስዕ[...]
በድወ = B ታ"[...] "ው ; A 5-6 እሌሚተ[...] ዘይ"፡ ሰብእ = B "ቶ[.
.] ይ"፡ "እ ; A 7-9 ዐቢየ፡ ተ[3]፡ ወ"፡ ምጽ ሳሳተ = B ዐቢየተ፡ ወ"፡ [ም]" ; A
9-11 ጽሳሎቶሙ፡ ለእሉ፡ አእዋም፡፡ አባግዐ[...] ውስቴቱ = B "ሉ፡ ለ
ውእቱ፡ "መ፡ "ዐ[...] om ; A 17-9 ወዘዓወርቱ፡ ወ"፡ ኵለንተሁ[.
.] ብሩሀ = B 70v ወዓ"፡ ወ"፡ "ታሁ[...] "ህ ; A 23-4 ውእቱ[...]

ወይእቲ = B ይእቲ [...] "እ"; A 27 ይእቲ፡ክመ፡ዘታ" = B "እ":
ክመ፡ታ"; A 76a 3-4 "ጼሄኒ፡"ቀሮ[...]ይመስል = B "ጼሄ፡
"ቅሮ[...] om; A 9 e 11 ይቃውማ = B "ቀ"; A 13 እማንቱ = B "[ን]";
A 14 ወይቃውማ = B "ቀ"; A 16 ወማእ" = B ማእ"; A 20-3 ዘክመ
[...] ወድልዋት [...] ወሠናያት = B 71a ክመ [...] ድልዋተ [...] "ያን;
A 26 ወመድምም = B "ምመ፡ግብረ; A 76b 4-5 ይቃውማ [...]
ክዘ" = B "ቀ" [...] ክመ፡ዘ"; A 8-10 በባሕቲትክ [...] ረኪበ፡ኢቶ"
= B ባሕቲተክ [...] ወኢቶ"; A 12-4 ለእሎ [...] ለዝንጉተ = B ስእሎ
[...] ለዝ; A 20-1 ኵሎ፡ዘ"፡እነ፡እየድዓክ = B 71v ኵሎ፡ዘ"፡እነ፡እ
ድዐክ; A 23-4 ዕጸው፡ዋናተ፡መ"፡"ያት = B ዕጸው፡ነዋ"፡ወመ"፡
"ያን; A 26 ወይጼ"፡ብዙኀን = B ወይትጼ"፡ብዙኀን; A 77a
4 መሳእክት = B om; A 7-9 ዕጸው [...] ሳሌ = B ዕ[ጸ]ው [...]
ሰሌ; A 11 ይቃውማ = B "ቀ"; A 15 ወይሰፍሐ [...] ዘይትመ
ጠዋ = B "ሑ [...] ይትሜዋ (sic); A 19-21 ወእዘዝዎሙ፡እል
ክቱ [...] ቃላይ፡ወይሕነጹ = B 72a ወእዘ <ዘ:> ዝ"፡እል[ክ]ቱ [..
.] ቀላይ; A 22-4 ወይሰዱ [...] ወጸዓድው፡ወውቁራተ = B ወ[ይ]"
[...] "ው፡"ራን; A 77b 2 ይሐንጹ = B ይ"; A 6-8 ቃዲሚያት [..
.] እምቃላይ፡ወተጸዋሬ = B ቀዳሚያተ [...] "ቀ"፡"ወሬ; A 10-
2 ይቃውማ [...] ወእልክቱሰ = B "ቀ" [...] "ቱ; A 14-5 ለኵሎ፡
እ"፡ወእንቀ = B "ሎን፡እ"፡ው"እ"; A 15-7 እብእሆን [...] ወመጠ
ው" = B እብ[እ]" [...] ወመጠዋ"; A 18-20 ይሐንጹ፡ማኅፈደ
[...] ውእቱ = B የ"፡"ድ [...] "ተ; A 78a 4-5 ማኅፈደ፡፡ወእ
ም" = B 72v "ድ፡ወ[እ]ም"; A 6-7 ቃላይ፡" እብን = B ቀ"፡"እብነ;
A 11-3 ቀዳሚያት፡"ኅረ [...] ፴ወ፫ = B ቀ"፡"[ኅ]ረ [...] *illeggib.*;
A 15-6 እመዐጸ [...] ፵ = B ወእ" [...] *illeggib.*; A 16-8 ተወድየ [.
.] ውስተ = B "ው" [...] <ው>ው"; A 19-21 እረፋቲሃ [...] እምነ፡

ቃላይ = B "ቲሆ[...]ኣምቀ"; A 23-5 ለዝኩ፡ሰ"፡ብዘኣ፡ይመ"[...]አ
ም" = B 73a ለሰ"፡ብዙኅ፡ይም"[...]ወኣም"; A 78 b 2 ለኣክቱ =
B ለኣለ"; A 7 ኣልክቱ = B om; A 10-3 ኣብን[...]ወወደይዎን = B "ን
[...]"[ዎ]ን; A 14-6 ከማሁ[...]ይብ አሆን = B ከመሁ[...]"እን; A
18 ማኅፌድ = B "ደ; A 20-፲፩[...]ሕንጻ = B om [...]ሐ"; A 23-6
ምግባ"፡ ኣምሃ፡በ[...]ይምጽኡ = B ምንባ"፡ ኣምኅበ[...]ይመ";
A 79a 1 "ጥው-ዎ = B 73v "ጥው; A 6 ኣስመ = B om; A 9-10 ኅበሬን፡
ኢ"፡ኣንከ = B ኅበሬሆን፡ኢ"; A 11-2 ዘይኢቲ[...]ኢሐ"፡፡ኣስመ፡ሀለው
= B "እ"[...]ኢሕ"፡ኣ"፡"ወ; A 15-6 ፫[...]የሐንጹ = B *illeggib.*[...]
የሐንጽ; A 19-21 ይትጋ"[...]ይዕቃ" = B ይትገ"[...]"ቀ"; A 25 ሕን
ጸሁ = B "[ን]"; A 79b 1-2 ኢይሐልቅ፡ወ"፡ይሕ" = B ይሐ"፡ወ"፡ወ
ይሕ"; A 6-8 ሕሠመት፡ይቄልጠ፡፡ኣ"፡ዘ"፡ፈቃደ[...]ዘማኅፌድ =
B 74a "ማቱ፡"ጦን፡ኣ"፡ዘ"፡"ቀደ[...]"[ፌ]ድ; A 12 ወወዘሂ = B
ወዘሂ; A 13 በኣንተ፡ም"፡ቃ" = B ኣንተ፡ም"፡ቀ"; A 22-3 ኣለ[...]
አፀ"፡ውስቴ = B ኣብን፡ኢለ[...]አው-ፀ"፡ው-ስቴ; A 80a
2-3 እብደ[...]ወኣምዘ፡ኣቆድ" = B "ድ[...]ወኣቆድ"; A 5-7 ወዘሀ"
[...]ጥዩቀ = B 74v ዘሀ"[...]"ቅ; A 16 ወይቤሎን = B om; A 21 ሰብ
አ = B "ኣ; A 25-7 ተአዘዙ፡ው-"፡ሕ"፡ይሐ"[...]ወኣቆፀ" = B "[ዘ]ዙ፡
ው-"፡ሕ"፡የሐ"[...]ወፀ"; A 80b 6-8 ይዕቅባ፡ማ"፡"ን[...]ለኣው-ደ፡"ድ
= B 75a "ቀባ፡ማ"፡"ኑ[...]አ"፡"ደ; A 10-1 ፩"፡ይ"፡ወቦ[...]ው-ስቴ
= B ፬"፡ይ"፡ወቦን[...]ወስቴ; A 14-5 ወቦ[...]ዘሕመት = B ወቦን[..
.]ሕመት; A 16-9 ደሰፍሓ፡ወ"፡ያ"፡ወቦ፡አለ = B አሰፍሐ፡ወ"፡የ"፡ወቦ;
A 20-2 "ቲሆን[...]ዘዘ፡ዚ"፡አ"፡አለ፡ያ" = B "ኒሆን[...]ዘ፡ዚ"፡አ"፡አ
ለ፡የ"; A 26-7 ማኅፌድ[...]አብን = B 75v "ድ፡ ወይነብርዎን፡ጥቀ፡
ማኅፌደ[...]"ነ; A 81a 2-3 የሐንጹ፡"ርኑ[...]"ተሆን = B የ"፡
"ር[...]"ቴ"; A 5-6 አዘአዘዘሙ = B አዘዘሙ; A 10 ክቡባት =

B "ተ; A 15 ወወቃ" = B "ቀ"; A 17-8 "ቴሆን፡ለ"፡ ኣወ"፡፡ወእ
ልክቱስ፡ክ"፡ ኢወደ" = B "ቴሁ፡ለ"፡ እው"፡ "[ቱ]ሂ፡ክ"፡ወኢይደ";
A 21-2 ወይገብሩ ዲያ፡ለ"፡፡ "ዎ = B "ንደየ፡ሯ"ዎን; A 25 ንድቅ = B
76r ንደቀ; A 81 b 3 "ሀቦሙ፡ኀተሎሙ = B "ሀቦ፡ኀተሎ; A 7-8
ወውደ የሱን [...] ዘኮለ = B ወወ"[...] ዘከህለ; A 9-11 ምስለ[...]እ
ማሕፈድ = B om [...] "[ድ]; A 17-8 ይዕቃበሁ [...] እልክቱ =
B "ቀበ [...] <እ> እል"; A 19-20 ወዲያቶን፡ው"፡ ንድቀ = B ወ
ድ"፡ ው"፡ "ቅ; A 23-4 እለንቱ፡ እእባን = B እእባኑ; A 26 እበን፡
እወ" = B 76v እብን፡ወእወ"; A 82 a 2 ወያሐ፡ም"፡"ሂሆን =
B ወየሐ"፡ም"፡"ሂሆሙ; A 6 ዘቃ" = B ዘቀ"; A 10 ወያጸ" = B "ጽ";
A 15-6 "ንጽሕን [...] ንወዲ" = B "[ን]"[...]"ድ"; A 19 በዕሉ =
B በለዕሉ; A 22-3 ወቱ ወዲያ [...] "ቀ፡ማኅፈድ = B "ድያ [...]
"ቅ፡ማኅ[ፈ]ድ; A 26 ወእምድኅሬ = B 77r "[ኅ]ሬ; A 82 b 5-
6 ንድቀ [...] ሀባ = B "ቅ [...] ሁባ; A 8-9 ወእዘ፡ቃዲሙ፡"ማቱ
[...] ወእልክቱ = B ወእኅዘ፡ቅድሙ፡"ማን [...] ወእለቱ (*sic*); A
10-1 ተፈክበ = B ወተፈክበ; A 12-4 እምኅበ [...] ወወቃርን = B
"ኅ[በ...] "ቀሬ; A 19-20 ንድቀ [...] ተሬፉ = B "ቅ [...] ተርፉ; A 20
-2 የምስለ፡ጸሊማቱ [...] ተረክባ = B ምስለ፡"ማን [...] "[ክ]ባ;
A 24-5 ወእምዝ፡ውስተ [...] ወቃሬ = B 77v ወእምው" [...]"ቀ";

A 83 a 2-3 ተፈክበ፡ወተፈ" [...] ብዙኅ = B ወተርፉ[...
...] ብዙኃ; A 6-8 ለሐዲሶቱ [...] ንቅዐተ = B "ሶን [...] "ቱ; A
9-11 ቦን፡ዐበይት፡፡ወ"፡ ሎቱሂ፡የጸልቦን [...] ወወቃ" = B ወቦን፡
"ተ፡ወ"፡ ሎቶንሂ፡የፈልስዎን [...] "ቀ"; A 14-5 እልክቱ [...
...] ንደቅ = B እልኩ [...] ንድቅ; A 17 እስሙ፡ኢ"፡ ጽኑዓት = B
እስ[ሙ]፡ኢ"፡ "ዓን; A 19-20 ጸሊም፡፡ "ኃት = B 78a "ማቱ፡"ኃን;
A 21-2 ጸሊማቱ [...] እለ = B "ቱ [...] <እለ> እለ; A 83 b 1-2 ጽ

ኑዓት[...]አጽዖቶን = B "ዓን[...]አጽንዖትን; A 2-4 ተወዲያ፡ውስተ
[...] "ነኪያ፡ኣንከ = B "ድያ፡ማእከለ[...]"ነኪያ; A 6-7 ኢየና፡ዕሩያ
ት። ወ"፡እምውስቴቶሙ = B "ና፡"ያን፡ወ"፡ውስቴቶን; A 9-10 ጽኑ
ዓት[...]ተርፋ፡ወ"፡ጸ" = B "[ዓ]ት[...]ተ[ር]ፋ፡ወ"፡ወጸ"; A 13 እየ
ና = B "ነ; A 17-9 "ስቴቶሙ፡እለ፡መ[...]ወእለ፡ተረፋ = B "ስቴቶን፡
እለ[...]እለ፡ተርፋ; A 25 ትረስዮኒ = B 78v ትሬ"; A 84a 2
፡ኑ = B om; A 5-7 ለዝ፡ኪን። ወወቃሬኒ፡ኢ"፡ወኢይክ[...]ኢትሬእ" =
B ለዝንቱ፡"ቃርዮኒ፡ኢ"፡ወኢይክህልኩ[...]ሬኢ"; A 13-6 ይትወ"፡
ለ"፡ተሐ"[...]እምውስቴቶን = B ትወ"፡ለ"፡ታሐ"[...]እም"፡እለ፡ይት
ፌቀዱ፡ወትወዲ፡ውስተ፡ንድቅ። ወኅሬይ፡እምውስቴቶን ;A 16-
9 እለያዐ"፡ወ"። ወውቅሮን[...]ወእለሰ፡ተረፋ = B 79r እለይዐ"፡
ወ"፡"ቀሬሆ[...]ወእለ፡ተረፋሰ; A 21-3 ዘገፍዎን[...]ይትነደቃ፡
ውስተ፡ማኅፈድ = B ዘገደፍ"[...]"ቀ፡ው"፡ማኅፈድ፡እስሙ፡ይፈ
ቅድ፡ባዕሉ፡ለዝንቱ፡ማኅፈድ; A 25-6/84b 1 ይፈቅድ፡ባ"፡ለዝ፡
ማ"፡ይ"፡ው"፡ን"። እስሙ = B om; A 84b 2-3 አብን[...]አንስት
= B om[...]"ተ; A 6-8 ወሥታሐት[...]"ለኒሰ = B "ሕ[...]"ለኒ; A 23-
5 ለዝ፡ማ"[...]በውስቴቱ = B 79v ለማ"[...]"ቴታ; A 85a 1-3 ለ
ውእቱ[...]"ንተሂ፡"ተርኢ = B "[እ]"[...]"ን[ተ]ሂ፡"ተርኢ; A 4-6
ዘለእ"፡እብን፡ተ"፡ወተፈሥሖኩ = B ዘአ"፡"ን፡ተ"፡"ሣሕኩ; A 7-9 ተነ
ድቀ፡"ለኒሰ፡ሊ"፡ዘበ"፡ወእነሂ = B "ደቀ፡"ለኒ፡ሊ"፡ዘ"፡ወአነኒ; A 16-
7 ወምሳኣ[...]የጸየሐ = B 80r ወምእለ[...]ይ"; A 22 ለእልክቱ = B
ለእለ"; A 25-6 ወያን"። ወነሥአ[...]መእ" = B "ን"፡"ኡ[...]ማእ";
A 85b 5-7 ኀተሉ[...]ዘይኄይሰኒ = B ኀተሎ[...]"ኅይለኒ; A 8-9 ፈቃደ፡
ይ"፡ወእሕ" = B "ቀ"፡ይ"፡ወእኁ"; A 12-15 እዕሩፍየ[...]እግበር =
B 80v እዕሪፍየ[...]እገብር; A 20 እንከ = B om; A 86a ወፈድ
ፋድሰ[...]ይመጽእ = B "ፋድ[...]"ጽእ; A 4-5 እገብር፡እነ። ወይ" =

B 81r እንብር፡እነ፡፡ወ[ይ]"; A 8-10 ኢመጽእ[...] እጸንሑኬ= B "ጸእ[...]"ሕኬ; A 12-3 እግባእ[...] ወይቤለኒ=B "ብእ [...] "ለነ; A 14-5 አማኅፀ"[...]ወእቤ"=B "ፅ"[...]ወ[እ]ቤ"; A 86b 2-4 አነሂ[...]ያኅልያ = B አነ[...]ይ"; A 11-2 ምስሌሆን[...]ወነጸፋ=B 81v ኅቤሆን[...]"ጽ"; A 25 ዐቃብክ=B "ቀ"; A 87a 3 ዘቃደመ=B "ቀ"; A 15-6 ብሉይ፡፡ወዝበ፡ዴዴ=B 82r ብሊቶ፡ወ ዘቲ፡ዴዴሰ; A 21 ነተሉ=B "ሎ; A 26 ወበእ":ጎዲስ=B በእ": ኀዲስ፡ውእቱ; A 87b 4-6 ተወድያ[...]ዮኢዮአ=B ወተ"[...] ኢዮአ; A 14 ፈቃድከ=B 82v "ቀ"; A 18-20 እንተ፡ዘኮ[...] ይትሀሉ፡እ"፡ከ"፡ይኩን=B እንትኩ[...]ይትከሀሉ፡እ"፡ከ"፡ይኩ ን; A 23 ዘይበውእ=B om; A 88a 1-2 ሳብእ[...]ማኅፈደ =B ሰ"[...]"ደ; A 4 ነተሎሙ፡ክ":እሙንቱ=B ነተሎሙ፡መሳ እክቶ፡እሙንቱ፡ክ"; A 8 አሐቲ=B "ቶ; A 12-3 ዐደው፡፪=B 83r ፪ ዐደው; A 20-3 ፪ ዐደው[...]እሙንቱ=B ፪[...] om; A 24-6 ወእለኒ፡መ"፡ክ"[...]ዘእንበለሁ=B om[...]"ለሁ; A 88b 5 ይእቲ=B ውእቱ; A 11 እማንቱ=B "ሙ"; A 14-6 ለእሳንቱ[...]ለወለደ=B 83v ለእማ"[...]"[ደ]; A 19-21 ሰቤስ [...]ገደፋ=B "ሰ[...]"ፋ; A 89a 1-2 ለእሳ"[...]እሳንቱ፡እ ብን=B ለእማ"[...]"ተ፡"ነ; A 10 ይእምኑ=B ዮ"; A 15 አስማቲሆ ን=B 84r አልባቢሆን; A 19 እሮ=B ለእሮ; A 24-5 ዝነተሉ፡ ያ"፡ቶቶሐተቶ=B ነተሉ፡ያ"፡ወጥዩቀ፡ተሐተቶ; A 89b 5 ወነበ ሩ=B ወን"; A 14-6 ወኪያሆን[...]ወለብለብሶ=B "[ያ]"[...] ወለብሶ; A 18-20 "ፅእዎን[...]እያስሐ"=B "ፅእዎሙ[...]ኢ ያስሐ"; A 23-5 እሳንቱ፡እ"፡እለ፡ወፅኡ[...]ነስሐ=B 84v እለ እላን(sic)፡እ"፡እለ፡እሙ፡ፅኡ[...]ንስሐ; A 90a 1 ወእእቱ ቱ=B "ተቱ; A 8-9 አእቱ፡እ"፡ምግባሪሆን=B አተቱ፡እ"፡"ሆሙ;

A 17 ለዝላት = B "ዘ"; A 21 ተሰምዐ = B "የ; A 24-6 በዘወድ እነ [...] ለ ሐይው = B "ዷ"[...] "ደ"; A 90b 2-3 እቅነድ": ለ": ማኅ" = B 85r እንደ ቅዎ: ለ": ማኅ"; A 8 በኅተሉ = B ኀተሉ; A 19 ይቀውም = B "ቀ"; A 91a 3 እሐፍሩ = B "ሬ"; A 6-8 ለእሉ [...] ዓሊማት = B ለእለንቲ [...] ዓሊመ; A 10-2 ማእዝን: ይቅ":: ቀዷማዊት: ሃይ": ስማ = B 85v "እ": "ቀ": "ማደቲ: ሃይ"; A 17 ይቀውማ = B "ቀ"; A 21-2 ዘንተ [...] ወልደ = B ዝ"[...] "ዴ; A 25-7 ለእለንቲ [...] እለንቲሂ = B ለእሉ [...] እሉ"; A 91b 1-2 ቀዷማ ዴት [...] ወሠልስት = B ቀዷማዊት [...] "ት; A 7 ስማ ት = B 86r አስማት; A 11-2 እበን [...] እምቅ" = B "ብ"[...] "ቀ"; A 14-6 ቀዷ"[...] ቀደ ምት: እማንቲ = B ቀዷ"[...] ቀደ ም[ት]: እ መንቱ[ቲ]; A 19-21 ወእልክቱ : "ቲ ሁ: ለእግ": እመንቱ: እለ: ተል እከም = B "ቱሂ: "ቶሁ: ለእግ": እለ: "ከም; A 27 ወይ" = B ወይ";

A 92a 2 ወማዋሉ = B "መ"; A 7-9 እመ [...] ወእቡሉ = B 86v እመሂ [...] እ"; A 12 እምቅ" = B "ቀ"; A 18 ወእመ፡እኅሰ = B ወ": ‹እመ› ወኅሰ; A 21-3 ዘቀደሚት [...] ለወልደ = B "ቀ"[...] ወ"; A 27 ለወልደ = B "ደ; A 92b 4 ማኅተመ = B [ማ]"; A 12-3 እለ [...] እምቅ" = B 87r እሉ [...] እምቀ"; A 14-5 ማኅተመ [...] ሐዋርያት = B "ም [...] ሐ"; A 16-8 በስሙ [...] ነዐሉሆሙ = B ስመ [...] "[ሆ] ሙ; A 20-3 ቀደሙ [...] ማኅተመ: ስ":: ወ": ወወረዱ = B ቀ"[...] "ም: ስ":: ወ": ወረዱ; A 26 ሕያዋን" = B "ኒ"; A 93a 1 ዐርጉ = B om; A 5 ዐርጉ = B ወዐ"; A 9-11 ባሕቲቶሙ [...] ፌኑርኑ: ለኑ: ዘንተሂ = B "ቶ [...] ፌኑውኑ: ለኑ: "ተ; A 16-9 ወይቤ"[...] 1 ወ፱ ሕ": እ":: እለ: ይ": ው": ኀተ": ዓለም = B 87v ወ[ይ]ቤ"[...] om; A 21-4 በኑሙ: ር": ለ": አ": ሳ":: ኑ": እ": አ": ግ": ወምግባርሙ = B om; A 93b 2 ወሰ በ = B ሰበ; A 5-6 እምቅ ነይ = B እምውስተ፡ቀ"; A 10-2 ለእግ":: ወ": ማኅተመ: ወ" = B 88r እግ": ወ": "ም: ለወ"; A 14 ሕሊና = B om;

A 16-8 ለብሱ[...] ለንድቀ =B ል"፡ "ቁ (sic); A 24-7 ወካ
ዕበ፡ገብኦ፡ው"፡ዘቃ"[...] አክዩ =B ወገብኦ፡ካ"፡ው"፡ዘቀ"
[...] አእክዩ; <u>A 94a</u> 3-6 ኢየአመ"[...] ወዘየአምሮ =B ኢየ
አም"[...] ወዘኢየ"; A 9-11 ዘርቱዕ፡ይግበር[...] ለአኪይት፡እፌድ"
=B ዘበር"፡ይገብር[...] ለአኪት፡እፌደ"; A 12-5 ሰአኪይት ። አም፡
አለ፡ ኢየአመ"[...] ወይትኮ"=B ለአኪት፡[አ]"፡አ"፡ወኢየ[አ]ም"
[...] "ኮ"; A 16-8 ዕበየ"[...] ለአኪይት =B 88v ዕቢየ"[...]"ኪት; A 20 ተነጽሐ =B
"ሐ; A 24-7 አኩይት፡"ስት[...] ኮነ =B "ያን፡"ስተ[...] ኮነ; A 94
b 1-3 ዘበ፩አብን[...] "ሕዎሙ ። ከማሁኬ፡ቤተ፡"ያኑ =B ዘበ፩አብነ
[...] "ሑሙ፡ከማሁ፡ቤተ፡"ያን; A 4-6 አም"፡"ጽሕዋ፡የወ"፡
አ"፡ለመድ" =B ወአም"፡"ጽሕዋን፡ወየወ"፡አ"፡ለመደ"; A 11-4
ዘአግዚ"[...] "ፍቅር፡ውእተ =B ለአግዚ"[...] "ተፋቅሮ፡ወው";
A 15-8 ወይትፌሣሕ[...] ወአቤሎ =B 89r om [...] ወ[አ]";

<u>A 95a</u> 4-6 ወካዱ፡ወ"፡ኅዕለ[...] ለአግ" =B ወካሕዱ፡ለ[...]
ለ[አ]ግ"; A 8 ሞቱ =B ሞት; A 15 ቃዱ ምየን =B 89v ቀደምት; A
19 ባሕቲቶሙ =B "ቶ; A 24-7 ቃዱ ምየን[...] ንስሐ፡አሉ፡አሉ፡
አግዚ" =B ቀድምት[...] አግዚ"፡ አሉ፡ንስሐ; A 95b 1 ወቃዱም
ያንሰ፡ አ"። በይነ =B ወቀደምት ሰ; A 6-9 አግዚአብሔር ። ወ
ኢቃ"[...] ፍት ወች =B አግዚኦሙ፡"ቀ"[...] "ውቱ; A 18-20 ወ
አሉሂ[...] "ብቃቀ፡ውስተ ዝ =B 90r ወ[...] "በቀቀ፡ውስተ;
A 23-6 ብዙኅ፡ባሕቲ[...] ትካዝ፡ቦ"፡"ልውያሙ =B ባ"፡ብ"[
...] "ዘ፡ቦ"፡"ልያሙ; <u>A 96a</u> 1-3 ወይጠ"፡ቦቱ ። ወአብ" =B ወ
ጠ"፡ቦቱ ። ወ[አ]ብ"; A 4-6 ለአግብርተ[...] ኢይሐጕሉ =B "[ር]
ተ[...] "ሕጕሉ; A 13-6 አሠሎሙ[...] ዘቃ"፡ኒ፡መዋ"፡ዘ"፡ይ"፡ለአሳን
ቱ =B ሠ"[...] ዘቀ"፡መዊ"(sic)፡ዘ"፡ይ"፡በአሳንቱ; A 19 ይሐይዉ =B
የሐይዉ; A 96b 1 ወአመን" =B 90v ወመ"; A 10-1 ሕየዋነ ። ወኢኮ

ኑ፡ ም"፡፡"ሁኬ = B "ን፡ ወኢመኑ፡ ም"፡ "ሁ; A 13-5 ፡ሰ፡ ኢ"፡፡ ወኢክኑ፡ ይ
ቡሳን[...] ወኢምውታን = B ኢ"፡፡ ኢክኑ፡ "ነ[...] ወኢ ሙታነ; A 20-2 ይ
ጠዐዉ፡ ወይ"[...] ምውታነ = B ይጠዕው፡ ወየ"[...] ምው<ሙ>ታነ; A
24 ሐዪወ = B 91r "ይ"; A 97a 1 እንከ = B om; A 6-9 ይእምኑ፡፡
ወአሚ ኖሙ፡ እምዘ[...] ወይ"፡ ለ"፡ ወ"፡ ኀተሉሙ = B የ"፡ ወአሚኖ"፡ ወ
[እ]ምዘ [...] ያይልዉ፡ ለር"፡ ወ"፡ ኀተሉ; A 13-5 ነቢበ፡ ወያሐጎሙ
[...]ርእሶሙ፡ ከ"፡ ጠቢብ ፡ን፡ እ"፡፡ ወይኩኑ = B [ነ]"፡ ወየሐድጎሙ [..
.]ርእሶ፡ ከ"፡ ጠቢባን፡ እ"፡ ወይፈቅዱ፡ ይኩኑ; A 20 ጋኔን፡ ው"፡ ብ
ዮ = B 91v ኀተነኔ፡ ው"፡"ቢዮ; A 25 አእሚርሙ = B "ም"; A 97b 1
-3 ኢክኑ[...] በከመ፡ አብዱ፡ ወ"፡ ወ"፡ እ"፡ ነ"፡ የሐይዉ = B ኢ[ክ]ኑ[.
..] በከ[መ]፡ ነ"፡ ወይሐ"; A 9-10 ን ቅዐተ፡ ዐቢይተ፡ ወደቂ"፡፡ "ስተ = B
"ት፡ "ት፡ ወደቃ" (sic): "[ስ]ተ; A 13-5 ንቅዐቶሙ[...] ታጸምሀያ =
B ን[ቅ]"[...] ወተጸ"; A 16 እምውስቴ" = B "[ቴ]"; A 20-3 ይኢቲ[
...] የሐምዩ = B 92r ይእቲ[...] የ"; A 98a 1-4 እምዕፀብ[...]
ብዉሕ፡ ሳዕለ፡ ኀተሉ = B "[ዕ]"[...] ብውሕ፡ "ል፡ ኀተሉ; A 5-7 ዊመ፡
ላ"፡ እለ፡ ኢይ"[...] ወይሰራ = B ዊም፡ ላ"፡ እለ፡ ይ"[...] ወ[ይ]"; A 8-11
እመ[...] ለሰብእ[...] ቃቲ ለሊ፡"ይማ፡ ናሁ = B እም[...] ለ[ሰ]"[...] ቀቲ"፡ ይ
ማሊ፡ ወናሁ; A 13-12 ግዕዘ"፡፡ አእትቱ፡ እምሳዕሌ"፡ ወ"፡ ለ"፡ ዘቃ"[...]
ርእሰ"፡ እም" = B "ዝ"፡"ትትም፡ እምኔ"፡ ወ"፡ ለ"፡ ዘቀ"[...] "ሰ"፡ እምነ;
A 21-3 "ሰሚል፡ ሣ"፡፡ ወሠናይ፡ ወሥሙር[...] ወኀተሉ = B "ሰሜል፡ ሣ"፡
ወሥሙር[...] om; A 25-7 ሣዕር[...] ሥሙር [...] እሉ = B 92v "ሩ
[...] ይሠምር[...] እሉሂ; A 98b 1-4 ያእምኑ[...] ምስለ = B የ"[
..] om; A 9-11 ሰብእ[...] ለኀተሉ፡ ሰብእ፡ እ"፡ ኢይ" = B "እ[...]
ኀተሉ፡ እ"፡ ይ"; A 14-5 ሥፍሐ፡ ለ"፡፡ ወየዋ"፡ በኀተሉ = B "ሑ፡ ሰ"፡ ወ
የው"፡ ወበ"; A 19-21 ለኵሎሙ[...] ወኢ" = B 93r ከኵሎሙ (sic) [...] ኢ";
A 22-4 አፍቃ "[...] ኑ ሰዩ = B "ቀ"[...] ሩ"; A 99a 2-5

ኦንቅዕት፡ ው"፡፡ ወሃሎ [...] እንቅዕት = B "ተ፡ው"፡"ሉ [...] "[ዕት]; A 6-9 ሐዋርያት፡፡ "ነ [...] ወበንጽሕ = B "ት፡ "ን [...] "ጹሕ; A 11-2 እኪዶት [...] ወበርት = B እኪት [...] "ትዕ; A 18-9 ዲያ" [...] አኮየ = B 93v ዘዲያ" [...] "ያን; A 24 በዶኢቴ = B "እ"; A 25-7 ወኢሐተዊ [...] ወበንጹሕ = B ወኢአሐተ [...] ወበ"፡ ልብ; A 99b 1-4 ሐዴ ወ[...] ወካሐዲ" = B "ዴ" [...] "ድ"; A 6-9 ወኮነ [...] ለአግብርተ [...] ተለዉ = B ወ[ኮ]ነ [...] "[ር]ተ [...] "ው; A 12-5 ያግብር [...] ወእለሂ፡ እለ፡ እ" [...] ቦ = B 94a የ" [...] "ሉሂ፡ እለሂ፡ ወእ" [...] ወቦ; A 17-9 እለ [...] መፍቀድያነ፡ ነ"፡ እ"፡፡ "ቄበሉ = B እለ፡ አሳ [...] መፍቀርያነ፡ ነ"፡ እ"፡"በቀሉ; A 21 አብያቲሆሙ = B "[ቲ]"; A 24-5 ያዐቅ" [...] ደቤውሮሙ = B የዐቅ" [...ደ]ቤ"; A 27 ይገብሩ፡ ክ"፡ እ" = B ይግ"፡ ክ"፡ ወእ"; A 100a 6-8 እለ፡ እም"፡ ዐሠርቱ [...] ዕፀው፡ ዘምሉእ = B እም"፡ ዐሥ" [...] "ው፡ "ለእ; A 9 ካልእ፡ እሉ = B "ል[እ]፡ እሉ፡ እሙንቱ; A 10, 12 e 18 ተቀትሉ = B 94v "ቀ"; A 15 ዕፀው = B "ው; A 22-4 ለወልደ [...] ወበዘ = B [ለ]" [...] "ቦ"; A 25-7 ይሤኒ [...] ወተቃ"፡ እ" = B ወለዚሤኒ [sic...] "ቃ"፡ ወእ"; A 100b 1-3 ይትፌሥሑ [...] ወናይ = B ይ[ት]" [...] "ያን; A 4-5 ዘልፌ [...] በልቦሙ = B እንዘ [...] "[ቦ]"; A 7-9 ተቀትሉ [...] ሐልዩ = B 95a "ቀ" [...] "ለ"; A 10-12 እስመ፡ እ"፡ ው"፡ ሕ" [...] ያሜክር = B om [...] om; A 13 እንትሙ፡ ኢ" = B እንከ፡ እን"፡ ወኢ"; A 17 ርቱዕ = B "ዐ; A 20-2 ስዋ [...] እንከ = B ሰሙ [...] om; A 24-7 ዐቢየ [...] "ውኩሙ = B "ይ [...] "ወ"; A 101a 5-7 ጎጢአትክሙ፡፡ ወዘ"፡ ለእሙ = B ጎጢይኢክሙ፡ ወዘንተ፡ ዘ"፡ አነ፡ ለ"; A 10 ይኄን" = B 95v ይሄን"; A 14-5 እግዚአክሙ፡ ዘውእቱ [...] እንከ = B "እክሙ፡ ዘ" [...] om; A 17-8 ለዝሉቱ፡፡ ወእለሂ፡ እለ፡ እምው" = B ለዘ"፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ወእሉሂ፡ እለ፡ "[ው]"; A 22-4 ኢያእመ"፡ሉ፡አኪዶት [...]

ኣኰይ = B ኢየአምር፡ ለ"፡ ኣኪት [...] ኣኪይ; A 101b 2-3 ኣንዘ፡ ኦይ"፡፡ አ"፡ ኢዓለዉ = B ወኣን[ዘ]፡ ኢይ"፡ አ"፡ "ው; A 5 በነተሉ፡ መፍዕስ = B 96a ነተሉ፡ "ዕ[ስ]; A 9-11 ለኣኪይት [...] ትከ"፡፡ አ"፡ "ነተሉ = B "ኪት [...] om; A 13-4 "ቃድሙ [...] ኣመንቱ፡ ኣለ፡ ተአ" = B "ቀ" [...] አንትሙ፡ ኣለ፡ ታአ"; A 15-7 ለኣኪይት [...] ተሐይዉ = B "ኪት [...]"ይው; A 20-1 ዓሠ"፡ ወኻ"፡ አድባር፡፡ ኣቤ" = B አድባሬ፡ ወኣቤ"; A 23-5 ኣ በን [...] ኀድቅ፡ ሀ"፡ አ"፡ ኦበን = B አኣ" [...] "ቀ፡ ሀ"፡ አ"፡ ኦኦ";

A 102a 2-3 ኣለ፡ ወ"፡ ው"፡ ን"፡፡ ወ"፡ ዓ"፡ ካቡባት = B om; A 5-7 ኣል ኻቱሰ [...] ወወደይ" = B "ቱ [...] ወወደይ"; A 8-9 ህየንተ [...] ሥርወ = B 96v "ን[ተ...]"ዉ; A 21-3 በግብሬ፡ ጽ"፡፡ ካ"፡ ያሕንጸ [...] ወይሐውጽ = B "ር፡ ጽ፡፡ ካ"፡ ያሐውጽ [...] ወያኅጽሖ; A 25-7 ሐዓሰ [...] ይኣወኑ = B ሐዓሳት [...] "ምኑ; A 102b 2-5 የዋሃን [...] ወጸዓድው = B የ" [...] ወጽዕ"; A 7-8 ደብር [...] ካቡባት = B 97a ውኣቱ፡ "ር [...] "ተ; A 11-3 ተሳወኦ [...] ቃልሂ = B ተሰ" [...] ወቃ"; A 16 ርኣየ = B "የሙ; A 19-20 በፍጥ"፡፡ አ"፡ ያምጽ" = B ኣምፍጥ"፡ አ"፡ ያውጽኡ; A 22-3 አፉሆሙ፡ ዘተረፈ = B ዘተረፉ; A 26 ወቃርያን = B "ቀ";

A 103a 1-3 "ቀ [...] ውስተ = B "ቅ [...] "ስ[ተ]; A 3-5 ኢነሥኡ [...] አግብኣዖን = B 97v ኢየነ" [...] ኣ"; A 10 ያሕድሩ = B የ"; A 14-6 ኣምኔሆሙ [...] "ጣጣን፡ ወኻበሱ = B om [...] "ጣን፡ ወኡ"; A 22-6 ወካቡር [...] ማኅተም [...] የዋሃተ = B ካ" [...] "[ተ]ም [...] የውሃን; A 103b 1-4 ወኢት ኩኑ [...] ወኮኑ = B 98a "ኩን [...] ወኩኑ; A 9 ኣምነተሉ = B "ሉ; A 13-6 ይብልዎ፡ ለ"፡ መርዔተ፡ አባግዕ [...] መኣመነ = B ይቤ"፡ ለ"፡ "ዓት፡ "[ግ]ዕ [...] "ን; A 17-9 ይቃትሉ [...] ሐሰዉ = B "ቀ" [...] "ው; A 21 ሀለወኒ፡ አትትሕት፡ ወአ"፡ በ"፡ ወፌ" = B ወሀ"፡ ኣትሐተት፡ በ"፡ ፌ"; A 24 ኀድቀ = B "ቅ;

A 104a 1-2 ወየርሕቃ [...] ኣምኅበ = B 98v "ይ" [...]

ኀበ; A 5-6 ለመሀፑል፡ል"፡ሕያወ ፡ወዳሕነ = B "ፓል (sic)፡ል"፡"ው፡"ሐነ; A 9-10 "ፔለሰ[...]ለኀ = B "ፓ"[...] ለእኮ; A 12-3 ግናፍ[...] ዳሕነ = B "ን"[...] ዳኅነ; A 19-21 ውእቱ፡ኖላዊ፡ሎ[...] ለል"፡፡ወ"፡እንታ = B ትቤሎ[...] ል"፡ወ"፡"ተ; A 23-6 ኢያግብእ[...] ወሀበከ = B "ገብእ[...] "ብከ; A 104 b 1-2 መንፈሰ፡፡ቅሰ[...] ለባዕሉ = B 99a ዳኅነ፡ወወሀብከ፡መንፈሰ፡"ተሰ[...] ለብ"; A 4-6 "ቃብከ፡፡እፎ፡"ባዕሉ፡ለ"፡መንፈሰ፡በ"፡ይቃ" = B "ቀበከ፡እፎ፡"ብዕሎ፡ለ"፡ፈ[ስ]፡በ"፡ይቀ"; A 7-8 ዝንቱ[...] ይቃቅ" = B "[ን]ቱ[...] "ቀ"; A 14-5 ተዐገሠ"፡በ"፡ኀጣይ"፡፡ወኢ" = B "ሠ"፡በ"፡ኀጢይ"፡ኢ"; A 18 ወዝንቱ፡እንከ፡ነተ"፡ቀደመ = B ወዝን‹ዝ›ቱ፡ነተ"፡"መ; A 105a 2-3 ዘያሐዩ[...]"ኩክሙ = B 99v ዘይ"[...]"ኩ; A 6-9 ቅሴአልኒ[...] ፃምንት = B "ለኒ[...] om; A 11-14 ወደዩ[...] በእንቲ" = B "የ[...] ቤእንቲ"; A 17-9 ነተሉ[...] ሠናየ፡፡ወንጹሐ፡፡ነስሐ = B በነተሉ[...]"ይ፡ወነስሐ፡ፍሑን; A 22-4 "ቃዲሙ[...] ወአሠነ" = B "ቀ" [...] ወ[አ]ሠነ"; A 105 b 2-4 ውስተ[...] እነብር = B 100a om[...]እን"; A 6-8 ወይቤለኒ[...] ደዕቃ"፡፡ወለቤቅ" = B "ሎኒ[...] "ቀ"፡"ተ"; A 11-2 "ቃብከ[...] ግዕዝከ = B "ቀ" [...] "ዘከ; A 16-9 "ዝኩ[...] "ንየ፡ለነተሉ = B "ዝከ[...] "ንይ፡"ሎ; A 25 ሀለዉ = B 100v ሀለው ወ; A 106a 2 በነተሉ = B ከነተ[ሉ]; A 10 ሕሱመ = B "ም; A 16 ወውእቱ፡ነ"፡ከእ" = B "ቱኒ፡ነ"፡በእ"; A 18-21 "ተረፈ[...] ከግከ፡፡ከመዝ = B "ተፈፈ[...] ከመዝ፡፡ከግከ; A 24-6 እነግር[...] ወእንቅ" = B 101r እን"[...] "ተ"; A 106 b 1-3 አምኑ፡ቃ"[...] ወይሐይዉ = B አበሱ፡ቀ"[...] ወይ"; A 10 "ሰ፡እለ፡ኢዐቃቡ = B እለ፡"ቀቡ; A 14-5 ይስተሐቅር፡ዎ[...] "ጥዉ = B ይስተሐቅርዎ[...] "ጥው; A 17-9 እብለክሙ፡"ነይ[...] ዘቃዲሙ = B "ከሙ፡"ነዩ[...] ዘቀ"; A 20-3 ወፈኖኩኩ[...] ደናግል[...] ይዕቃበከ፡፡ወ"፡ረ"፡፡ከመ = B 101v ፈ"[...]ድ"[...]"ቀ

ባኪ፡ወ"፡ረ"፡ወከመ; <u>A 107 a</u> 2-4 ይትፌሣሐ[...] ኢይርሐቃ =
B ይተፌሥሐ[...] "ሕቃ; A 6 ቤትከ = B "ተ"; A 8-10 "ሣሐ፡ያሐድ
ሎ[...] ሠናያን። ወጸድቃን = B "ሥሐ፡ወይነብሉ[...] "ያት; A 11-3 በኀበ
[...] ረከባሁ፡ን"፡ለቤትከ፡ይ"፡ኅ"። ወእመሰ = B በኀቲሉ፡በኀበ[...] ረ[ከ]"፡
ን"፡ "ተከ፡ይ"፡ኅ"፡ወእመሰቦ; A 15-6 ለቤትከ[...] ኢይፌ"፡ርኩሰ = <u>B
102 a</u> "ተከ[...] ኢይፍ"፡ርኵሰ; A 22-5 "ፌየክ፡አ"፡"ይሰከ[...] "ኀ
ይሰኒ።ወ"፡ለውእቱ = B "ፌይክ፡አ"፡"[ይ]ሰኒ[...] "ኔሳኒ፡ወ"፡ለ; A
107 b 3-4 የሠምሮን[...] እወፌዩኒ = B የ"[...] om; A 8-10 ናሁ፡አወ"፡
ኪያሁ። ወቤቱሂ፡ከመ፡ግ"፡ኢትትጋ" = B ኪያሁ፡"ቶ"፡ከመ፡ግ"፡"ገ;
A 18-9 ዘይሐውር[...] ያሐዩ = B 102v "የ"[...] የ"; A 21-3 ሕርቱመ[..
.] እንከ፡ለኵሉ = B "ም[...] ኵሎ; <u>A 108 a</u> 3 ወዝኒ = B ወዘኒ;
A 6-8 ይኢቴ፡መ"።ዐቢየ፡"ሕተ = B "አ"፡መ"፡ዐቢይ፡"ሕት; A 11-4 "ም
ሙ[...] ውስቴ፡ውስተ[...] ተዐጊሦ = B "[ዋ]ሙ[...] ውስተ[...] "ጊሦ;
A 18-9 ቃታሊሁ። ግብሩ፡እንከ፡ሠናየ = <u>B 103 a</u> ቀተሊሁ፡ወግ"፡ሠናይ፡እ
ንከ; A 22 ሠናይት፡ይ" = B "[ይ]ት፡የ"; A 108 b 4-6 ይሔልቅ[...] እን
ከ = B የ"[...] om; A 8-11 ወይቤለኒ[...] ይቤለኒ = B ‸(ወ) እንሥኦ[...] "[ለ]ኒ;
A 20 ጦማረ = B 103v om; A 21 ኀቢይ። እሜን = B om; A 108 b
22 – 110 b 4 = B om.

CONCLUSIONI

Trascrivo ora le varianti più significative, sopra riferite in ge'ez, del ms. fot. 133 (B), nella mia traduzione latina, confrontandole con la versione nella stessa lingua del *Pastore* di Erma (A) eseguita da d'Abbadie (pp. 113-182); pongo inoltre tra parentesi il testo greco quando il medesimo corrisponde all'etiopico, in A e in B, per evidenziarne la rispettiva adesione alla lingua nativa dell'opera.

A 116 [Visio II], 7 *Et nuntia hoc* = B add *verbum* (τὰ ῥήματα); A 14 *horam* = B *diem* (τῆς ἡμέρας); A 16 *diem* = B om; A 34 *superaverunt* = B *omnem* (πάσης);

A 118 [Visio III], 12 *pars* (μέρη) = B *facies*; A 30 *applicaverunt* = B *commissi sunt* (ἡρμοσμένοι ἦσαν);

A 119, 14-5 *ne maestus sis* = B *ne relinquas* (οὐ παύσῃ); A 17 *explicabo* = B add *tibi* (σοι); A 22 *examinas* = B add *nec negligere* (ἐκζητεῖς ἐπιμελῶς);

A 120, 2 *tibi* = B om; A 27 *creverit* = B *consummata fuerit*;

A 121, 30 *carnis* = B om cum gr;

A 122, 9 *ad me* = B add *et intuita est me* (ἐμβλέψασα μοι);

A 123, 5 *aedificavi* = B *enutrivi* (ἐξέθρεψα); A 8 Nunc = B *audite me* (ἀκούσατέ μου); A 10 *corpori suo* = B add *et libidine corrumpunt animam suam. Sunt illi qui in penuria manducant, intereunt corpora sua*; A 19 *nam venefici* (cum gr) = B om;

A 124, 17 *natura vestra* = B om cum gr; A 25 *sellam gestatoriam* = B *faciem/superficiem*; A 32 *inopinato* = B om; A 34 *recumbit* (cum gr) = *possidet/habet*;

A 125, 14 *mundus* (cum gr) = B *si*;

A 126 [Visio IV], 24 *Herma*, 29 *Domini* = B om cum gr; A 37 *et immunditia* = B om;

A 127, 4 *et locutus sum ei* = B om cum gr; A 12 *colabuntur* = B *gestabunt*;

A 128 [Visio V], 8 *egeretis* = B add *et ambulaveritis* (πορευθῆτε); A 9 *Dominus* = B om cum gr;

A 129 [Mandatum III], 14 *vos* = B *te* (σοὶ);

A 130 [Mandatum IV], 11 *illud* = B add *opus* (ἔργον); A 22 *sum* = B add *valde*;

A 132 [Mandatum V], 2 *et ductor*, 3 *opera* = B om cum gr; A 8 *si* = B add *non*; A 11 *daemon* (cum gr) = B *utique*;

A 133, 25 *accidunt* = B add *omni* (πᾶσι); A 28 *vobis* = B *tibi* (σοι); A [Mandatum VI], 34 *dic* = B *utique* (Ναί);

A 134, 19 *omnibus* = B *omni pulchra claritate* (πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐδόξου); [Mandatum VII], 20 *et rectum* (cum gr), 21 *igitur* = B om; A 24 *servant* = B add *mandatum* (τὰς ἐντοκὰς);

A 136 [Mandatum VIII], 17 *et operare* = B om cum gr; [Mandatum IX], 34 *in corde tuo* = B om cum gr;

A 137, 20 *teipsum* = B om;

A 138 [Mandatum X], 23 *male* (cum gr) = B om;

A 139, 4 *est* = B add *non*;

A 140 [Mandatum XI], 31 *cum* = B add *vase*;

A 141, 4 *removere* = B *recuperare*; A [Mandatum XII], 25 *removere* = add *a te* (ἀπο σεαυτοῦ); A 28 *valde* (cum gr) = B om; A 35 et = B *viri* (ἀνδρὸς);

A 142, 16 *et fidem* (cum gr) = B om;

A 143 [Initium similitudinis], 11 [*in corde* ...] – 148, 15 [... *tibi*; ii] = B om;

A 148, 33 *acceperat* = B *susceperat*;

A 149, 9 *est* = B add *Similitudo* VI;

A 150, 11 *valde* = B om; A 32 *cum* = B *in/super*; A 36 *quia* = B add *magna*;

A 151, 4 *in vita* = B *dum vitam habebant* (ὅτι ἔχοντες ζωὴν); A 5 *sunt* = B add *haec*; A 18 *octava* = B VII (cum gr);

A 152 [Similitudo IX], 28 *e ramis* = B om;

A 153, 15 *porrigebant alii* = B *adducebant*; A 17 *porrigebant* = B *dabant*; A 19 *steterunt* = B om; A 21 *porrigebant* = B *adducebant*; A 25 *porrigebant* = B *veniebant*; A 27 *inde* = B om; A 34 *admodum* = B om; A 35 *attulerunt* = B add *coronas* (στέφανοι);

A 154, 3 *in turrim* = om cum gr; A 20 *plantavit* = B add *multa aqua* (ὕδωρ ... πολὺ);

A 155, 14 *inimicitias passi sunt* = B *cruciati sunt* (θλιβέντες); A 18 *dimissae fuerint*, 28 *non*, 29 *et remanere* = B om cum gr; A 32 *qui virgas suas virides porrexerunt* = B om;

A 156, 12 *dimidia* = B add *aliae*; A 17 *Alii* (cum gr) = B *omnes*; A 18 *dederunt* = B add *totae virides et multae semiaridae et multae semivirides et aliae aridae et comestae. Et illi omnes dimissi sunt ad socios suos. Et porrexerunt omnes diversi virgas suas, quarum duae partes erant aridae, et tertia viridis. Et multi ex iis quos dederunt*;

A 158, 23 *abnegaverunt variis modis. Et multi ex iis* (cum gr) = B om; A 27 *cito* (cum gr) = B *separaverunt*; A 28 *nec* (cum gr) = B om;

A 159, 14 *minutas* = B add *concupiscientiam* (ἐπιθυμίας); A 26 *et haereditas* = B om cum gr;

A 160, 3 *adjicent* (cum gr) = B *igitur*; A 9 *ostendam* = B add *Similitudo X*; A 15 *es* (cum gr) = B *sum*; A 25 *sicca* = B *siccus sine* (cum gr);

A 161, 1 *habebat*, 6 *in ea*, 13 *videbatur* (cum gr) = B om; A 21 *stupendum* = B add *opus* (πράγματα); A 25 *comprehendere* (cum gr) = B om; A 35 *angeli* = B om cum gr;

A 162, 6 *et aedificare*, 27 *illos*, 31 *isti* = B om cum gr;

A 163, 19 *illis* = B add *lapidibus* (λίθων);

A 164, 7 *turre* = B add *et imponere illos accurate turri* (καὶ τεθῆναι παρὰ τὸν πύργον);

A 165, 14 *inventi sunt* = B om;

A 166, 8 *ex eis* = B add *qui necessarii sunt et imponis in structuram? Et elige ex eis* (εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν οὓς θέλεις καὶ ἁρμόζεις εἰς αὐτήν; Ἐξελέξατο ἐξ αὐτῶν); A 11 *turrim* = B add *quia herus huius turris vult*; A 12 *herus* [...] *quia* (cum gr) = B om;

A 168, 19 *qui introit* (sic) = B om cum gr; A 22 *omnes* = B add *angeli* (ἄγγελοι); A 30 *Et horum* [...] *gloriosorum* (cum gr) = B om;

A 169, 10 *nomina* (cum gr) = B *vestes*; A 14 *diligenter* = B add *et accurate*;

A 170, 16 *nomen est* = B om cum gr;

A 171, 20 *explicui* (cum gr) = B om;

A 172, 18 *et laetabitur* (cum gr) = B om;

A 174, 4 *demonium* (cum gr) = B *judicium*; A 30 *et speciosae* (cum gr) = B om; A 30 *fertilis* (cum gr) = B *arcanus*; A 31 *et omnia* (cum gr), 37 *hominibus* (cum gr) = B om;

A 175, 16 *puritate* = B *puro corde*;

A 176, 3 *semper* = B *dum/cum*; A 6 *nam* [...] *cogitatio* (cum gr) = B om; A 7 *temptantis* = B om cum gr; A 19 *perpetuum* = B add *Domino* (τῷ Θεῷ); A 27 *honorati* [...] *omnes* = B om; A 30 *duodecim* = B om cum gr; A 33-4 *quos* [...] *rotundi sunt* = B om;

A 177, 7 *visitaret* = B *purgaret*[11]; A 10 e = B *ex illo*; A *ex iis* = B om;

A 179, 26 *crediderunt* = B *peccaverunt*[12];

A 180, 5 *et justae*, 14 *tradidit me*, 15 *ecce committo vobis et* = B om; A 22 *omnibus* = B *omni*;

A 181, 2 *dixit mihi* = B *suscitavit*; A 7 *tomi, prophetae* = B om;

A 181, 8 – 182, 11 = B om.

La comparazione dei testi di A e B porta innanzitutto a condividere quanto già affermato da A. van Lantschoot[13] circa la non identità di B con l'antigrafo utilizzato dal copista di A. In secondo luogo, nonostante B manchi di parti o parole contenute in A, tuttavia lo stesso B, non di rado, reca termini o espressioni non testimoniate da A, ma che hanno riscontro nel testo greco del *Pastore* di Erma.

È sommamente auspicabile un possibile ritrovamento di altre copie di Erma in ge'ez, le quali potranno, con ogni buona probabilità, portare ulteriori lumi su questa importantissima opera del II secolo d.C., riguardanti anche l'originale testo greco, oltre che la versione etiopica già nota.

Via del Corso 437 Osvaldo Raineri
00186 Roma

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[11] Manca il testo greco; le antiche versioni latine danno: "visitare turrem atque purgare/visitare eam et purgare illam".

[12] Anche qui manca il corrispondente testo greco, mentre quelli latini antichi hanno: "peccaverit/peccaverunt".

[13] Cf. "Un second ...", cit., cf. n. 7, p. 95.

Ivan Golub

La lingua di Križanić: protoslavo, paleoslavo, panslavo, neoslavo*

Juraj Križanić (Obrh, Croazia 1618 – Vienna 1683)[1] scrisse in una lingua slava che non si può identificare con nessuna delle lingue slave, pur essendo affine a tutte. Križanić ha anche redatto una grammatica slava.[2] Mi domando

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*Questo lavoro era stato redatto in inglese per il Simposio romano sui SS. Cirillo e Metodio organizzato dal Pontificio Istituto Orientale nel 1985. Lo presento ora in una forma più completa e in lingua italiana.

[1] A. L. Gol'dberg – I. Golub, "Bibliography", *Juraj Križanić (1618-1683), Russophile and Ecumenic Visionary.* A symposium edited by Th. Eckman and A. Kadić (= Slavistic Printings and Reprintings ed. by C. H. Schooneveld, Indiana University 292), The Hague – Paris 1976, pp. 329-352; A. L. Gol'dberg, "Bibliografija o Jurju Križaniću", R. Pavić (red.), *Život i djelo Jurja Križanića*, Zbornik radova, (Biblioteka Politička misao, 7), Zagreb 1974, pp. 259-277; I. Golub, "Bibliografija o Jurju Križaniću od 1974 do 1979", *Historijski zbornik*, 31-32 (Zagreb 1978-1979) 325-329; I. Golub, *Križanić*, Kršćanska sadašnjost, (= Bibliofilska izdanja 16, Iskoni 3), Zagreb 1987.

[2] G. Daničić, "Gramatika Gjurgja Križanića", *Rad Jugoslavenske Adademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti* 16 (1871) 159-198; M. Hattala, "O všeslovanském jazyku a pismě", *Osvěta* 1 (1871) 711-714; J. Perwolf, "Križanić patriarcha slavistiky", *Slovanský sbornik* 5 (1886) 1-4; J. Budilovič, *Obščeslavjanskij jazyk v rjadu drugih obščih jazykov*, 2 (Varšava 1892) 309-319; A. Šahmatov, "Križanić o srbsko-horvatskom udarenii", *Russkij filologičeskij vestnik* 4 (1894) 250-260; 1-2 (1895) 298-327; 3 (1895) 87-124; 4 (1895) 204-222; V. Jagič, *Istorija slavjanskoj filologiji*, vol. 1, Sanktpeterburg 1910, pp. 33-37; ID., *Život i rad Jurja Križanića*, Zagreb 1917, pp. 258-268, 459-487; J. A. van Son, *Autour de Križanić. Étude historique et linguistique*, s.l. 1934; M. Dolobko, "Križanić o russkom jazyke", *Sovetskoe jazykoznanie*, 3.L. (1937) 7-41; M. Hraste, "Prinosi poznavanju hrvatskosrpskog jezika J. Križanića", *Radovi Zavoda za slavensku filologiju* 5 (1963) 25-34; Th. Eekman, "Grammatičeskij i leksičeskij sostav jazyka Ju. Križanića", *Dutch Contributions to the V International Congress of Slavicists*, The Hague 1963, pp. 43-77; ID., "Vuk kao reformator ćirilske ortografije i Juraj Križanić", Beogradski univerzitet, *Anali Filološkog fakulteta* 5 (1966) 85-94; ID., "Križanić et ses idées sur l'orthographe des alphabets latin et cyrillique", *Slovo* 17 (1967) 60-94; M. Moguš, "Križanić kao jezikoslovac", *Kolo* 6 (1968) 356-362; M. Heaney, "Križanić's Grammar: the Theory of *Grammatično izkazanje* and the Practice of Politika", *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 4 (1971) 105-124; ID., "The Sources of Early Križanica", *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 8 (1975) 101-136; J. Hamm, "Prosodijski sistem Križanićeva govora", *Život i djelo Jurja Križanića*, Zagreb 1974, pp. 212-238; M. Moguš, "Križanićevi naglasci", ibid., pp. 246-263; J. Hamm, "Križanić and his Accent", in Eekman-Kadić, *Juraj Križanić*, v. s. nota 1, pp. 263-285; V. M. du Feu, "Common Slavonic Syntax and Križanić's Grammar", ibid, pp. 287-299; I. Golub, "Tri jezična spomenika iz Križanićeva rodnog kraja (1656-1672)", *Grada za povijest književnosti Hrvatske*, Jugoslavenska

allora quale sia questa lingua comune slava usata da Križanić e di quale lingua abbia teorizzato scrivendone la grammatica. Per rispondere a queste domande ricorro alle stesse parole di Križanić.

LA LINGUA IN CUI SCRISSE

Della lingua in cui scrisse quasi tutte le sue opere, inclusa la stessa grammatica, Križanić dice che "è una specie di lingua comune", un dialetto comune, una koiné dialektos.

> Come nella lingua greca ci sono diversi dialetti e gli autori greci scrivono, chi in dialetto attico, chi in dorico, chi in dialetto comune e tuttavia si capiscono reciprocamente senza protestare, così anch'io spero che questo mio linguaggio lo capiranno tutte le tribù della nazione russa e tutti i dialetti, cioè i Russi stessi, gli Slavi, i Polacchi e i Cechi. Perciò mi sono deciso a parlare così (come in lingua comune) affinché questo linguaggio tutti lo capiscano. Qui non c'è nulla di forestiero, sia nelle parole che nella struttura della frase. E quanto alla formazione delle parole e delle loro desinenze, ho

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Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 32 (1978) 123-164; A. Peco, "Križanićevi pogledi na srpskohrvatski jezik i njegove dijalekte", *Južnoslovenski filolog* 37 (1981) 151-177; I. Golub, *Slavenstvo Jurja Križanića. O tristotoj godišnjici Križanićeve smrti,* (= Radovi o Životu i djelu J. Križanića 2), Zagreb 1983; ID., "Općeslavenski jezik J. Križanića iliti slavenski koiné dialektos", *Glasnik UNESCO-a* 36 (1983) 38-39; ID., "Slavenska koiné J. Križanića", *Slovo* 36 (1986): Tisuću i sto godina od smrti Metodijeve: Ćirilo-Metodsko kulturno-književno nasljeđe u Hrvata, pp. 58-88; ID., "The Slavic Idea of Juraj Križanić", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Special Issue: Concept of Nationhood in Early Modern Eastern Europe, 10 (1986) 438-491; ID., *Križanić*, Zagreb 1987; Rudolf Filipović (red.), *Križanićev doprinos slavenskoj filologiji, Znanstveni skup u povodu 300. obljetnice smrti Jurja Križanića (1683-1983)*, Zbornik radova III, Zagreb 1990; J. Hamm, "Križanić u slavistici danas", op. cit., pp. 1-9; S. Babić, "Tvorba riječi u Križanićevoj Gramatici", op. cit., pp. 11-17; V. Behin'ova, "Soobščenija I. Dobrovskogo i P. J. Šafaržika o Grammatike Križanića", op. cit., pp. 19-29; R. Bogišić, "Juraj Križanić u kontekstu hrvatske književnosti 17. stoljeća", op. cit., pp. 19-55; S. Bonazza, "Die Italienische Sprache und Kultur bei Juraj Križanić", op. cit. pp. 57-62; D. Brozović, "Juraj Križanić — jedan od pionira interlingvistike", op. cit. pp. 71-76; Th. Eckman, "Križanić as Lexikographer", op. cit., pp. 77-85; M. Heaney, "How Many Languages did Križanić know?", op. cit., pp. 87-100; M. Kravar, "O antibarbarusu Križanićeve 'Grammatike'", op. cit., 125-143; M. Moguš, "Hrvatska gramatika u Križanićevoj Gramatici", op. cit., pp. 145-159; D. Moszyńska, "Wiarygodność polskiego materiału egzemplifikacyjnego w Gramatyce rosyjskiej Juraja Križanića z r. 1666", op. cit., pp. 161-167; L. Moszyński, "Funkcja poloników w Gramatyce rosyjskiej Juraja Križanića z r. 1666 — najstarszej kontrastywno-normatywnej gramatyce słowiańskiej", op. cit., pp. 169-175; I. E. Možaeva, "Lingvističeskie trudy Jurja Križaniča o ocenke russkih učenyh", op. cit., pp. 177-183; A. Peco, "Juraj Križanić kao dijalektolog", op. cit. pp. 185-192; S. Težak, "Hrvatske riječi u Križanićevim tekstovima i današnji ribnički govor", op. cit., pp. 193-207; J. Vončina, "Juraj Križanić i jezik ozaljskoga kruga", op. cit. 209-212; I. Golub, *The Slavic Vision of Juraj Križanić*, Zagreb – Dubrovnik 1993.

> scelto le più comuni, ossia più usate nei nostri numerosi dialetti, secondo che giudicavo più conveniente. Ognuno parli e scriva come giudica più bello, secondo la parola dell'Apostolo: Ognuno segua la sua opinione.[3]

Da queste parole di Križanić è chiaro che la lingua da lui usata vuole essere una lingua comune slava, una koiné slava, che si riferisce alle diverse lingue slave, cosí come il dialetto comune, koiné diálektos, si riferisce ai dialetti greci attico e dorico, non in alternativa ma come soluzione aggiunta. La lingua usata da Križanić deve essere comprensibile a tutti gli Slavi: Russi, Slavi (cioè Croati, Serbi e Bulgari), Polacchi e Cechi, proprio come il dialetto comune era comprensibile a tutti i Greci. E finalmente la lingua di Križanić non è una lingua esclusiva, ma facoltativa, perché, come Križanić stesso dice, "Ognuno scriva come gli pare più bello". Lui stesso infatti trova più bello scrivere come sceglie di fare.

Ma questa lingua comune — la sua koiné slava — era davvero comprensibile a tutti gli Slavi, come lui spera e desidera? Credo di si, dato il suo strato paleoslavo, familiare a tutti gli Slavi Ortodossi abituati alla liturgia ecclesiastica slava e comprensibile agli Slavi Cattolici (Croati e Cechi) che usano il paleoslavo nei loro libri liturgici. Comunque Križanić introduce degli accorgimenti che facilitano la comprensibilità della sua lingua da parte di tutti gli Slavi: il suo lessico è preso dalle diverse lingue slave parlate. Dispone anche abilmente i sinonimi di contatto e di vicinanza, cosicché le parole di una lingua si spieghino con quelle di un'altra.[4]

LA LINGUA TEORIZZATA DA KRIŽANIĆ

Juraj Križanić ha redatto una grammatica slava: *Grammatično izkazanje ob ruskom jeziku*. L'ha terminata nel 1665 a Tobolsk in Siberia. Di quale lingua ha composto la grammatica? Nella prefazione Križanić risponde a questa domanda.

> Prima di tutto bisogna sapere con quale nome chiamare questa lingua della quale, con l'aiuto di Dio, abbiamo deciso di trattare. Infatti, erroneamente viene chiamata lingua slava la lingua in cui scriviamo libri e celebriamo la divina liturgia. Bisognerebbe chiamarlo piuttosto lingua russa. Una volta,

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[3] Juraj Križanić, *Gramatično izkazanje ob russkom jeziku*, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu, Sabrana djela Jurja Križanića, vol. 2, red. R. Filipović, priredio i uvodnu raspravu napisao J. Hamm, Zagreb 1984, p.47.

[4] Thomas Eekman ha fatto l'analisi della Grammatica e del lessico di Križanić nell'articolo citato, "Gramatičeskij i leksičeskij sostav jazyka Jurja Križaniča". Le fonti della lingua di Križanić sono invece in parte esaminate da Michael Heaney nell'articolo citato, "The Sources of Early Križanica".

nella nostra nazione c'erano sei regni e a tutt'oggi ci sono sei popoli e sei diversi dialetti: dei Russi, dei Polacchi, dei Cechi, dei Bulgari e di Serbi e Croati. Questi tre ultimi si chiamano con il nome comune di Slavi o di Transdanubiani. Fra tutte queste suddivisioni la più antica è costituita dal popolo e dal nome russo, origine di tutti gli altri. Solo questo nome, noto agli antichi scrittori greci e romani, si legge nei libri antichi. Siccome tutte le altre stirpi (pokoljenja) provengono dai Russi, necessariamente i loro nomi sono più recenti del nome russo e non potevano essere noti agli scrittori antichi. Soltanto gli scrittori stranieri degli ultimi secoli (scrittori della nostra stirpe non ce ne sono) raccontano che nel tempo dell'imperatore Maurizio gli Slavi hanno attraversato il Danubio e sono apparsi nelle province dell'impero romano, nelle quali fino ad oggi rimangono. All'inizio si chiamavano con l'unico nome di Slavi. Ma dopo un certo tempo, avendo sottomesso vaste province, si sono suddivisi in tre regni. E dai loro duchi furono chiamati Bulgari, Serbi e Croati. Gli altri gruppi del popolo Russo, venendo dall'Oriente verso l'Occidente, hanno preso stanza al di quà del Danubio, nelle diverse province e hanno fondato i regni Polacco, Moravo ovvero Ceco.

Siccome gli Slavi guerreggiavano incessantemente con i Greci e i Romani e avevano conquistato non poche province dell'impero, perciò dai moderni Greci il nome slavo divenne più noto che il nome comune dell'intera nazione — cioè del nome russo. E questo è causa del soprannominato errore: che i Greci moderni nei loro libri menzionino più spesso il nome slavo. E ai nostri storici è venuta l'idea che l'origine della nostra nazione siano gli Slavi, quasi che i Russi, i Polacchi e i Cechi siano venuti di là. Siccome la generazione russa e il nome russo sono noti agli scrittori antichi e la stirpe con questo nome abita da sempre nella sua patria, la Russia, mentre gli altri gruppi uscirono tutti dalla Russia e sono apparsi come nuovi ospiti nelle terre in cui adesso abitano, è chiaro che la tribù russa e il nome russo sono all'origine e alla radice di tutti gli altri. Perciò quando vogliamo comprendere con un nome comune tutte le nostre sei stirpi e tutti i sei dialetti, non conviene chiamarli con il nome recente di slavo, ma con il nome primordiale e originario di russo. E così il dialetto russo non è frutto di dialetto slavo, bensì piuttosto i dialetti slavo, ceco e polacco discendono dalla lingua russa. E, in particolare, la lingua nella quale scriviamo i libri non è, né può chiamarsi legittimamente slava, ma lingua russa letteraria o antica. Primariamente perché questo dialetto è radice dei cinque o sei altri dialetti, e dunque nacque senza dubbio presso la stirpe più antica, cioè presso i Russi. Secondariamente, perché questa lingua letteraria è molto più simile al dialetto russo comune odierno, che a qualunque altro dialetto slavo.[5]

[5] J. Križanić, *Gramatično izkazanje*, pp. 47-48, v. s. nota 3.

All'inizio della Prefazione, Križanić pone la domanda, come si debba chiamare la lingua di cui intende scrivere la grammatica. E risponde, nel brano importante appena citato, sia in maniera negativa, escludendo i nomi erronei, sia in maniera positiva, indicando come si debba chiamarla. Non si può chiamarla lingua slava, perché questo nome è *pars pro toto*. È infatti il nome della lingua degli Slavi Transdanubiani: Bulgari, Serbi e Croati. Solo dagli scrittori stranieri recenti il nome slavo è esteso anche alla lingua dei Russi, dei Polacchi, dei Cechi e quindi all'insieme delle lingue slave. In particolare, non si può chiamare lingua slava la lingua "in cui scriviamo i libri" e celebriamo la divina liturgia, cioè la lingua paleoslava.

Come bisogna allora chiamare la lingua della quale Križanić scrive la grammatica? Bisogna chiamarla lingua russa, perché il nome russo è l'antico originale e comprende l'insieme delle lingue slave, tutte provenienti dalla lingua russa, come suoi dialetti.[6] Il russo viene chiamato lingua e le altre lingue slave vengono chiamate dialetti della lingua russa. La lingua russa comprende quindi, non solo la lingua che si parla in Russia,[7] ma l'insieme delle lingue slave, cioè la lingua russa, la polacca, la ceca, la bulgara, la serba, la croata e, si capisce, la paleoslava, in primo luogo chiamata lingua. "Perciò, quando vogliamo comprendere con un solo nome tutte le nostre sei stirpi e tutti i sei dialetti, non conviene chiamarli con il nome recente di slavo, ma con il nome primordiale e originario di russo ... specialmente trattandosi della lingua nella quale scriviamo i libri".[8] In questo senso bisogna capire il titolo che Križanić dà alla sua grammatica, di "Repertorio grammaticale della lingua russa" — *Gramatično izkazanje ob russkom jeziku*.

Vuol dire che la *Grammatica* di Križanić è grammatica dell'insieme delle lingue slave: paleoslava (in primo luogo), russa, polacca, ceca, bulgara, serba e croata. In termini odierni la *Grammatica* di Križanić si chiamerebbe

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[6] "Otmína" vuol dire dialetto: "I otmíni bo v'jezſku (kóje Gréki zovût Dijaléktmi)", Ibid., p. 211.

[7] In un altro luogo Križanić dice che per lingua comune russa intende la lingua che si parla nella Grande Russia. J. Križanić, *Objasn`enje vivodno o pismě slověnskom*, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu, Sabrana djela Jurja Križanića, vol. 1, V. Stipetić, red., Priredio, uvod napisao i tekst preveo Josip Hamm, Zagreb 1983, p. 39.

[8] J. Križanić, *Gramatično izkazanje*, p. 48, v. s. nota 3.

"Repertorio grammaticale delle lingue slave" oppure "Repertorio grammaticale dell'insieme delle lingue slave".[9]

GRAMMATICA CORRETTIVA

Di che tipo di grammatica si tratta? Di una grammatica originale e unica, cioè di una grammatica correttiva. Križanić vuole infatti correggere dai loro errori le lingue slave, corrotte da influssi di lingue straniere. Avendo lasciato la loro patria primeva, la Russia, gli Slavi, caduti sotto il potere dei popoli germanici, degli Ungheresi, degli Italiani e dei Turchi, hanno depravato e in certo senso anche perduto la purezza della lingua, particolarmente quanto al patrimonio lessicale. E hanno preso da varie parti parole straniere. Così, per

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[9] Nel corpo della *Grammatica* di Križanić è rimasta la terminologia di "lingua slava" invece che "di lingua russa". Nella Nota previa alla Prefazione della Grammatica, Križanić nomina "slava" la lingua paleoslava. Ma quando la Grammatica è già finita e trascritta, Križanić si ricrede, dichiarando che non si deve parlare di lingua slava, ma di lingua russa. Ibid., p. 47. "Lingua slava" indica le lingue, bulgara, serba e croata. Ibid., p. 48. L'insieme delle lingue russa, polacca, ceca, bulgara, serba e croata e della lingua paleoslava, nel corpo della *Grammatica*, Križanić lo dice "lingua slava": "Vъ Rúskom, vъ Hervâtskom, i pó prostu vo vsém Slovînskom jezíku..." ibid., p. 89; "...ili da bi vъ Slovínskom jezíku nébilo rízvoga glâsa Gáma" ibid., p. 164; "Vo vsém slovînskom jezíku neobritájetse ni jedina korenícna rîč, gdi bi bîla koja glasníca udvojená, ĵliti usugúblьena", ibid., p. 167. La protolingua slava, in parte conservata in ogni lingua slava e, soprattutto, nella paleoslava, Križanić la chiama "lingua slava": "I zarad togó vъ jedînom Hervâtskom izróku čújutse vlâki prâvilni: ïzvírnoь Slovínskoь beside privlástni. — I kulíko jest jóš doselí ostálo Slovînskogo čistá jezíka: támo se jest obritálo za nášego dïtînstva", ibid., p. 213. Per quanto riguarda la terminologia di "lingua slava" e di "lingua russa", il titolo della *Grammatica, Repertorio grammaticale della lingua russa*, e il testo della *Grammatica* stessa, che parla di "lingua slava", non si accordano. Tale incoerenza ha causato la confusione che si riflette nella bibliografia linguistica sull'argomento. Spero di aver chiarito questo problema fondamentale, della lingua circa la quale Križanić scrive la sua *Grammatica* e di quella in cui redige le sue opere. Quando enumera le lingue slave, Križanić non fa menzione della lingua slovena (carnica). Eppure, tra le lingue che conosce e cita, figura anche la lingua carnica. Inoltre, nella lite con la Sacra Romana Rota sulla provincia illirica, Križanić sostiene l'appartenenza degli Sloveni agli Slavi. Al suo tempo la Carniola, la Stiria e la Carinzia facevano parte della Slovenia. (S. A. Belokurov, *Jurij Križanić v Rossii*, Moskva 1902, Priloženija, p. 192; I. Golub, "Juraj Križanić i pitanje prava Slovenaca na svetojeronimske ustanvoe u Rimu", *Historijski zbornik* 21-22 (1968-1969) 213-258). Nella sua *Grammatica*, Križanić parla anche degli Sloveni della Carniola e prende a esempio la loro lingua: "I Carniolani dicono — i čto Kráьinci velêt, So slovēsom", p. 76. Nella lingua russa, Križanić fa una triplice suddivisione: 1) lingua russa comune, genuina o di base, che si parla nella Grande Russia; 2) lingua bielorussa, mescolanza di russo e di polacco e 3) lingua letteraria o dei traduttori, mistura di greco e di russo antico. (J. Križanić, *Objasnьenje vivodno o pismě slověnskom*, Zagreb 1983, p. 39, v. s. nota 7).

esempio, la lingua bulgara è molto corrotta. La polacca ha quasi la metà delle parole di origine straniera. La ceca è più pura della polacca, ma è anch'essa corrotta. Nella lingua dei Croati e dei Serbi, una parola è russa, un'altra ungherese, la terza tedesca, la quarta turca, la quinta greca, italiana o albanese. Per quanto riguarda il lessico, la lingua russa, più di qualunque altra lingua slava, ha parole proprie e adatte, perché gli atti ufficiali e gli affari sono trattati nella lingua originaria. La lingua bielorussa è ancora più corrotta della lingua croata e della polacca. Per quanto riguarda le regole grammaticali e la prosodia, neppure in Russia la grammatica trova il suo posto.[10]

E la lingua ecclesiastica slava?

> Che dire dei libri sacri divini ed ecclesiastici che furono tradotti dai Greci? Non è necessario rispondere. Le opere stesse parlano. Non guardiamo al fatto che i traduttori hanno inserito senza necessità nei vari libri parole greche e tedesche — anche di latine ce ne sono parecchie — ma dobbiamo sottoporre a severa critica il fatto che i Greci abbiano informato tutta la struttura e la forma della nostra lingua sul modello della loro e l'hanno cambiata a tal punto che essa non è né greca né russa. ... Melezio Smotricki è ben degno di essere ricordato e lodato per il lavoro cui si è consacrato e il suo impegno per il bene comune, quando scriveva la Grammatica. Ma avrebbe reso maggior servizio alla nazione se non si fosse lasciato intimidire dal rispetto servile delle traduzioni greche e non avesse voluto trasformare la nostra lingua sui modellli greci e latini. Ogni lingua ha le sue regole, diverse da quelle delle altre. Non si può correggere una lingua in base ai modelli e alle regole di un'altra.[11]

E la lingua croata?

> Per quanto riguarda le regole grammaticali, non si sentono altrove accenti altrettanto giusti, né pronuncia così pura di parole, sia genuine che straniere, né forma del discorso altrettanto simile all'originaria russa, come presso i Croati. Non però dappertutto, bensì esclusivamente in un piccolo angolo della regione presso il fiume Kupa, nel territorio delle città fortificate di Dubovac, Ozalj e Ribnik.[12]

La lingua croata, lingua materna di Križanić, non è soltanto la più vicina alla lingua primeva, originaria slava, ma è anche la più bella di tutte le

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[10] J. Križanić, *Gramatično izkazanje*, p. 49, v. s. nota 3.

[11] Ibid., p. 50.

[12] Ibid., p. 49.

lingue slave: come il dialetto attico dei Greci era più bello degli altri, così il croato è più bello delle altre lingue slave.[13]

Tutto sommato, per quanto riguarda le regole grammaticali, la lingua croata è più vicina alla lingua originaria slava ed è la più bella delle lingue slave. Il lessico invece è più puro e più ricco presso i Russi nella loro lingua. Lo stato delle altre lingue, quanto al lessico e alle regole grammaticali, è deplorevole. Perciò nella sua *Grammatica*, Križanić presenta spesso, come modello, gli elementi della lingua croata e, non di rado, della lingua russa. Critica invece la lingua polacca e le altre lingue slave. Dice, per esempio: "Dalla pronuncia croata bisogna trarre la regola — Iz Hervâtskoga adda īzróka jest tríba právilo tvorít".[14]

Ma in qualche caso Križanić preferisce il russo al croato: "Non conviene che lo scrittore segua la desinenza croata, ma deve usare la desinenza russa comune".[15] In altro caso trova le due lingue altrettanto corrette da essere proposte ugualmente a modello: "Questo lo si dice più correttamente in russo e in croato".[16]

Melezio Smotricki, con la sua *Grammatica* della lingua (paleo)slava voleva adattare al modello greco la lingua (paleo)slava.[17] In tal modo ha prodotto enormi danni. Križanić polemizza perciò con Smotricki. E come nella sua *Politica*, Križanić polemizza con Oleario, tanto da farne una specie di "Anti-Olearius", così egli fa della sua *Grammatica* una specie di "Anti-Smotricki".

La purificazione della lingua slava, cioè dell'insieme delle lingue slave o di ogni singola lingua, ha come scopo di liberarle di elementi estranei, tanto nel lessico quanto nella morfologia. Come in *Politica*, così anche nella sua *Grammatica,* Križanić combatte la xenomania, la xenopistia e la xenarchia degli Slavi. Per mezzo della correzione degli errori sembra che voglia avvicinare le lingue slave, particolarmente la lingua veteroslava, alla lingua

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[13] "I po séь pričíne činît se Hervâtska otmína líplьa ot ostâlnih: rāvnó kakot i vъ Gréčskih otmínah Atičânska otmína procinьájetse bit líplъa ot ostâlnih četírih otmîn (ot Jônskije, Jejôlskije, Dôrskije, i Ôbčije)". Ibid., p. 182.

[14] Ibid., p. 63. "A još líplьe po Hervátsku na U". Ibid., p. 77.

[15] "Vъ ovom, i vo ĵnih níkoьih místeh, negodîtse pisátelьu slīdít Hervâtskogo okončânja (:búduć óno dalekó otmînno ot Rúskogo dobrogò:) nó užívát jest Rúskogo obíčnogo okončânja: ako nébudet skázno". Ibid., p. 179.

[16] "Právije se velît po Rúsku, na OGO: i po Hervâtsku na OGA: Velikogo, Velikoga". Ibid., p. 181.

[17] *Gramatika slavjanskaja*, 1619, 1629, 1648 e 1721.

primeva, originaria, che lui chiama russa. Insisto sull'avvicinare, perché Križanić non vuole ridurre le lingue slave a questa lingua primeva. Ogni singola lingua slava deve sussistere come tale, ma non nella sua corruzione attuale; bensì in uno stato nuovo di purificazione, di riforma, una specie di neoslavo, attraverso la correzione suggerita dalla sua *Grammatica*.

La lingua paleoslava, liberata dalle catene grammaticali greche, in cui l'hanno imprigionata i traduttori greci dei libri divini e ecclesiastici e lo stesso grammatico Smotricki, potrebbe ora, purificata secondo la *Grammatica* di Križanić, avvicinarsi alla lingua primeva slava, anzi diverrebbe quasi la lingua primeva slava restaurata.

NORME DELLA CORREZIONE

Quali criteri e quali norme segue Križanić nella sua proposta di correzione della lingua slava? Ecco alcuni criteri e alcune norme che deduco dalla sua *Grammatica*.

Prima regola: "Una lingua ha le sue regole, diverse da quelle di altre lingue e non si può correggere una lingua in base al modello di un'altra, o secondo le regole di una lingua straniera".[18]

La seconda norma nella correzione della lingua slava, o delle lingue slave, è quella del linguaggio vivo. Quando Križanić esamina i singoli casi e i singoli fenomeni linguistici, anche del paleoslavo, controlla sempre se si verificano nelle lingue vive. In caso contrario li lascia cadere. Ecco alcuni esempi: "Smotricki usa dire: Due duci, due giudici. Questo è linguaggio arbitrario che non si sente mai".[19] In altro caso che spetta alla lingua russa, Križanić dice: "Non si sente mai dire dalla gente, né sappiamo in che paese, né quando anticamente si usasse dire".[20] Secondo lui, i traduttori (in paleoslavo) della Bibbia e della liturgia, seguendo i modelli greci, hanno introdotto forme grammaticali mai usate dalla gente.[21] In altro contesto

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[18] "Vsákiь bo jezík jimâjet svoja vlastíta právila, raznίta ot ĵnih: i nemóžetse po ĵnogo jezíka uzóreh íliti právileh izpravlьàt". J. Križanić, *Gramatično izkazanje*, p. 50.

[19] "A čto Smotríckiь udājét ováko govorít: Dvâ vojvóda, Dvâ sudíja: tó jest naprâsno izdúmano, i nígdiž neslíšeno izrečênje". Ibid., p. 73.

[20] "...a sklád AG nígdiže vь lьudêh nestlíšitse: i nevīmó, vь kójeь strāné, i kogdá vъ predâvnih vikêh bî bîl užîvan". Ibid., p. 88.

[21] "A búduć ježe u Grékov jest prelîšno vnógo uživânje medolьênja: zâto sut prevódniki izdúmali u nás takóvož terpîlno (:Sadášnьego vrímena:) Medolьênje: i ot tojéž pêrvije vnožînnije osobí, Mî Lьubím, tvorêt nóvu i nígdiž vъ lьudêh neslíšanu rîč, LЬUBÍM, Lьbíma, Lьubímo". Ibid., p. 143.

grammaticale, dice: "Tradurre così non vuol dire tradurre, ma vuol dire tradire la lingua, perché tale linguaggio non è in uso nella nostra lingua".[22]

Insisto su questa norma di Križanić, perché in scritti su di lui si trova l'affermazione che Križanić volesse creare, o avesse di fatto creato, un esperanto slavo. Non è vero. L'esperanto è una lingua artificiale. E Križanić, come abbiamo visto, voleva purificare la lingua di quanto non fosse confermato dall'uso vivo.

Terza regola: Križanić preferisce le forme comuni alla maggior parte delle lingue slave. E tale regola egli la pratica, sia nella lingua che scrive,[23] sia nella lingua della quale scrive la *Grammatica*.[24]

Quarta regola: Ogni lingua slava deve conservare le proprie forme, eccetto quelle erronee.[25]

Quinta regola: Possono darsi più forme diverse, ugualmente corrette[26] o almeno tollerabili.[27]

Sesta regola: Se una forma è in uso, può rimanere anche se ce n'è un'altra migliore.[28]

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[22] "Čto Gréki velêt, Πορευομένου αὐτοῦ to náši prevódniki prevódet na Protîvniь pregíb: Iduštu emù. Zâto ježe Gréčski Ízkernik, i naš Protîvnik, óbadva jednākó izhódet na U ... Ali pák síce prevodít, nîst prevodít, nó prevraćát jezìk. Takóva bo govorênja nígdiže nîst vъ obíčaju vъ nášem jezíku. Ino vъ prém, čto Horáciь Rîmskiь pisáteľь (: priverstújuć svoь jezík ko Gréčskomu:) velît, Nobis non licet esse tam disertis: Qui Musas colimus seueriores: tóž i mî morájem míslit ób sebi. Rékši, Ježe nám ne godîtse bit táko razgóvôrnim: kóьim jest dāná tisníja besída". Ibid., p. 205.

[23] "A pretvóri i zaveršânja ričêm takóva izbrâh, kója sut obćeníja, íliti vnóžim nâšim otmínam obíčna". Ibid., p. 47.

[24] "A pri tonkíh neglasnícah možét stoját AGO: kt, Velíkago, Dobragò. Ali mî páče hvâlim OGO: Velíkogo, Dobrogò. Zâto jež sklád GO jest obíčen Rúsjanom, Hervātom, Sérbom, i Čéhom". Ibid., p. 88. "Rúsjani, Léhi, Hervātí, i Sérbi, právo i rízvo izrikájut slóvo *Glagol*: rāvnó kakó Gréki *Gama*. A Bilorúsjani, i Čéhi, jesut izgubíli prâviь glâs: i izrikájut níkako spodóbno ko *Híru*. Pîšut *Glāvá*, Gorà, Grâd: a čtût, búdto Hlāvá, Horá, Hrâd. Tim se obludžájut i nikoьi Rúsjani: i za lîpo počitájut takóvo kmétsko, blûdno, i premérzko izrikânje". Ibid., p. 164.

[25] Ibid., p. 133.

[26] Ibid., p. 139.

[27] "Vъ misto Gréčskije ríči Antistátis, mérzko jest udúmana i stéjana ríč Supostât. Právo recí: Suprotîvnik, ili Suvrâžnik: móžetse terpít i Suprotstojáteľь". Ibid., p. 151.

[28] "Vъ našem jezíku ĵmena Pridîvna ne stojêt vъ misto Obstôjnih: I zâto, gdi Léhi velêt, Ovčârnьa, Pekârnьa lípľьe bi réć: Ovčârnica, Pekârnica. Ali véd dlьa radi zavzetogó zakóna móžet se dobró réć i Pekârnьa, Povârnьa, Tovârnьa, Konьûšnьa: Obîdnьa, Večêrnьa, Vsenóćnьa, Júternьa: i Večêrnica, Vsenôćnica, Júternica". Ibid., p. 101.

Settima regola: Ci sono forme che bisogna ad ogni costo correggere. Altre, la cui correzione è raccomandabile. Infine c'è la categoria delle forme che non si possono, né si devono correggere.[29]

Ottava regola: Con la proposta di correzione delle lingue slave, Križanić non le riduce tutte a una sola lingua, ma in ogni singola lingua corregge gli errori, lasciando a ciascuna la sua identità.

Nona regola: Scrivere come si parla: A ciascun fonema un grafema. "Come parliamo, così conviene anche scrivere".[30] "Non bisogna scrivere un'articolazione con due segni".[31] "Conviene che un'articolazione si scriva con una lettera e non con due".[32]

LO SCOPO DELLA *GRAMMATICA*

Križanić scrive la sua *Grammatica* perché la lingua slava, o l'insieme delle lingue slave, sono corrotti e hanno bisogno di essere riportati alla purezza lessicale e morfologica. Križanić nella prefazione alla sua *Grammatica* la chiama un lavoro di denuncia e di correzione degli errori di lingua. Lui stesso dà la definizione della sua *Grammatica*: è correttiva e polemica. È davvero una grammatica unica, *sui generis*.

Un altro motivo spinge Križanić a scrivere la sua *Grammatica*: lo scisma degli Starovieri o Vecchi Credenti, scoppiato all'occasione della traduzione dei libri liturgici. Križanić nega che gli errori di traduzione, quando non cambiano sostanzialmente il senso, siano ragione sufficiente di scisma. Ciò nonostante, la proposta di correggere la lingua è di per sé buona. Križanić cita in proposito S. Girolamo: "Non si devono disprezzare le piccole cose senza cui le grandi non possono sussistere".[33]

Con la sua *Grammatica*, Križanić voleva offrire un aiuto anche a coloro che, al pari di lui, intraprendono la traduzione della Bibbia e dei libri liturgici. Del resto, Križanić ha scritto cosa pensasse lui stesso della sua *Grammatica*, davvero unica e originale:

> Se qualcuno mi domanderà: E tu cosa dici del tuo Repertorio grammaticale? Lo credi perfetto e sufficiente per la correzione della lingua? Rispondo che

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[29] Ibid., pp. 74-77.

[30] "Alíti káko govorîm, táko se godît i pīsát". Ibid., p. 165.

[31] "I nepotríbno se pîšet jeden glâs dvími čertínami". Ibid., p. 166.

[32] "Alipâk gódno bi bîlo: da bismo vsákiь jeden glâs, jednîm slóvom pisali, a né dvími: i vsáko jednó slóvo jednîm glâsom izrīkáli, a né dvîmi". Ibid., p. 172.

[33] Ibid., p. 50.

uno non può conoscere tutto, particolarmente se non tratta con gli altri e non li consulta, come è accaduto a me peccatore, facendo quest'opera senza nessuna consultazione. Non mi è stato possibile esaminare e provvedere adeguatamente perché, per i miei peccati, vivo separato dalla comunicazione umana e dal consesso degli uomini. Perciò, non ho potuto, né posso finire il Dizionario o i Libri di parole in cui si espongano e spieghino tutti i termini secondo l'ordine alfabetico. — E di questa *Grammatica*, ecco quanto penso e giudico: tutte le maggiori difficoltà vi sono abbastanza enumerate e chiarite, di modo che sia aperta finalmente una breccia per il futuro lavoro degli operai che verranno in seguito. E là dove non ho visto qualcosa per trascuratezza o per errore, sarà d'ora in poi più facile, ad altri che lo vogliano, argomentare, completare e correggere. Scritto in Siberia, il giorno terzo d'ottobre dell'anno 1665".[34]

La koiné slava di Juraj Križanić

Križanić ha da fare in realtà con due tipi di koiné slava, l'una creata da lui e l'altra da lui riformata. Nella prima, la koiné da lui creata, Križanić scrive quasi tutte le sue opere. La seconda la corregge e riforma componendone la grammatica. A Križanić è chiaro che latino e paleoslavo sono due lingue universali. La lingua paleoslava nel tempo della Controriforma, cioè dell'epoca di Križanić, comincia ad essere considerata come "il latino degli Slavi", come la loro lingua classica ed ecclesiastica. Il rapporto tra la lingua paleoslava e le varie lingue slave è simile al rapporto fra il latino e le lingue romanze.[35] Križanić si impegna alla correzione della lingua paleoslava. Questi due tipi di koiné slava non devono né minacciare, né sostituire le lingue slave vive. Queste si rapportano ai due tipi di koiné slava come i dialetti greci alla koiné greca. Con la differenza che la lingua paleoslava è protolingua slava o russa, come lui dice.

Ispirazioni e influssi

Donde è venuta a Juraj Križanić l'ispirazione a questa sua particolare scelta linguistica? Probabilmente si tratta non di un solo movente, bensí di

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[34] Ibid., p. 51.

[35] R. Mathiesen, "The Church Slavonic Language Question: An Overview (IX-XX Centuries)", *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, Volume I, *Church – Slavonic – South Slavic – West Slavic*, Edited by R. Picchio and H. Goldblatt, New Haven 1984, pp. 60-65; R. Picchio, "Introduction à une étude comparée de la question de la langue chez les Slaves", *Études littéraires Slavo-Romaines, Studia Historica et Philologica* VI, Sectio Slavo-Romanica 3, Firenze 1978, p. 182; ID., "Guidelines for a Comparative Study of the Language Question among the Slavs", *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, pp. 1-44.

numerosi stimoli che hanno operato su di lui dalla fanciullezza alla vecchiaia, dagli anni vissuti nel paese natío, a quelli trascorsi nell'esilio siberiano. Del resto, l'atmosfera seicentesca favoriva l'affermazione di una lingua comune panslava. Nel paese di Križanić si parlava una lingua "composita" in cui si fondevano i dialetti kajkaviano, čakaviano e štokaviano. In questo interdialetto hanno scritto opere letterarie i contemporanei e conterranei di Križanić. Uno di loro, Ivan Belostenec compose un dizionario latino-croato, croato-latino, dalla impostazione tridialettale. Križanić avrebbe potuto conoscere Belostenec.[36] Inoltre, nella chiesa parrocchiale di Sant'Elia a Lipnik, nel territorio nativo di Križanić, si celebrava la messa di rito latino in lingua paleoslava.[37]

La lingua parlata tridialettale o interdialettale, da una parte, e la lingua liturgica paleoslava, dall'altra, si mescolavano nella mente del giovane Križanić in una esperienza linguistica globale. Dalla nativa Croazia Križanić portò, per cosí dire, l'eredità di quel miscuglio linguistico praticato nella fanciullezza, costituito di una lingua tridialettale profana e della lingua sacra paleoslava. Questa eredità si perpetua nei suoi scritti, sia come mezzo linguistico che adopera nelle sue opere, sia nella grammatica correttiva dell'insieme delle lingue slave.

Anche lasciando il suo paese, Križanić allarga e approfondisce le sue conoscenze di paleoslavo. A Roma, dove studia come alunno di Propaganda e convittore del Collegio Greco, negli anni 1640-1642, è in rapporto con il conterraneo e amico, Rafael Levaković Croato (Jastrebarsko 1597 – Zadar 1649). Questi sta preparando presso Propaganda l'edizione del breviario paleoslavo in caratteri glagolitici. A Roma, Križanić entra pure in contatto con gli Ucraini.[38] Fa conoscenza e si lega in amicizia con Metodio Terlecki, vescovo ucraino di Chelm, venuto a Roma per sorvegliare, ma in realtà, russificare, l'edizione dei libri liturgici paleoslavi curata dal Levaković. Infatti, sulla via del ritorno da Roma, Terlecki è ospite del Križanić a Varaždin nel 1644. Certo, il paleoslavo russificato da Levaković e da

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[36] I. Golub, "Slavenstvo Jurja Križanića", pp. 22-23, v. s. nota 2; J. Vončina, "Juraj Križanić i jezik ozaljskoga kruga", ibid., pp. 209-212.

[37] I. Golub, "Tri jezična spomenika iz Križanićeva rodnog kraja (1656-1672)", pp. 111-210, v. s. nota 2; ID., *Juraj Križanić – Sabrana građa*, Zagreb 1983, pp. 13-54.

[38] S. Senyk, "Križanić and Ukraine," in *Znastveni skup u povodu 300. obljetnice smrti Jurja Križanića (1683-1983), Zbornik radova II*, (= Radovi o Životu i djelu Jurja Križanića, 4), ured. Ljubo Boban, Zagreb 1986, pp. 101-112.

Terlecki, sotto pretesto di essere reso più letterario, era una specie di lingua comune slava.[39] Proprio per questo la Congregazione de Propaganda la favoriva, contro le opinoni di chi propugnava piuttosto per la liturgia l'uso di una lingua viva e parlata come il croato. Queste opinioni in favore del croato ebbero un ascolto solo parziale. Cosí, Bartol Kašić (Pag 1575 – Roma 1650), gesuita croato, aveva tradotto in croato la Bibbia, senza purtroppo pubblicarla. Ha però tradotto anche in lingua viva croata il Rituale Romanum, uscito con i tipi di Propaganda nel 1640. Križanić poteva conoscere personalmente Kašić e il suo *Ritual Rimski*.[40] Però, le mie ricerche negli archivi romani, di Propaganda, dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano e dei Gesuiti che dirigevano il Collegio Maronita, dove allora il Kašić si trovava, non hanno dato alcun risultato. Il fatto che manchino tracce di loro rapporti epistolari, potrebbe giustificarsi con il loro incontrarsi personalmente. Del resto, la stessa cosa si può dire per l'assenza di rapporti epistolari di quest'epoca, tra Križanić e Levaković. È risaputo che Levaković sarebbe maestro di Križanić nell'interesse per la lingua paleoslava. Io aggiungerei però che Križanić potrebbe accostarsi anche al Kašić nel propugnare una lingua viva. Infatti Križanić, oltre a conservare il culto della lingua paleoslava, favorisce le lingue vive slave, particolarmente la sua lingua materna, il croato.[41] In un certo senso il Križanić è sintesi, in modo diverso, di Levaković e di Kašić. E mi auguro che tale indicazione serva ad ulteriori ricerche. Comunque, la lingua che Križanić usò nello scrivere e la lingua di cui si occupò componendone una grammatica, contengono insieme la lingua paleoslava e le lingue slave parlate, sia quanto a grammatica che quanto a lessico.

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[39] E. Sgambati, "Udio Rusina u izdavanju hrvatskih glagoljskih knjiga u XVII stoljeću", *Slovo* 32-33 (1982-1983) 103-122.

[40] L. Polgar, *Bibliographie sur l'histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus 1901-1980*, vol. III/2, pp. 284-286; Z. Vince, *Putovima hrvatskog književnog jezika*, IIa ed., Zagreb 1990, pp. 656-688.

[41] Che Križanić, trattando della lingua slava, abbia presente non solo la lingua ecclesiasticoslava russa degli Ortodossi, ma anche la paleoslava dei Cattolici, appare chiaramente dalle sue citazioni dei salmi, che provengono dal Breviario glagolitico del 1648 di Levaković. Le soluzioni che Križanić propone comprendono sia una derussificazione della traduzione paleoslava del Levaković, sia una certa croatizzazione propria al Križanić. J. Križanić, *Gramatično izkazanje*, pp. 23-26. Bisognerebbe fare una ricerca comparativa che confronti i brani salterici di Križanić e i corrispondenti brani della traduzione di Kašić.

Levaković pubblica proprio l'anno in cui Križanić viene a Roma, cioè nel 1640, tre panegirici sotto il titolo di Epigramma slavonicum, il primo in caratteri cirillici, il secondo in glagolitici e il terzo in caratteri latini. Levaković collega insieme elementi paleoslavi ed elementi della lingua viva. Il che non dovrebbe essere sfuggito a Križanić.[42]

I più cospicui rappresentanti del circolo barocco di Roma, il P. Athanasius Kircher e Juan Caramuel, promovevano la creazione di una poligrafia universale.[43] Anche questo circolo, del quale Križanić era membro, poteva confermare Križanić nelle sue tendenze universalistiche riguardo alla lingua.

Križanić, che era teologo della riconciliazione, voleva in un certo senso riconciliare le lingue slave con il paleoslavo. Lo studio delle lingue classiche — particolarmente del greco — mette in contatto il Križanić con la koiné diálektos che affianca i vari dialetti greci. Ecco allora l'eureka di Križanić. Lui che ha viaggiato in tutti i paesi slavi, che ha constatato la difficoltà con cui gli Slavi comunicano tra loro a causa delle differenze tra le rispettive lingue, vede la soluzione di simili difficoltà di comunicazione nel modello della koiné diálektos greca. Poteva essere lo stesso modello per il ponte che la lingua comune slava avrebbe costituito tra le differenti lingue slave viventi. E immagina che tale rapporto non sia di alternativa, ma di complementarietà: come accanto al dialetto comune greco c'erano vari dialetti diversi, cosí, accanto allo slavo comune rimarrebbero le diverse lingue slave.

DALLE LETTURE

L'istanza in favore di una lingua comune slava veniva anche dai libri che Križanić conosceva oppure poteva conoscere. A Križanić non doveva essere ignoto il tentativo di scrittori e traduttori croati protestanti Stjepan Konzul, Antun Dalmatin, Juraj Cvecić, di creare una lingua slava attraverso la fusione dei diversi dialetti.[44]

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[42] Marija, s. Agnezija Pantelić, "Levakovićevi i Križanićevi panegirici", *Homo imago et amicus Dei, Miscellanea in honorem Ioannis Golub*. Curavit editionem Ratko Perić, Collectanea croatico-hieronymiana de Urbe 4, Romae 1991, pp. 586-608.

[43] I. Golub, "Juraj Križanići njegovi suvremenici (A. Kircher, J. Caramuel, N. Panajotis, V. Spada, L. Holstenius)", *Historijski zbornik* 27-28 (Zagreb 1974-1975) 265-266; ID., "Contribution à l'histoire des relations de Križanić avec ses contemporains (1651-1658)", in Eekman - Kadić, *Juraj Križanić*, p.126, v. s. nota 1.

[44] I. Golub, "Slavenstvo Juraj Križanića", p. 12 , v. s. nota 2.

Križanić poteva conoscere quella mescolanza di croato, paleoslavo, polacco, boemo (ceco) che usava Budinić. Non è escluso che conoscesse pure il ciakaviano frammisto ad altri elementi linguistici di Komulović.[45]

Forse cadde sotto gli occhi di Križanić — già alunno dei gesuiti a Lubljana — la grammatica di Adam Bohorič, *Arcticae horulae* (Würtenberg 1584).[46] Nel lungo titolo si legge che i due gruppi linguistici costituiti da una parte dalle lingue moscovita, rutena, polacca, boema e lusica, dall'altra dalle lingue dalmata e croata, si comprendono mutuamente con facilità e costituiscono la base di questa grammatica.

E poteva conoscere anche *Czvit Szvetih* di Franjo Glavinić e leggervi: "Se trovi qualche parola che non è comune, sappi che la nostra lingua è diffusa in molte regioni. ... Perciò io non voglio accontentare una sola regione, ma molte".[47]

Križanić aveva con sé in Siberia il dizionario di Gregorio Cnapius, *Thesaurus polono-latino-graecus*, (Kraków 1643). Questo dizionario mira alla purezza della lingua e si impegna a sostituire le parole straniere con quelle proprie o creandone delle nuove. Alcune ne accoglierà Križanić. Tutto sommato, l'atmosfera del libro e il clima del tempo favorivano e stimolavano la tendenza di Križanić verso una lingua comune slava.

DISCEPOLO DEI SS. CIRILLO E METODIO

Križanić conosceva evidentemente l'opera dei Santi Cirillo e Metodio. Nella sua lettera spedita dalla regione di Smolensk nel 1647 a Levaković, che stava in Roma, Križanić scrive: "Item legi extare in Ecclesia Sancti Clementis alicubi circa amphitheatrum posita, epitaphium Constantini Cyrilli philosophi; quod si ibi extat, rogo Vestram Paternitatem ut illud mihi descriptum mittat. Habeo enim ipsius vitam antiquissime Glagolitice scriptam".[48] Si confermerebbe in tal modo l'ipotesi che la cosiddetta legenda pannonica avesse allora una forma diversa da quella che conosciamo oggi.

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[45] Z. Vince, *Putovima hrvatskoga književnoga*, v. s. nota 40, pp. 26, 74-75.

[46] M. Murko, *Die Bedeutung der Reformation und Gegenreformation für das geistige Leben der Südslaven*, Prag und Heidelberg 1927, p. 8.

[47] *Czvit Szvetih. Toyest Sivot Szvetih. Od kih Rimska Czirkua cini Spominak.* Prenessen i sslosen na Haruatski jezyk Catholicanskim obicaiem pò O. F. Franciscv Glavinichv, Istrianinv, Reda S. Francisca, Malebratye, V Mnetcii, Na MDCLVII, p. 3.

[48] S. A. Belokurov, "Jurij Križanič v Rossii", *Čtenija v imperatorskom obščestve istorii i drevnostej rosijskih pri moskovskom universitete*, Moskva 1903, 3, 1-305, qui p. 214.

Križanić chiama Cirillo "nostro maestro".[49] Considera perciò se stesso un allievo di lui. E lo era di fatto, anche nel campo linguistico. Križanić si impegna a correggere nelle deviazioni manifestatesi nel corso dei secoli, quella lingua le cui basi erano state poste da Cirillo e Metodio e la cui diffusione i loro discepoli avevano attuato.

Križanić è discepolo di Cirillo e Metodio anche per un altro aspetto: scrive in una lingua comune slava. Ma non solo in questo Križanić è discepolo dei fratelli di Tessalonica. Gli Slavi, secondo Cirillo e Metodio "non devono essere causa di contesa e di rivalità fra Oriente bizantino e Occidente latino-tedesco, ma devono essere vincolo e mediazione paritari tra Oriente e Occidente".[50] Lo stesso compito è attribuito da Križanić agli Slavi, cioè di essere mediatori tra Oriente e Occidente cristiani. Diceva infatti: Come gli Slavi (i Bulgari) furono occasione di controversia fra Chiesa Orientale e chiesa Occidentale, Greca e Latina, cosí gli Slavi dopo essersi uniti con Roma devono mediare affinché i Greci, dai quali hanno ricevuto il battesimo e i Latini, l'Oriente e l'Occidente, si uniscano. Cirillo e Metodio sono stati "ortodossi nel senso orientale e occidentale e come tali mediatori dei due tipi di Cristianesimo".[51] Križanić, precorrendo i tempi del Concilio Vaticano II°, chiama gli Ortodossi di Kiev e di Moscovia, Chiesa di Mosca e Chiesa di Kiev. E quando, nel seno della Chiesa Ortodossa russa, scoppia lo scisma dei Vecchi-Credenti, allora Križanić, caso inaudito nella storia, si fa difensore, lui, cattolico, della Chiesa Ortodossa russa ufficiale. In tal modo pensa e si comporta l'uomo che si vanta di possedere la vita (*Žitije*) di Cirillo scritta in caratteri glagolitici e che chiama Cirillo suo maestro. Koiné nella lingua e koinonia nella vita — questo è Juraj Križanić.

Epilogo

Allo zar Fedor, che lo ha richiamato dall'esilio siberiano, Križanić, scrive nella sua koiné slava, queste commoventi parole:

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[49] Juraj Križanić, *Objasn'enje vivodno*, p. 62, v. s. nota 7. Franciscus Venceslaus Mareš, "Quidnam S. Methodii opus primae linguae slavicae litterariae excolendae contulerit", *Christianity among the Slavs. The Heritage of Saints Cyril and Methodius*, Acts of the International Congress held on the Eleventh Centenary of the Death of St. Methodius, Rome, October 8-11, 1985, under the Direction of the Pontifical Oriental Institute edited by E. G. Farrugia, R. F. Taft, G. K. Piovesana, (= OCA 231), Roma 1988, pp. 119-129; F. Grivec, *Konstantin und Method Lehrer der Slaven*, Wiesbaden 1960.

[50] F. Grivec, *Santi Cirillo e Metodio*, Roma 1984, pp. 6-7.

[51] Ibidem.

Ja bo ot detinstva svoego, ostavivši pečali o vsakom inom žitja ustroenju, udalsja esm vsim sercem na edino mudrostno iskanje: i na našego skaženogo, a pravle zgublenogo jazika izpravljanje, svitlanje i soveršanje: i na svoego i vsenarodnogo uma okrašanje. I na tom esm bednỳ i nesrečnỳ človek ves svoj strastnỳ život iztrošil.[52]

Dalla mia infanzia, lasciata la preoccupazione di qualunque altro ideale di vita, mi sono consacrato con tutto il cuore alla ricerca della saggezza, a correggere, illuminare e perfezionare la nostra lingua corrotta, o piuttosto perduta, nonché a coltivare la mia e la mente di tutto il mio popolo. In questo, io misero e sfortunato, ho consumato tutta una vita appassionata e travagliata.

HR - 41000 Zagreb Ivan Golub
Kaptol 29
Hrvatka/Croatia

[52] S. A. Belokurov, "Jurij Križanić v Rossii", p. 261; ID., *Iz duhovnoj žizni moskovskogo obščestva XVII v.*, Moskva 1902, p. 261.

Scott M. Lewis, S.J.

Unity and Continuity: J. B. Bury's Philosophy of History in the Development of Byzantine Studies

> *...a tedious and uniform tale of weakness and misery. On the throne, in the camp, in the schools, we search, perhaps with fruitless diligence, the names and characters that deserve to be rescued from oblivion.* — Gibbon[1]

> *There is no period of history which has been so much obscured by incorrect and misleading titles as the period of the later Roman Empire. It is...more due to improper names that one might at first be disposed to admit, that the import of that period is so constantly misunderstood and its character so often misrepresented.* — J. B. Bury[2]

The intellectual distance between the two above quotations is considerable. The man perhaps most instrumental in this change of outlook, the English historian John Bagnell Bury (1861-1927), is buried in a corner of Rome's Protestant Cemetery, along a portion of the third-century Aurelian walls. His tombstone is simple, displaying only his name and dates, and it indicates nothing of his many achievements: This successor to Lord Acton in the Regius Chair of History at Cambridge wrote over 350 books, articles and reviews, and was known not only as an historian, but as an essayist and classicist as well. In addition, he was the editor of the *Cambridge Medieval History*, which was a splendid example of the modern historiographical approach to the study of ancient and medieval history developed by Bury. The year 1923 saw the publication of this work, along with one which is considered Bury's best and most enduring: *A History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius to the Death of Justinian (A.D. 395 to A.D. 565)*.[3] These were the last and greatest of Bury's

[1] Steven Runciman, "Gibbon and Byzantium," Daedulus (Summer 1976) 103.

[2] J. B. Bury, A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene (A.D. 395 to A.D. 800, (London: Macmillan, 1889) v.

[3] Norman H. Baynes, *A Bibliography of the Works of J. B. Bury* (London: Cambridge, 1929) 125-170. From 1881 through 1888, the Hellenist phase of his career, his works were almost entirely classical, encompassing translation, technical research, and commentaries on Greek works. Although his classical and poetical works would continue throughout his life, these first few years were most productive in this regard. In

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major works, and in this seventieth anniversary year of their publication, an examination of his philosophy of history and its considerable influence on the development of Byzantine historical studies will perhaps encourage reflection on possible new approaches to the study of this period.

Bury was certainly influenced by the intellectual currents of his time, and most of his acknowledged debt was to the German school of historical studies. He was, however, independent enough to rise above the self-serving and narrow nationalistic and ideological strains in contemporary historiography and to forge ahead into new and uncharted territory, becoming one of the fathers of modern Byzantine studies. Bury was enough of a maverick to have had his ideas attacked frequently, sometimes for good cause, but often due to misunderstandings and misinterpretations of his views.[4]

Bury's first and last major works were those in Byzantine history. Although his historiographical theories are alluded to in many of his works, they are formally defined in his essays dealing specifically with the nature of history. A reconstruction of these theories on the nature of history will enable us to establish more effectively his application of theory in his works on Byzantine history.

1889, his first major work and one of his most well-known was published, this being *A History of the Late Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene (A.D. 395 to A.D. 800.* In this same year, he published *The Roman Emperors from Basil II to Isaac Komnenos*, which was a study on the works of Psellos. The following period was concerned mostly with literary work, with occasional articles on Byzantine history. In 1893, he wrote a history of the Roman Empire for students as well as a history of Sicily. In 1896 he began his editing and updating of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, the volumes of which were to appear for several years. In 1903 his famous Inaugural Address, titled "The Science of History," was delivered at Cambridge; in 1904, "The Place of Modern History in the Perspective of Knowledge;" in 1908, a series of lectures on the 19th century papacy which were published posthumously in 1930. His treatise "Darwinism and History" was published in 1909 and *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I (A.D. 802-867)* in 1912. The year 1914 marked a change in his writings. The more philosophical stage of his work began with *A History of the Freedom of Thought*, which was one of his least objective works. His views on contingency were established by "Cleopatra's Nose" in 1916, and this represented a shift in emphasis in his views. This was followed by *The Idea of Progress* in 1920. His greatest work, and the one which is still in print and used with profit, is *A History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius to the Death of Justinian (A.D. 395 to A.D. 565).* This was a revised edition of his earlier two historical surveys, and was published in 1923, the same year as the *Cambridge Medieval History*.

[4] Doris Goldstein, "J. B. Bury's Philosophy of History: A Reappraisal," *The American Historical Review* 82 (Oct 77) 898-919.

Bury's first major statement concerning the nature of historical research was made in his 1903 Inaugural Address, *The Science of History*. The theme of the address was the revolution taking place within history which was taking history from being a branch of rhetoric or literature to being a full-fledged science. This revolution was far from complete. In this address, he proclaimed the principle which was to become so associated with his name; namely,

> It has not yet become superfluous to insist that history is a science, no less and no more; and some who admit it theoretically hesitate to enforce the consequences which it involves.[5]

This is the first step in Bury's historical revolution, the establishment of history as an independent science. Some have tried to read too much into both this statement and the address in general, not fully appreciating its background and purpose, which is something Bury hastens to explain. He begins this by paying tribute to great historians of the past, such as Muratori and Tillemont, although he views them as masters of erudition alone, lacking strict scientific method and being hindered by the age in which they lived.[6]

The establishment of this scientific method is the fundamental step in this development of history as a science, a step he credits mostly to Germany in the 19th century. Wolf's *Prolegomena to Homer*, a philological and historical critique of that epic, is a prime example of this scientific historical methodology in action, especially in the linguistic analysis of sources. But there is more: our very conceptions of truth and falsehood have changed radically. In the past, storytelling, mythology, embellishment and the like were not only condoned but were held up as a standard of truth. A new conception of the truth was needed in order to establish the critical method. All truths

> ...require the most exact methods; and closely connected with the introduction of a new method was the elevation of the standard of truth. The idea of a scrupulously exact conformity to facts was fixed, refined, and canonised; and the critical method was one of the means to secure it.[7]

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[5] J. B. Bury, "The Science of History," in *Selected Essays of J. B. Bury*, Harold Temperley ed. (London: Cambridge, 1930) 6.

[6] Ibid., 5.

[7] Ibid., 6.

He saw, however, that this new method had fallen short of its goals and had been misused, especially by nationalist impulses which often became the motivating force for research. The result of these nationalistically inspired studies was the overabundance of crude, uncritical, and politically slanted works.[8] One good result of this, however, was that the use and practical importance of history was recognized far more widely than in the past. For instance, people began to seek the key to their national development in the past instead of the present, thereby growing in an awareness of the unity and continuity of history.[9]

Bury's history is a break with what he calls an eclectic political-ethical theory, which chooses some material for moral or ethical examples and ignores all else. He points out that the unity and continuity of history still has its eminent attackers, but that its prevalence is due to forward looking scholars.[10]

The principles of continuity and development require that people have a true knowledge of the past, in order to be able to influence the present and the future correctly.[11] Attitudes to the past and historical memories shape the political and social opinions of peoples. Recognizing and applying this knowledge is a "new stage in the growth of the human mind."[12] The purpose of Bury's new methodology of history is to break loose from the social, intellectual, and religio-philosophical baggage and bondage of the past.

It follows, of course, that the study of history should play a prominent role in the national education, and should be government supported. Universities should be engaged primarily in research and the compilation of mountains of data. The universities must resist the objections of the unenlightened taxpayers and short-sighted benefactors, for both groups demand immediate, short-range results. Historical research is not, however, a luxury, but an urgent need and a matter of both national and worldwide concern.[13] Bury then introduces in incipient form his theme of development:

> A right notion of the bearing of history in affairs, both for the statesman and for the citizen could not be formulated until men had grasped the idea of

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[8] Ibid., 7.

[9] Ibid., 8.

[10] Ibid., 12.

[11] Ibid., 12.

[12] Ibid., 12.

[13] Ibid., 13.

human development. This is the great transforming conception, which enables history to define her scope.[14]

It is only when political and ethical encumbrances are dropped that history and the human mind come into their own and begin to move. Despite Bury's protests about preconceived patterns being forced upon history, almost every work of his is permeated with this idea of the growth of self-consciousness and freedom of thought being a major force in history. Human self-consciousness has taken another step, and men have "grasped the notion of their upward development through immense cycles of time."[15] He sees the 19th century as important as the 5th century B.C. in Greece as far as the growth of man's self-consciousness. A great difficulty is that many people do not realize the tremendous transformation of history that is transpiring due to the concept of development.[16] This concept of the development of man and civilization through eons of time on earth inspired Bury to resist the temptation to divide history into segments, such as "ancient" or "medieval," especially when these segments were viewed as mere preparatory stages for the present modern age. Indeed,

All recorded history is only a beginning; all the epochs of the past are only a few of the front carriages, and probably the least wonderful, in the van of interminable procession.[17]

He therefore insisted that we view all our periods of history *sub specie perennitatis*, so as to represent the present age in perspective. This is a must, viewing history — past, present and future — as a whole. History ceases to be scientific when it becomes subjective rather than objective, or deals exclusively with a fragment in isolation from the whole.[18]

The basis for this new history is fidelity to the facts. Bury feels that Otto von Ranke's principle of *Ich will nur sagen wie es eigentlich gewesen ist* is widely applauded but seldom observed. Fidelity to the facts, preached and applied, would produce conditions increasingly hostile to the proliferation of divers schools of history.[19] He stresses that history is not a literary art; to

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[14] Ibid., 9.
[15] Ibid., 11.
[16] Ibid., 10.
[17] Ibid., 15.
[18] Ibid., 16.
[19] Ibid., 10.

attempt to present it as such is analogous to presenting astronomy in an artistic fashion. He points out that Mommsen's

> ...status as a man of letters depends on his Roman History; but his greatness as a historian is to be sought far less in that dazzling work than in the *Corpus* and the *Staatsrecht* and the *Chronicles*.[20]

This statement and others like it make it fairly clear that despite what Bury may have said in various essays, his mindset at that time was definitely positivist in character. Facts are cold, objective things that can be clearly and irrefutably ascertained, and it is possible and desirable to seek absolute truth in historical research.

It was this Inaugural Address that sparked the controversy that was to go on for years; mainly, the statement that history 'is a science, no less and no more." His adversaries, whom he seldom answered directly, were many. As D. Goldstein states, most of the criticisms could be summed up as the belief

> ...that Bury had succumbed to the Germanic tendency to reduce history to the bloodless facts and abstractions of the library and the laboratory. This "Professor Dry-as-Dust" stereotype has remained; and among those of a more philosophic turn of mind Bury's insistence that history is a science has been taken to mean that he shared the assumptions of nineteenth-century positivism or scientism.[21]

Goldstein seeks to rehabilitate Bury, as it were, and she is correct in stating that Bury's Inaugural Address cannot be fully understood or appreciated unless in the larger context of Bury's numerous works. However, although many of his later historical ideas are present in seminal form in the address, his views do undergo modifications and changes of emphasis as time progresses. Goldstein, in correcting the overstated tendencies of Bury to positivism and scientism, tends to negate or underplay these aspects whenever they are present in his works.

The criticism of positivism can be partially substantiated. Most positivist is his obsession with the discovery of facts, and his view that this is almost the sole concern of the university. His emphasis on works such as Mommsen's various compilations is also indicative of a positivist attitude. Although he admitted the principles of progression and evolution in both the

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[20] Ibid., 9.

[21] Goldstein, "J. B. Bury's Philosophy of History," 897. This represents the criticisms of G.M. Trevelyan and others of similar views.

conception of truth and of culture itself, he did not often apply them to the present.

He was rather radical and non-positivist in his proposed uses of history. Whereas the positivist would concentrate on the amassing of data and the writing of factual narratives and interpretations, Bury would go further. Although most of his actual historical works are of this sort, he was for using the results of factual research as a tool or weapon for the reeducation and remolding of society. He wrote several school textbooks on the history of both Greece and Rome, and his work the *History of the Freedom of Thought* was published in a home library edition for the education of the public. The new historical method and the "facts" it recovers are a tool for tearing at man's conception of himself, his society and his past. This historical study is liberating, for he stated that

> If one were asked to define in a word the end of higher education, I do not know whether one could find a much better definition than this: the training of the mind to look at experience objectively, without immediate relation to one's own time and place.[22]

This is an admirable goal, and it can be achieved in varying degrees. However, Bury was to prove by example that this is not completely possible. Bury's insistence on this was probably a reaction to the Anglocentric and nationalistic nature of turn-of-the-century British intellectual and historiographical attitudes.

Bury's *The Place of Modern History in the Perspective of Knowledge*, (1904), helps us to clarify some of the ideas put forth in the *Science of History*. In wrestling with the problem of why one should study history, Bury again takes a dim view of assigning history as an auxiliary or division of any other field. However, he does not completely deny a derivation of some sort of purpose, meaning or philosophy of history, for he realizes that to completely divorce speculation from history is

> ...a view which should be dismissed, for it reduces history to a collection of annals. Facts must be collected, and connected, before they can be interpreted; but I cannot imagine the slightest theoretical importance in a collection of facts or sequences of facts, unless they mean something in terms of reason, unless we can hope to determine their vital connection in the

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[22] Bury, "Science of History," 16.

whole system of reality. This is the fundamental truth underlying Macaulay's rather drastic remark that "facts are the (mere) dross of history."[23]

It can be seen, then, that this is somewhat of a retreat from a strict positivist stand on factual history. It is a more realistic view: before one can interpret history or derive meaning from it, one has to have a foundation of facts. Bury's chief objection to the philosophy of history was that most schemes were conceived and superimposed on history *a priori*. Their authors are philosophers rather than historians, and their induction is shallow and their practical knowledge almost non-existent.[24] History must be approached without any assumptions. He did feel that philosophy can assure us that only history will disclose an inner spiritual (here Bury means spiritual in the German sense of intellectual or humane) reality. But it is the historian who discovers this reality, not the philosopher.[25]

In order to discern this spiritual reality, Bury emphasizes the importance of starting with modern history and working backwards, for a number of reasons. First of all, we have progressed too far from ancient or medieval times to understand how the people of these times thought or felt. Also, those who attempt to extrapolate philosophies of history attempt to do so by going back to the beginning, usually with preconceived notions, and tracing out a growth or development of some theory. This, however, he sees as the reverse of what it should be. One cannot understand things that are still in the embryonic or developing stages. The person wishing to study history is living in the present, therefore he understands and is part of the present intellectual, moral, social and political ethos. By starting with the developed present, the undeveloped past may be understood. He recognizes the danger of this by admitting the difficulty of being objective when one is part of the events in question; indeed, being in a certain ethos may be a hindrance to understanding. He feels, however, that the past may be understood in light of the present and vice versa, and the benefits from this method outweigh the disadvantages.[26]

As a side note, his reservations were proven by his one attempt at modern history, consisting of a series of lectures on the papacy published

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[23] J. B. Bury, "The Place of Modern History in the Perspective of Knowledge," in *Selected Essays of J. B. Bury* Harold Temperley ed. (London: Cambridge, 1930) 47.

[24] Ibid., 48.

[25] Ibid., 48.

[26] Ibid., 52-3.

after his death under the title *History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century 1864-1878*. The book is a series of investigations into the background of the *Syllabus of Errors*, the First Vatican Council, and the definition of papal infallibility. Bury is a good researcher, and uncovers many details that were unavailable in other sources. It degenerates, however, into an intemperate polemic against the Catholic Church and the papacy. Bury gives a commentary on each of the condemned propositions in which the statements are stretched to absurd lengths. Hidden meaning is found where there is little direct evidence. Nearly everything that is questionable or unedifying is attributed to evil intent and conspiracy. The book is a disappointment in that Bury could be relatively objective and nuanced when dealing with the Roman Empire, and this effort to understand all aspects of the life and times of the participants is completely lacking in his modern work.

Again, in 1913, Bury wrote a very biased work titled *A History of Freedom of Thought*. This work was written for the general public; it is unfortunate that it was one of his worst works. His thesis is that the one clearly discernible movement in history is freedom of thought and discussion. In the ancient world, thought was free and the mind unfettered, and then an

> ...unforeseen force, in the shape of Christianity, came in and laid chains on the human mind and suppressed freedom and imposed upon man a weary struggle to recover the freedom which he had lost.[27]

The Middle Ages were nothing but the grossest superstition and oppression. The Reformation showed a glimmer of hope, but the reformers were just as ignorant and intolerant. The one good thing to come from the Reformation was the weakening of Christian power. For Bury, the Apostolic Age is the period from the Enlightenment through the nineteenth century; the enlightened writers and philosophers were his saints and Church persecution the martyr's crown. At the conclusion of his book he states that

> If the history of civilization has any lesson to teach it is this: there is one supreme condition of mental and moral progress which it is completely within the power of man himself to secure, and that is perfect liberty of thought and discussion.[28]

[27] J. B. Bury, *A History of Freedom of Thought* (New York: Holt, 1913) 248-9.

[28] Ibid., 240.

Few would contend with the desirability of freedom of thought and discussion, but his caricatured and vitriolic treatment of the subject is disappointing. He wonders aloud if we can lose this achievement and slip back; ironically, it was written at the very start of WWI and before the communist revolutions. This work belies some of Bury's canons, while supporting others. He is not objective; he appears to have *a priori* assumptions, and he does rather view his own age as the capstone of achievement. However, he is tracing out the development in the past of the present, and he does leave room for future progression or regression.

In his 1909 treatise *Darwinism and History*, Bury outlines the actual historical process in the context of discussing the impact of Darwinism on the concept of history. Ancient historians (and their culture in general) did not have a concept of historical movement. Their history was either cyclical or a mere chronicling of events. This was not alleviated in the Middle Ages, for men were "bound" by religion, and were constantly in expectation of an abrupt end to history. The Renaissance did not change much of this, for historians reverted to the classical model of history. It was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that the concept of historical development came into general awareness, under the influence of several writers before Darwin. He even criticized Enlightenment thinkers for their "apotheosis" of reason and *a priori* schema.[29] This does not mean accepting Darwinian theories *in toto*, or having a "teleological hypothesis such as is implied in 'progress'"[30] Here is the essence of the treatise:

> For history, it (Darwinism) meant that the present condition of the human race is simply and strictly the result of a causal series (or set of causal series) — a continuous succession of changes, where each state arises causally out of the proceeding; and that the business of historians is to trace this genetic process, to explain each change, and ultimately to grasp the complete development of the life of humanity.[31]

At that point he is merely describing the state of historiography in the early nineteenth century, and he gives several examples of writers who used this "genetic" view in their work and who helped to further it. However, he makes it fairly clear throughout the essay that he approves of this view. He

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[29] J. B. Bury, "Darwinism and History," *Selected Essays of J. B. Bury* ed. Harold Temperley (London: Cambridge, 1930) 23-25.

[30] Ibid., 25.

[31] Ibid., 25-6.

insists that this does not mean "progress" as we know it, for this is a value judgment and has a different meaning than evolution. This genetic or evolutionary view helped to elevate history to the status of a science. The study of history cannot be scientific investigation as such as long as people try to derive some pragmatic use from it (such as "learning lessons"). It also cannot become a science until "it is conceived as lying entirely within a sphere which the law of cause and effect has unreserved and unrestricted dominion."[32] The Darwinian view, once it had been diffused throughout historical thought, emphasized the idea of continuity and also helped to establish history as a science dealing with development.[33] He also saw it as helping to discredit the "assumption or at least the invocation of transcendent causes."[34] Evolutional theory is philosophically compatible with theism, but he detests what he calls a "naive conception of a 'god in history'." A historian may be a theist, but this belief is "otiose" when it comes to the historian's work.[35]

Bury, although he approved of the use of general principles in the interpretation of history, rejected the notion of laws which apply to human societies or history, but he did accept the strict cause and effect principle. However, in this treatise, while still in his alleged positivist stage, he presents his theory of contingency in a semi-developed form. He gives several examples of important, unique individuals in history. After denying tendencies the status of laws, he says that

> The collision of two unconnected sequences may be fraught with great results. The sudden death of a leader or a marriage without issue,...has again and again led to permanent political consequences. More emphasis is laid on the decisive actions of individuals, which cannot be reduced under generalisations and which deflect the course of events.[36]

This is a classic description of his theory of contingency, outlined in *Cleopatra's Nose* in 1916. He states further that the part played by coincidence and individuals, even though they are operative within social conditions, renders it impossible to accurately chart the course of past history or predict the future. He concludes that Darwinian theory, especially

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[32] Ibid., 26-7.

[33] Ibid., 32.

[34] Ibid., 33.

[35] Bury, "Darwinism and History," 33.

[36] Ibid., 36-7.

those elements which describe interaction between individuals and their environment, can be a useful tool in investigating a certain period of civilization.[37] He would not totally adopt Darwinian theory as a law of history, for that would be too much like a forced philosophy of history.

His later theory of contingency was a change in emphasis; those who knew him report that he became more convinced of the greater importance of chance events. He has been called a confused and muddled positivist, among other things, and in some respects this is justified. Although there was probably no contradiction in his mind, somewhat contradictory elements do exist simultaneously in his writings, and no amount of juggling will arrange them in complete harmony. In fact, this amused him a bit, for he once said that "Consistency...is not a reasonable rule of life. If it be a virtue, it is one which, like so many others, is more honoured in the breach than the observance."[38] Bury was not a philosopher, and he was not worried about having a tight, perfect philosophical schema, as men like Collingwood would have.

Cleopatra's Nose is probably the work attacked most often after *The Science of History*. He is seen in this work to have fallen from the extreme of determinism and positivism to that of holding that history is governed by blind chance. Goldstein is probably most correct in defending him on this point.[39] As we have seen, the elements of the contingency theory were spelled out in *Darwinism and History* in 1909. In his theory of contingency, Bury is merely taking a less simplistic view of causation and realizes that many times certain events cannot be explained by purely antecedent causes. He begins by contrasting the two views of history: 1) those who view the movement of history as adhering to a logical plan (Providence or Hegel's spirit) and, 2) those who see history as merely blind chance. He maintains the principle of causation, for he points out that causation is compatible with either of the two views. In the first case, it is merely the working out of a logical plan, and it is compatible with the second, provided a proper meaning to "chance" is given. He goes to great length to maintain that his "chance" does not mean the intrusion of lawless elements, for he sees this as causing chaos and giving grounds for science to commit suicide. He defines chance as "...the valuable collision of two or more independent chains of

[37] Ibid., 42.

[38] Baynes, *Bibliography* 102.

[39] Goldstein, "J. B. Bury's Philosophy of History," 901.

causes — "valuable" meaning that it is attended with more or less important consequences."[40]

He gives several historical examples: if Napoleon were killed by being struck by a meteor, this surely would be chance. A certain chain of causes would have caused him to be standing in a particular spot at a particular time. A certain chain of causes would likewise have caused the meteor to fall there. However, the meteor had no interest in Napoleon's death. It was simply an important coincidence of two independent chains of causes. There can also be mixed contingency, such as if Napoleon had been killed by an assassin interested in his death. Or, for instance, the Peloponnesian War in the 5th century B.C., during which a plague broke out that devastated the population, caused the death of Pericles, and affected the outcome of the war. The war had its own sequence of causes, the microbes another. But the microbes had no interest in the war. This to Bury is contingency, or chance. He raises several interesting "what if" questions, such as: if Plato had died in infancy, would there still be Platonic Ideas?[41]

Bury points out that the theory of contingency is compatible with both of the views of history: for the Providential scheme, contingencies are arranged by something outside history; for the later scheme, there is no sense and blind chance rules.[42] He sees that the creation of man and the origin of primitive societies is due to contingencies and not by any means inevitable. As society and man became more complex, contingency played less of a role, and the experience and knowledge of man facilitated a logical sequence in history. These logical consequences may be "upset, accelerated, or retarded by contingencies."[43] As the experience and knowledge of man increases, contingency will play an even smaller role in the evolution of history. Individuals will play less of a role in the destinies of societies, and the inexorable march of science and growth of human knowledge will combine to further suppress contingent events.[44] He sees contingency, then, as the unknown, but unknown perhaps for the present and able to be

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[40] J. B. Bury, "Cleopatra's Nose," *Selected Essays of J. B. Bury* ed. Harold Temperley (London: Cambridge, 1930) 61.

[41] Ibid., 62-4.

[42] Ibid., 66.

[43] Ibid., 68.

[44] Ibid., 69.

controlled or reduced in the future. History is neither a clockwork nor a game of chance, but a tension of the two.

The Idea of Progress (1920) is an elaboration of a theme first presented in his Inaugural Address. First, the very notion of "progress" is discussed. Granted, history moves, as does the development of society and knowledge. However, progress is not necessarily good. We have no guarantee that we are moving in the proper direction, nor is there any guarantee that the expansion of human knowledge will continue. Progress is like Providence; it can't be proved and its acceptance is an act of faith. The very notion of progress is itself a driving force and one which we did not always have. Greece and Rome were tied to a cyclical view of history and human life. The ancients idealized the timeless and changeless; the universe was seen to be in a state of decay from this pristine state.[45] The Christian view in the Middle Ages broke somewhat with this by rejecting a cyclical view. Salvation history was moving towards a goal in the future. However, this view was otherworldly and religion was its only end.[46]

The Renaissance reverted to the classical model, but self-confidence in human reason was regained and concern for life on this planet was once again a goal.[47] Then came the Age of Reason, the Enlightenment, and the Modern Period, and he discusses the various thinkers and writers who have incorporated the idea of progress into their thought. The concepts introduced in this work and the *Freedom of Thought* appear throughout his works on the Roman Empire, Byzantium and Greece, especially in the sections dealing with education and intellectual life.

Only months before his death, Bury sent a letter to the *Morning Post* on the writing of history. At first glance, it seems shocking, in view of the principles that he had put forth in his earlier works. However, it was an admission of his actual practice in many cases, and according to some it cannot be viewed as a mere aberration, since he had flirted with this idea in the past:[48]

> It seems to be always assumed as self-evident and universally admitted that impartiality and freedom from bias are indispensable qualifications in every

[45] J. B. Bury *The Idea of Progress*, intro. Charles A. Beard, (New York: Macmillan, 1932), 22.

[46] Ibid., 22-24.

[47] Ibid., 3.

[48] Goldstein, "J. B. Bury's Philosophy of History," 919.

> Historian's ideal of how history should be written. Here I totally disagree, I do not think that freedom from bias is possible, and I do not think it is desirable. Whoever writes completely free from bias will produce a colourless and dull work... Is there any event or transaction worth investigating or writing about on which the writer can fail to have a definite bias if the subject really engages his interest? And it will be admitted that otherwise he cannot hope to produce anything that will engage the interest of the world. No History can be instructive if the personality of the writer is entirely suppressed; it will be dead and colourless and inhuman, however faultless it may be in detail, however carefully the rules of historical method may be applied.[49]

Except for the works on the papacy and the freedom of thought, Bury enjoyed the reputation of being a fair and objective scholar; in fact, he was looked upon by many as the model of objective scholarship. In a sense, his best works on the Roman Empire are somewhat "dull and colourless", while his polemical works make for "exciting" reading. However, the former are of lasting and solid value, while the latter are monuments to turn-of-the-century rationalism and deification of science.

Before moving on to his Byzantine works, it may be helpful to recapitulate some of Bury's principles for the study of history. History is

1) A science; independent, objective, and for the service of no *a priori* purpose;

2) a flow of events adhering to a chain of causes, although the chance coincidence of two independent chains of causes may cause events which were not the logical necessity of the chains;

3) a unity and continuity that includes past, present and future;

4) not to be approached with preconceived philosophical schema or with immediate reference to one's own time and place.

A glance at prevailing attitudes towards Byzantium prior to Bury helps us to appreciate his contributions to the study of Byzantine history. To begin with, relations between the East and the West had rarely been good. Westerners made little effort to understand the east and vice versa. Therefore, an already abysmal ignorance of the Eastern Empire was further obscured by the Turkish conquest and the subsequent fear of the Turks.

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[49] J. B. Bury, "A Letter on the Writing of History," *Selected Essays of J. B. Bury*, ed. Harold Temperley, (London: Cambridge, 1930) 70-71. In his introduction to Gibbon's works, Bury admitted that Gibbon had allowed his temperament to color his history in order to prove a congenial thesis, but he seemed to approve of this, holding that as long as the facts were sound, then an interesting and artful presentation was desirable.

Additionally, the attitudes of many scholars were not helpful. Voltaire described Byzantine history as "a worthless repertory of declamation and miracles, disgraceful to the human mind.[50] Montesquieu was a bit more objective: he admitted that Byzantium was the continuation of the Roman Empire and should be treated as such. However, he despised the Eastern Empire as an entity, describing it as corrupt and defective in social character, religious life and warfare. Despite his dislike of the medieval period, his work has been described as thought-provoking and perhaps helpful with the more objective attitude of later generations of scholars.[51]

Gibbon did not do much better. Although he established clearly the continuity of the Empire, he was hampered by his Enlightenment prejudices and the lack of original sources in languages which he could read (he did not read Greek). These factors combined to create an historical method that Bury described as "in harmony with the author's contemptuous attitude toward the 'Byzantine' or 'Lower' Empire."[52] The Byzantine Empire is dealt with in one chapter, and he is almost blinded by his phobic dislike for monks, the church, Byzantine government and customs, and so on. He felt that to deal with Byzantium in detail would not "provide the 'patient' reader with an adequate reward of instruction or amusement."[53] Byzantine history was for Gibbon

> ...a tedious and uniform tale of weakness and misery. On the throne, in the camp, in the schools, we search, perhaps with fruitless diligence, the names and characters that deserve to be rescued from oblivion.[54]

Bury, however, is not afraid to criticize the attitudes of his predecessors. He begins the preface to his 1889 work *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene (395 A.D. to 800 A.D.)* by stating that

> There is no period of history which has been so much obscured by incorrect and misleading titles as the period of the later Roman Empire. It is...more due to improper names that one might at first be disposed to admit, that the

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[50] A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire 324-1453*, (2nd ed; Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1973) 6.

[51] Ibid., 8.

[52] Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, J. B. Bury, ed., 7 vols., (Methuen: London, 1896) vol. I page liii. In taking Gibbon to task for his presentation of the Eastern Empire, Bury states that Gibbon's presentation is superficial and gives a false impression of the facts.

[53] Ibid., 10.

[54] Steven Runciman, "Gibbon and Byzantium," *Daedulus* (Summer 1976) 103.

import of that period is so constantly misunderstood and its character so often misrepresented.[55]

He goes on to show that titles such as "Byzantine" or "Greek" are in the first place misleading and in the second place usually misused and misunderstood by those who use them. He much preferred to approach Byzantine history by means of a unified and continuous methodology. Although the Empire underwent changes with the passage of time, no distinct Byzantine Empire began to exist. The link between the unity and continuity view and his work in Byzantine history was annunciated in his Inaugural Address.

> In no field...have the recognition of continuity and the repudiation of eclecticism been more notable or more fruitful than in a field in which I happen to be specially interested, the history of the Eastern Roman Empire, the foster-mother of Russia.[56]

He goes on to state that he does not want to adopt one of the misused titles for his book and perpetuate a stereotype of Byzantium as something separate and unrelated when it was really a continuous part of a larger political, economic and social entity. In further clarification, he holds the empire to have been a unified entity up until Charlemagne's coronation in 800 A.D., and then there to have been both an Eastern and a Western Empire. Therefore, he does not speak of the fall of the Empire at the hands of the barbarians, but of their dismemberment of the western portion of the Empire, and its survival in the East. He then rejects completely the use of the term Byzantine, viewing it as dangerous and misleading.[57]

The causes of the disintegration of the Empire in the western portion are neatly discernible and can be attributed to the confluence of four causes. These causes are: 1) slavery, which caused agricultural havoc and destroyed the middle class; 2) oppression, both political and economic, which also helped to destroy the middle class and create disaffection of the entire populace; 3) the importation of barbarians from Central Europe to counteract the depopulation caused by the previous two conditions, which he sees as breaking down the demarcation between Rome and the external nations, and bringing people of questionable loyalty within Roman borders;

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[55] J. B. Bury, A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene (A.D. 395 to A.D. 800, (London: Macmillan, 1889) v.

[56] Bury, "Science of History," 12.

[57] Bury, *History ... Arcadius to Irene*, x.

and 4) Christianity, which created indifference, opposed Roman ideals, and caused underpopulation by encouraging monasticism and discouraging marriage. The factors of the barbarians pressing from without, the heterogeneity of the state within, and its various other weaknesses brought about the collapse of the western portion of the Empire.[58]

The work has sections that very poetically describe the social and cultural situation in the late empire, especially the struggle between paganism and Christianity. Bury even describes some of the better effects that Christianity had on society. The civil and financial administration of the empire is dealt with in some detail, as in all of Bury's works, and then the reigns of the later emperors. The bulk of the work deals with the empire vis-a-vis the barbarian invasions, as he sees the invasions as the chief cause of the dismemberment. It can be said that most of the period is dealt with in all its aspects and treated as a whole; no other work of this nature had ever been written of the period in question. Although he does make several subjective judgments, there is none of the mordant caricature of Gibbon. Bury is interested in facts, and here his science of history seems refreshing. He is more at home with political and social history; the chapter on the art of the period was written by his wife. The sections on the political, civil and social conditions and the administration of the empire were described by the famous Roman historian M. Rostovtzeff as the best short description of the general conditions which prevailed in the late Roman Empire.[59]

In the same year Bury published a work on the chronicle of Psellos under the title *The Roman Emperors from Basil II to Isaac Komnenos (A.D. 976-1057*. The work is a brief biography of each of the emperors of this period. The reign of the emperor in question is examined as well as the character, and a reasoned judgment is made, covering both strengths and weaknesses. The judgments are usually fair, sober, and thoughtful, and he even tries to rehabilitate certain emperors who perhaps suffered a bit from the calumny of a biased chronicler. Through this work, the reader is able to appreciate the times in which these emperors lived, the problems and situations that they faced, and the strengths and weaknesses of these all too fallible people. This style is so taken for granted now that it is hard to realize that this entire period and all its participants were once dismissed with contempt and derision.

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[58] Ibid., 25-36 passim.

[59] Vasiliev, *History*, 23.

In a 1900 article, Bury gave equally concrete reasons for the survival of the Empire in the East. The east was more united, vigorous, populous, and wealthy than the west and was physically more difficult for an invader to occupy. Natural barriers protected the eastern provinces, and the city of Constantinople was placed at a strategically perfect place and was well fortified. The east was governed by a long string of able, competent emperors who were in touch with the people and zealous for reform. Also, Christianity was a cohesive social force due to the fact that there was little pagan-Christian friction and alienation in the east.[60]

A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I (A.D. 802-867) was a 1912 continuation of his first work. Bury was not really comfortable with anything other than political an administrative history; out of 450 pages in this work five comprise the section on art and learning. He is far less tolerant of Christianity in this book, as he became in later life, and his familiar theme of the faith being the shackler of minds and the enemy of intellectual progress is more evident.

This is the time period that encompasses the iconoclastic struggle. Bury must maintain his principles of exploring the total history, and he does. However, he makes no secret of his distaste in having to deal with this subject, he even states that it would be better left to theologians. The only empathy he shows is when he identifies somewhat with the iconoclasts, hinting that they are the proto-rationalists. However, he is too much the historian to ignore it, as it was the principle political and social event of that period. With regard to mere events, he does deal with it fairly objectively, but strictly from a political standpoint. Baynes said that "The discrete student will not go to Bury's books for his Church history."[61] He was correct.

The 1923 introduction to the volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History*, which deals with the Eastern Empire, is a good brief statement of his view of the important aspects of Byzantine history. He feels that the history of the Eastern Empire must be viewed separately, rather than as an adjunct to European history. The Eastern Empire is the successor to Rome and the transmitter of Hellenistic culture. His identification with the culture of ancient Greece may have had an influence on his original interest in

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[60] J. B. Bury, "Causes of the Survival of the Roman Empire in the East," *Selected Essays of J. B. Bury*, ed. Harold Temperley (London: Macmillan, 1930) 232-236.

[61] Baynes, *Bibliography*, 88.

Byzantine history. The Eastern Empire, viewed as a political entity, provided as a main service to Europe a bulwark against invaders from the East. From the standpoint of civilization, it educated the Slavs, sent its goods to Europe, and was the guardian of classical antiquity. Some of the sources of strength for the East were: the high degree of education existing for the lay people of society, both men and women, and the fact that Byzantine culture was an aristocracy of education rather than birth. Additionally, the Byzantines perfected military science, adapting their tactics for fighting different foes, in contrast to western rigidity in this area. The greatest reason, however, is the Byzantine ability to adapt to different situations. He feels that the legendary Byzantine conservatism is a gross exaggeration:

> It is obvious that no State could have lasted so long in a changing world, if it had not had the capacity of adapting itself to new conditions...That conception of the later Empire which has made the word Byzantine almost equivalent to Chinese was based on ignorance, and is now discredited...Now that we are getting to know the facts better and the darkness is gradually lifting, we have come to see that the history of the Empire is far from being a monotonous chronicle of palace revolutions, circus riots, theological disputes, tedious ceremonies in a servile court, and realise that, as in any other political society, conditions were continually changing and in each succeeding age new political and social problems presented themselves for which some solution had to be found.[62]

In the same year, his final great work and probably his masterpiece appeared. The *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian* is a rewrite of his first works of 1889. The work leaves off at 565 this time, and he planned another volume to take it up to where the 1912 work begins, but this plan was cut short by his death. This work corrects many of the deficiencies of the first work. Political, financial and ecclesiastical administration is dealt with in detail. A great deal of attention is paid to topography of both the empire and the city. Large sections are devoted to the councils, Christological controversies, monasticism, suppression of pagans and heretics, and theological disputes. Allowances being made for his prejudice in these areas, they are well written, based firmly on original sources, and relatively objective in judgment.

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[62] J. B. Bury, "Introductory Survey of Byzantine History," *Selected Essays of J. B. Bury*, ed. Harold Temperly (London: Cambridge, 1930) 225.

It is in the introduction, and the resulting emphasis in the text, however, that this work differs greatly from the first. It is in this work that Bury applies his theory of contingency. It is in essence a denial of the causal thesis of the first work. First of all, he discounts depopulation as a cause for the fall of the west. It had peaked by the time of Augustus, and there is no evidence that it was less populous in the 4th and 5th centuries than in the first.[63] Depopulation probably caused a decline and weakening from the height of the empire, but did not cause a fatal weakness. Likewise with barbarian invasions: their numbers were not all that great, and the empire had an effective military machine. He also denies that Christianity was a weakening force. Even with its divisions, Christianity acted as a binding force, and he states that Christians were just as pugnacious and bellicose as pagans. He points out that even the teachings of St. Augustine were compatible with defense of the state. The barbarian dismemberment is still seen as the immediate agent of the fall of the west but not its cause. What was the cause?

> The truth is that the success of the barbarians in penetrating and founding states in the western provinces cannot be explained by any general consideration...The gradual collapse of the Roman power in this section of the Empire was the consequences of *a series of contingent events* (italics his). No general causes can be assigned that made it inevitable.[64]

He goes on to give an instructive example: the first contingency was the invasion of the Huns into Europe. This was due to a string of causes independent from the weaknesses of the Roman Empire. Situations were mismanaged, and a disastrous battle was lost by an incompetent emperor (Valens, 378 A.D.). This was the second contingency. His successor allowed many of the barbarians to settle in Roman territory, which established a bad precedent. He probably would have realized the weakness of this policy if he had lived longer, but he died prematurely. This was the third contingency. There were able men in line for succession, but the throne passed to a feeble-minded boy. This was the fourth contingency. These contingencies had nothing to do with the condition of the empire. These events did not in themselves spell disaster. If the regent and *de facto* head of

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[63] J. B. Bury, *The Later Roman Empire* (London, rev. ed., 1923), vol. I., 13, in *The Fall of Rome: Can It be Explained?* ed. Mortimer Chambers (New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1970).

[64] Bury, *The Later Roman Empire (1923)*, 15.

the government and military had been a man of Roman birth and tradition, the empire might have survived these events.[65]

However, it had been the policy to elevate Germans to high positions in the Empire, and the man to whom the responsibility of the Empire now fell was the German Stilicho. Bury devotes an entire section to this one man and his dubious accomplishments. Stilicho had no intention of being treacherous, but he could not be counted on to effectively manage a situation where the Empire was full of Germans and more German tribes were pressing from without. He made many fatal mistakes, and when he died, the Goths were in control of Italy, and Gaul as well as Spain were being ruled by Germanic tribes. The dismemberment of the West was not entirely due to this; if these contingent events had not occurred, the dismemberment might still have taken place, but over a period of time, at a much later date, and perhaps in a much different manner. The conditions of weakness in the Empire still existed, and they did contribute to its fall. One of the chief weaknesses was the necessity of using barbarians both in the army and in high-ranking positions. Bury's point is that these conditions did not make the loss of the West in the fifth century inevitable. The string of contingent events did. There is a fine tension between the two, the latter providing the spark for the immediate event.[66]

In assessing the works of Bury, his prejudices and biases can be overlooked, as all historians have them. In his strictly historical works, his prejudices do not seriously affect the outcome. He was not suited to investigate all areas of a period, as he was not comfortable with art, religion and the more "irrational" areas of human culture. The sections of his work are not woven together; they are separate, exclusive sections, which can make for boring and choppy reading. He failed to give an impression or sense of the time and place; and it can be said that his works have nineteenth-century positivist stamped all over them. However, he did recognize the importance of these different areas and made the effort to deal with them, which is something that few historians had done.

The two previously mentioned works that were strongly biased are unfortunate. Perhaps it can be said that they were more personal essay than history. Bury was a man of strong opinions, and when he viewed

[65] Ibid., 15.

[66] Bury, *Later Roman Empire (1923)*, 15-16.

contemporary events that affected him and his world, his opinions and emotions predominated.

Bury helped to elevate the standards of historical method. His main concern was not rhetoric or literary effect, but the arrival at what he felt to be the truth based on the nearest approximation to the facts. Although this is impossible to achieve in entirety, it must be said that he performed this task admirably. His Byzantine works are based solidly on original sources, of which he was critical. Bury was one of the first to use Russian and other Slavonic languages in which he was proficient. His work and his opinions are still reflected in much modern work. In many respects, he was not doctrinaire, and was willing not only to change his views, as with the role of contingencies, but to apply these new views in his work. There was always a fairly close adherence to his theoretical opinions in his practical works. The history of the Eastern Empire is viewed as one and continuous with classical antiquity and modern Russia; he refused to segment history into exclusive periods and areas. Bury's view of the unity and continuity of history, and the need for a synoptic study of history, is needed as a counterbalance in an age of increasingly narrow specialization. His enduring contribution is in Eastern Roman history. He was able to take a neglected, distorted and misunderstood area, analyze it, and present it for posterity. Byzantium had never really been understood before Bury, and if the "darkness is lifting," it is for the most part due to his efforts.

Pontificio Istituto Orientale Scott M. Lewis, S.J.

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Ugo Zanetti, S.J.

Note sur «Ibnodi nây nân» dans la *Semaine Sainte* éthiopienne

L'office de la Semaine Sainte éthiopienne, ou *Gebra Ḥemāmāt* (ግብረ፡ ሕማማት፡), contient entre autres une brève litanie qui est répétée à chaque heure. Cette litanie a été décrite pour le Vendredi Saint par O. Raineri[1]: à la fin de l'office, les 41 *Kyrie eleison* prévus habituellement par la liturgie des heures sont exécutés en se prosternant, à chœur alterné, et la formule connaît une variation. On chante en effet par groupe de quatre (ci-après la translittération de ce qui figure dans l'édition liturgique[2]; KE = "kiryālāyson")

KE (12 fois: 3 x 4)

KE	KE	'Ebnodi nāynān	KE
KE	KE	Tā'os nāynān	KE
KE	KE	Māsyās nāynān	KE
KE	KE	'Amānu'ēl nāynān	KE
KE	KE	'Iyasus nāynān	KE
KE	KE	Krestos nāynān	KE
KE	KE	Tesbuṭā nāynān	KE

et encore une fois KE (pour arriver à 41).

La description d'O. Raineri présente une variante: on ne dit au début qu'un seul quatrain de *Kyrie eleison*, mais on ajoute à la fin de la série:

KE	KE	'Adonāy nāynān	KE
KE	KE	Ṣabā'ot nāynān	KE

conclus par un dernier KE, de manière à conserver le nombre total de 41. L'ordre dans lequel se présentent ces invocations peut aussi varier d'après le livre ou le manuscrit examiné. Ces variantes n'ont de toute façon pas grande importance.

Le terme "nāynān" (souvent écrit en deux mots, mais pas dans notre édition, précisément) représente évidemment le copte ⲚⲀⲒ ⲚⲀⲚ, "aie pitié

[1] Osvaldo Raineri, *Luca 23,42, greco, nella liturgia etiopica del Venerdì Santo*, dans *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 94/3 (1980), p. 271-277, où l'on trouvera la description de la partie de l'office dans lequel elle s'insère.

[2] *Gebra Ḥemāmāt* due au Mamher Walda Mīkā'ēl Berhāna Masqal et souvent réimprimée (nous utilisons la 2e édition, Addis Abeba, 1972 éth. = 1980 A.D.): voir p. 49, office de la 1e heure de la nuit du lundi.

de nous", et il n'est pas nécessaire de traduire Κύριε ἐλεῖσον, pas plus, sans doute, que Θεός, Μεσσίας, Ἐμμανουήλ, Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός, Δέσποτα, ainsi que Ἀδωνάϊ et ΣαβαόΤ (quelque peu déformés par le passage de l'écriture grecque à la copte, et de celle-ci à l'éthiopien, sans doute via un intermédiaire en graphie arabe). Il nous reste «'Ebnodi», dans lequel on a reconnu depuis longtemps le copte ⲫⲛⲟⲩϯ (Dieu)[3], et qui a été dûment catalogué par Strelcyn[4]. La graphie correspondante a été signalée dans plusieurs bilingues médiévaux (إبنودي)[5], et elle répond à la prononciation traditionnelle du copte — distincte en cela de la prononciation moderne, consécutive au mouvement de renaissance qui eut lieu au siècle dernier, sous le patriarche Cyrille IV, puisque dans les translittérations contemporaines l'on trouve toujours افنوتي (prononcé «'efnūtī»)[6].

La présence d'une voyelle prosthétique ('eb-) semble due à l'influence de l'arabe[7], et on la retrouve dans les textes signalés à la note 5, qui sont relativement tardifs; par contre, la transcription de *-ti* par *-di* et la présence de *-b-* au lieu de *-f-* s'expliquent par la prononciation antique (puisqu'aussi bien l'arabe connaît les sons *-t-* et *-f-*), et on en trouve des attestations ailleurs[8].

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[3] Déjà dans le catalogue des mss éthiopiens de la Vaticane, par S. Grébaut et E. Tisserant (*Codices Aethiopici Vaticani et Borgiani, Barberinianus Orientalis 2, Rossianus 865,* Pars prior, Cité du Vatican, 1935: n° 176, p. 636, 2°, où le ms. a la graphie እብኖዲ); aussi S. Strelcyn, *Prières magiques éthiopiennes pour délier les charmes (maftəḥe šerāy), = Rocznik Orientalistyczny,* 18 (1955), p. 1-498 (voir p. 448b: እምኖዲ). Cette dernière référence nous a été aimablement signalée par don O. Raineri, que nous remercions avec plaisir.

[4] S. Strelcyn, *Matériaux éthiopiens pour servir à la prononciation arabisée du copte,* dans *Rocznik Orientalistyczny,* 22 (1957), p. 7-54: voir p. 18.

[5] Par ex. Georgy Sobhy, *The traditional pronunciation of Coptic in the Church of Egypt,* dans *BSAC* 6 (1940), p. 109-117 (voir p. 117); Maria Cramer, *Vat. copt. 18 und die Aussprache des Koptischen,* dans *Oriens Christianus,* 45 (1961), p. 78-94 (voir p. 92).

[6] Nous ne prendrons qu'un exemple: *Ḫidmat al-šammās,* missel avec le texte arabe et la translittération du texte copte destiné au diacres — nous avons l'édition publiée il y a quelques années par la librairie *Maḥabba,* sans date — par ex. p. 8 (justement افنوتي ناي نان = ⲫ̀ⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛ) etc.

[7] Cf. H. J. Polotsky, *Une question d'orthographe bohaïrique,* dans *BSAC,* 12 (1949), p. 25-35 = *Collected papers* (Jérusalem, 1971), p. 378-388) pour la voyelle prosthétique (p. 26: avant le XIVe s., le *djinkim* n'est employé que pour les nasales et les voyelles formant syllabe à elles seules).

[8] Cf. J. Vergote, *Grammaire copte,* Ia (Partie synchronique), Louvain 1973 (§ 15 et 32, p. 13 et 18): le copte ne connaît pas l'opposition de sonorité pour les occlusives, et le *f* représentait une occlusive sourde aspirée (§ 22, p. 15, où l'on trouve un exemple antique: Ἐπωνυχος = ⲉϥⲟⲛϩ); voir aussi W. H. Worrell, *Coptic Sounds* (= *Univ. of*

Cet usage n'existe pas dans le rituel de la *Baṣḫa* ou «Semaine Sainte» tel qu'il est pratiqué aujourd'hui dans l'Église copte. Cela ne signifie pas, toutefois, qu'il n'y ait jamais eu cours. En effet, le grand encyclopédiste copte Šams al-Ri'āsa Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar nous décrit, au chap. 18 de son ouvrage *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma fī īḍāḥ al-ḫidma* (*La lampe des ténèbres <pour éclairer> l'intelligence du service <liturgique>*), les offices de la Semaine Sainte[9]. Après les lectures de l'Ancien Testament, la répétition (12 fois) de la formule «À toi la gloire...», la lecture de l'évangile, du "ṭarḥ" (chant de méditation de l'évangile) et éventuellement de l'homélie, on passe à la litanie de supplication[10].

Vient alors la précision d'Abū l-Barakāt qui a attiré notre attention[11]:

> «Puis ⲫϯ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛ et *Kyrie eleison* 48 (fois) quatrain par quatrain: 12 quatrains. Et à la fin de cela: *Notre Père*. Et le prêtre dit ces mots en copte: ⲁⲣⲓ ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲕⲱⲗϫ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ[ⲧⲉ]ⲛϭⲓ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲙⲟⲩ. ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ "Faites charité. Courbez vos têtes pour recevoir la bénédiction du Seigneur. Que le Seigneur vous bénisse". Ensuite il dit la bénédiction, et renvoie le peuple en disant...».

Il ne nous paraît guère douteux que ces douze quatrains aient quelque rapport avec les 41 *Kyrie eleison* chantés aujourd'hui en Éthiopie, et qui se composent aussi de quatrains (avec un troisième terme variable). La réduction de 48 à 41 n'a rien d'étonnant: d'une part, si l'on additionne les indications telles que les donne notre édition de la *Gebra Ḥemāmāt* et la description fournie par O. Raineri, on retrouvera exactement 12 quatrains; d'autre part, c'est le chiffre de 41 qui est constamment retenu par les Églises copte et éthiopienne dans leur liturgie des heures, au point que

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Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, 26), Ann Arbor, 1934 (p. 19 et 131), et Strelcyn, *Matériaux* (cité n. 4), p. 18 (*'ebnodi, 'etbā* pour ⲫⲛⲟⲩϯ, ⲧⲫⲉ), 44 (*d* pour *t*) et 50 (*'em'ibrādi* pour ⲙ̇ⲫⲣⲏϯ).

[9] On trouve une traduction française de nombreux extraits des chap. 16-19 de cet ouvrage dans l'article de L. Villecourt, *Les Observances liturgiques et la discipline du jeûne dans l'Église Copte. (Ch. XVI-XIX de la Lampe des Ténèbres)*, dans *Le Muséon*, 36 (1923), p. 249-292, 37 (1924), p. 201-280, et 38 (1925), p. 261-320. Faute d'une édition critique du texte original, on peut recourir à l'édition récemment publiée par les soins du P. (aujourd'hui évêque) Samuel du Monastère des Syriens: *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma fī īḍāḥ al-ḫidma l-ibn Kabar (al-qarn 14 mīlādī)*, 2e partie, [Le Caire, 1992], p. 203.

[10] Série de demandes commençant par «Priez pour...»; Abū l-Barakāt en mentionne 18, en précisant qu'il en trouve 27 ailleurs, et que d'autres l'abrègent à 12 intentions; il semble que, dans l'usage copte actuel, il y en ait au moins 27 le soir et au moins 21 le matin (d'autres intentions pouvant s'y ajouter). Nous en comptons 22 aux p. 48-49 de la *Gebra Ḥemāmāt* (éd. citée).

[11] Villecourt, *Observances*, (= *Muséon*, 38 [1925], p. 279): fol. 194 de U.

l'on pourrait à bon droit soupçonner le chiffre 48 d'être un développement tardif, marqué par le détriplement du premier quatrain — mais, jusqu'à présent, nous n'en connaissons pas de témoignage antérieur à Abū l-Barakāt qui, au début du XIVe siècle, nous atteste le chiffre de 48.

Il serait intéressant de savoir si les Coptes, comme les Éthiopiens aujourd'hui, modifiaient la troisième invocation de chaque quatrain pour y invoquer nommément le Christ; ce serait un usage parallèle à celui qui est suivi pour le *Trisaghion* (adressé au Christ: *qui as été crucifié pour nous*, ou *qui es né de la Vierge*, etc.).

Peut-être des recherches plus approfondies permettront-elles d'en trouver trace dans des documents coptes; en attendant, on peut difficilement nier que ce petit point, à côté de bien d'autres, montre que l'étude de la liturgie éthiopienne, déjà bien intéressante en elle-même, est de plus susceptible de mieux nous faire connaître la liturgie copte médiévale[12].

Société des Bollandistes
Bruxelles

Ugo Zanetti, S.J.

[12] Cf. Ugo Zanetti, *Is the Ethiopian Holy Week service translated from Sahidic?* Towards a study of the Gebra Ḥemāmāt (communication présentée à la XIth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Addis-Abeba du 1 au 6 avril 1991: correspondance des leçons scripturaires).

Walter Puchner

Griechisches Schul- und Ordenstheater der Gegenreformation und der Orthodoxie in der Ägäis (1580-1730)

Ein Forschungsbericht

Die intensiven Forschungen der letzten Jahre auf dem Gebiet der "mittelgriechischen" Theatergeschichte[1] haben unter anderem zu dem Ergebnis geführt, daß zu den bisher bekannten Kapiteln des Kretischen Theaters (ca. 1590-1669)[2] und des frühen Heptanesischen (wahrscheinlich schon in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts, vielleicht auch schon früher)[3] und vor dem Einsetzen der Theatertätigkeit der Griechischen Aufklärung in der Moldau und der Wallachei[4] noch ein Kapitel einzuschieben ist, das Aufführungen und Dramenproduktion auf den ägäischen Inseln im 17. und im ersten Viertel des 18. Jahrhunderts betrifft.[5] Dieses Phänomen ist einerseits als Ausläufer der Kretischen Tradition, die noch über den Fall von Candia hinauswirkt,[6] zu begreifen, andererseits in Beziehung zu

[1] Zu Begriff und Forschungsübersicht vgl. W. Puchner, Forschungsperspektiven zur mittelgriechischen Theatergeschichte. In: Akten des XVI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses Bd. II/6. *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32 (1982) S. 213-228.

[2] Dazu in Übersicht W. Puchner, "Kretisches Theater" zwischen Renaissance und Barock (zirka 1590-1669). Forschungsbericht und Forschungsfragen. *Maske und Kothurn* 26 (1980) S. 85-120 (mit der gesamten älteren Literatur).

[3] Diese Annahme gründet auf der Edition der "Eugena" von Teodoro Montselese in Venedig 1646 sowie dem erhaltenen Prolog zum Lobe der Insel Kefallonia (ca. 1650). Vgl. T. Montselese, *Eugena*, a cura di Mario Vitti. Napoli 1965. Sp. Evangelatos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ θεάτρου ἐν Κεφαλληνίᾳ 1600-1900*. Athen 1970 [Theatergeschichte Kefalloniens 1600-1900]. Zu einer eventuellen Theatertätigkeit schon im 16. Jahrhundert vgl. A. Vincent, Antonio da Molino in Greece. *Ellinika* 26 (Thessaloniki 1973) S. 113-117.

[4] Dazu in Übersicht W. Puchner, Hof-, Schul- und Nationaltheater der griechischen Aufklärung im Europäischen Südosten. *Maske und Kothurn* 21 (1975) S. 235-262 (mit der gesamten Literatur).

[5] Zur ersten Übersicht über diese Problematik W. Puchner, Ἰησουιτικὸ θέατρο στὸ Αἰγαῖο τοῦ 17ου αἰώνα. *Ariadne* 3 (Rethymno 1985) S. 191-206 [Jesuitisches Theater in der Ägäis des 17. Jahrhunderts], in erweiterter Fassung in Ἑλληνικὴ Θεατρολογία. Athen 1988, S. 299-312 [*Griechische Theaterwissenschaft*].

[6] Das Weiterleben der kretischen Spieltradition nach 1669 betrifft vor allem die Ionischen Inseln (Heptanesos), und zwar zunehmend auch das Volkstheater. Vgl. W.

setzen mit der intensiven katholischen Ordenstätigkeit im mediterranen Bereich des Osmanischen Reiches.[7] Schon die 1683 auf Zante aufgeführte, der lateinischen Jesuitentragödie "Zeno" von Joseph Simons nachgebildete[8] byzantinisch-barocke historische "Haupt- und Staatsaktion" des "Zenon"[9] verweist auf diesen Zusammenhang.[10]

Die Verbindung der alten kretischen Theatertradition, — vor allem die Tragödie "Erophile" (um 1600) von Georgios Chortatsis weist ein bedeutendes Nachleben sowohl in der Hochliteratur wie auch in der mündlichen Überlieferung auf —, ist sowohl im kykladischen Raum wie auch auf Chios greifbar. Aus Paros dürfte ein kurzer Prolog eines verschollenen Pastoraldramas mit dem wahrscheinlichen Titel "Kallimachos und Rodamnia" stammen,[11] stark beeinflußt vom Hirtenspiel "Panoria" des genannten Chortatsis aus Rethymno,[12] entstanden wohl in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhun-

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Puchner, Kretische Renaissance- und Barockdramatik in Volksaufführungen auf den Sieben Inseln. *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* XXX/79 (1976) S. 232-242.

[7] Dazu in Übersicht A. Vakalopulos, Ἱστορία τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ. Bd. 4. Thessaloniki 1974, S. 112-157 [Geschichte des Neueren Griechentums] und G. Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und europäische Politik 1620-1638.* Wiesbaden 1968, S. 150ff. (mit der gesamten älteren Bibliographie).

[8] Ediert von Konstantinos Sathas Venedig 1878 und letzthin in kritischer Ausgabe von St. Alexiu, Athen 1991.

[9] Zu Vorbild und ästhetischem Status als Barocktragödie vgl. W. Puchner, Θεατρολογικὲς ἔρευνες γιὰ τὸ πρότυπο τοῦ "Ζήνωνα". *Thesaurismata* XVII (Venedig 1980) S. 206-284 [Theaterwissenschaftliche Forschungen zum Vorbild des "Zenon"] und erweitert in *Ἑλληνική Θεατρολογία.* Athen 1988, S. 215-297 (mit der gesamten relevanten Literatur).

[10] In einem italienischen Reisebericht von Monsignor Sebastiani finden wir folgende Notiz: "Fù offerto a' Zantiotti, di fondare in Inghilterra vn Seminario, da insegnaruisi ad vn buon numero de' loro figliuoli; mà, se bene v' applicauano, pur ne furono efficacemente distolti. Volsi però trattare, di fondare in quell' Isola istessa un seminario sotto la disciplina de' PP. Gesuiti, e propostolo, tanto i Greci, come quei del nostro Rito, conuennero di fare vn' Aluarano, nel quale s' obligarono più di venti, e quasi tutti Greci, di pagare 100. ducati l' anno per ciascheduno de' loro figliuoli. . . " (*Viaggio, e navigatione di Monsignor Sebastiani, Fr. Giuseppe di S. Maria dell' ordine de' Carmelitani Scalzi*. . . In Roma MDC. LXXXVII, S. 141).

[11] Kritische Edition in G. K. Mavromatis, Ἕνα ἄγνωστο θεατρικὸ κείμενο τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 17ου αἰώνα ἀπὸ τὴν Πάρο. *Ariadne* 3 (Rethymno 1985) S. 179-190 [Ein unbekannter Theatertext von Paros am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts].

[12] Erhalten ist der relativ kurze Prolog von 22 Versen, sowie ein Vers aus dem ersten Akt, der aus dem kretischen Hirtenspiel entnommen ist. Die im Prolog skizzierte Handlung zwischen dem liebeswunden Schäfer und der spröden Hirtin, dem Eingreifen von Aphrodite und dem Erosknaben, der die Amazonin mit seinen Pfeilen verwundet, erinnert stark an die Handlung der "Panoria" von Chortatsis.

derts,[13] während auf der Nachbarinsel Naxos schon 1628 in einer Kirche eine religiöse Aufführung mit dem Thema "il peccatore convertito" stattfindet,[14] nach der "Corpus Christi"-Prozession und nur ein Jahr nach der Ankunft der Jesuiten auf der Insel.[15] Dieser Aufführung dürften noch andere gefolgt sein, organisiert auch von den Kapuzinern.[16] Die Ausbreitung der Jesuitenkollege in der Ägäis erfolgt in diesen unsicheren Zeiten relativ rasch: Konstantinopel 1583-1586, ab 1607, zu gleicher Zeit fassen sie Fuß in Chios, ab 1623 Smyrna, 1627 Naxos, 1640 Nauplion und Patras, 1641 Paros, 1642 Santorini und Tinos usw. Schul- und Ordenszentren sind im 17. Jahrhundert vor allem Naxos, Syros und Chios.[17]

Aufführungen wurden nachweislich in Konstantinopel gehalten[18] (eine Vorstellung mit einem Stück über die Bekehrungen des Hl. Johannes Chrysostomos wurde im Jänner 1624, am Festtag des Heiligen nach dem

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[13] Die Namen der Protagonisten entstammen dem byzantinischen Ritterroman. Die Überlegung von Mavromatis bezüglich der Datierung stützt sich auf den Exodus der gebildeten Bürgerschicht im Jahre des Falles von Candia 1669, wobei ein Teil der Kreter nachweislich auf Paros seßhaft wurde.

[14] Puchner, Ἰησουιτικὸ θέατρο, op. cit. Die Nachricht ist in der "Descrizione della Processione di Corpus Domini. 5 luglio 1628" von Arcivescovo Raffaele Schiattini erhalten (Prop. *Scritture riferite*, vol. 114: 160r-163v), ediert bei G. Hofmann, *Vescovadi Cattolici nella Grecia. IV. Naxos*. Roma 1938 (Orientalia Cristiana Analecta 115) S. 74-78, wo es gegen Ende heißt: "Lasciai di dire che essendosi recitata la tragedia nella mia chiesa il medesimo giorno il dopo pranzo, che era il tema il peccatore convertito, non solo concorse tutto il popolo latino e greco, ma anco il Bei et il Cadi del luogo mi domandò in grazia, che li dessi luogo sù nelli musici, e glielo concessi con molto loro gusto et sodisfazione" (vgl. auch Puchner, Ἰησουιτκὸ θέατρο, op. cit. S. 205).

[15] Die Jesuiten kommen 1627 nach Naxos. Vgl. A. A. V. Laurent, La mission des Jésuites à Naxos de 1627 à 1643. *Échos d' Orient* 33 (1934) S. 218-226, 354-476, 34 (1935) S. 97-105, 179-204, 350-367, 472-481. Weitere Literatur bei Puchner, Ἰησουιτικὸ θέατρο, op. cit., S. 196 Anm. 3.

[16] Dies geht aus noch unveröffentlichten Berichten hervor, die Nik. Panagiotakis in den Archiven des Vatikans eingesehen hat. Die Kapuziner kommen 1628 nach Naxos. Vgl. C. da Terzorio, *Le missioni dei minori cappuccini. Sunto istorico*. Vol. IV. Roma 1941 (Orientalia Cristiana Analecta 130).

[17] Zur ausgedehnten Bibliographie der Missionsgeschichte in der Ägäis vgl. die Literatur bei Puchner, Ἰησουιτικὸ θέατρο, op. cit. S. 194ff. und Hering, op. cit., S. 150ff. Vor allem aber die Reihe von G. Hofmann, *Vescovadi Cattolici nella grecia: I. Chios*. Roma 1934, *II. Tinos*. Roma 1936. *III. Syros*. Roma 1937. *IV. Naxos*. Roma 1938. *V. Thera (Santorino)*. Roma 1941.

[18] Vgl. die Stelle in E. Legrand, *Relation de l'etablissment des P. P. de la Compagnie de Jésus en Levant*. Paris 1867, S. 7: "Nous y faison de temps en temps quelque petite action, représentant quelque histoire sacrée. Les petits Grecs sont bon acteurs, le peuple est extresmement désireux de semblables actions".

orthodoxen Heortologion, in Galata aufgeführt),[19] aber auch im griechischen Kolleg des Hl. Athanasios in Rom schon 1580, bereits wenige Jahre nach seiner Gründung.[20] Besonders intensiv dürfte die Aufführungstätigkeit in Chios bereits ab Jahrhundertanfang gewesen sein, wenn wir den Worten des Patriarchen Lukaris Glauben schenken wollen.[21] Aus Chios stammt auch das einzige bisher veröffentlichte Jesuitendrama "David", wahrscheinlich gegen Jahrhundertende oder zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts entstanden.[22] Aus Chios kennen wir nun auch drei orthodoxe Geistliche als Verfasser von religiösen Theaterstücken, die für ihre eigenen Schulen gedacht waren,[23] und wahrscheinlich unter dem Druck der jesuitischen Propaganda, die zeitweise bis zu vier Schulen auf Chios unterhielt,[24] entstanden.[25]

Sind die Aufführungen selbst nicht so ohne weiteres zu belegen, so besitzen wir nun doch eine Reihe von dramatischen Texten, die eindeutig für das Theater bestimmt sind. Religiöse Dramenwerke sind schon aus der kretischen Tradition bekannt: zwei kurze dialogische "Passionen" des 16.

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[19] Die Veröffentlichung dieser Nachricht bleibt einer künftigen Studie vorbehalten.

[20] Vgl. das Schreiben, das der chiotische Gelehrte Theodoros Rentios 1580 "al Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo signor il cardinal Sirleto, nostro patrone" schickt. Veröffentlicht in A. Meschini, *Teodoro Rendios*. Padova 1978 (Studi bizantini i neogreci 11) S. 77ff., Kommentar S. 91. Vgl. auch Puchner, Ἰησουιτικὸ θέατρο, op. cit. S. 193f.

[21] Vgl. den Lehrdialog "Zelot und Wahrheitsfreund" (Ζηλωτὴς καὶ Φιλαλήθης), wo vor den "Komödien und Theatern" der Jesuiten ausdrücklich gewarnt wird. Ausgabe von A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*. Bd. 1. St. Petersburg 1891, S. 227ff. (zitiert auch bei A. Vakalopulos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ* Bd. 3. Thessaloniki 1968, S. 450ff.).

[22] Ἀγνώστου Χίου ποιητῆ. Δαβίδ. Th. Papadopulos. Athen 1979. Zur eventuellen Datierung gegen Jahrhundertende W. Puchner, Ἡ περίπτωση τοῦ Δαβίδ. In: *Ἑλληνικὴ Θεατρολογία*. Athen 1988, S. 312-322.

[23] Vgl. die erste Ankündigung der Existenz der Handschrift von M. I. Manusakas, *Thesaurismata* 9 (Venedig 1972) S. 338f. und 10 (1973) S. 407f.

[24] Zu den Jesuitenschulen auf Chios Hofmann, *Chios*, op. cit. siehe Anm. 17 und Ph. Argenti, *The religious minorities of Chios*. Cambridge 1970.

[25] Vgl. jetzt ausführlich M. I. Manusakas, Πέντε ἄγνωστα στιχουργήματα τοῦ ὀρθόδοξου θρησκευτικοῦ θεάτρου ἀπὸ τὴ Χίο (17ος αι.) ξαναφερμένα στὸ φῶς ἀπὸ ἀφανισμένο χειρόγραφο. Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν 64 (1989 [1990], S. 316-334 [Fünf unbekannte Versgedichte des orthodoxen religiösen Theaters aus Chios (17. Jh.) veröffentlicht aus einer zerstörten Handschrift] sowie W. Puchner, Θρησκευτικὸ θέατρο στὸ Αἰγαῖο κατὰ τὸ 17ο καὶ 18ο αἰώνα. *Parnassos* 32 (Athen 1990) S. 236-252.

Jahrhundert,[26] eine davon von Marinos Falieros,[27] die noch den Charakter dialogischer Gedichte aufweisen,[28] sodann das anonyme "Opfer Abrahams" (Beginn oder erste Hälfte des 17. Jahrunderts), das zu den sprachlichen Meisterleistungen der kretischen Literatur zählt,[29] theatralischen Bühnencharakter aufweist,[30] aber von den Konventionen der klassizistischen Dramaturgie entscheidend abweicht[31] (wie übrigens auch das heptanesische Legendenspiel "Eugena" von Teodoro Montselese, gedruckt Venedig 1646).[32] Bereits barocken Bühnenkonventionen folgt der nach 1631 entstandene "Zenon" (Mehrortbühne, optische und akustische Effekte usw.).[33]

Doch auch die neu aufgefundenen Stücke aus dem ägäischen Raum sind von der kretischen Literatursprache beeinflußt. Aufführungsindizierend ist das Bruchstück eines "Hl. Georg" aus dem Raum der Kykladen im 17. Jahrhundert, von dem bloß der Rollenpart einer eher kurzen Bühnenrolle, Anatoleos, an die 100 Verse, erhalten ist.[34] Es handelt sich offensichtlich um den Rollenauszug eines Spielers. Ebenso unveröffentlicht ist noch ein "Herodes"-Spiel (der genaue Titel ist nicht bekannt, da ein oder zwei der äußeren Blätter der Handschrift fehlen, doch geht es um den bethlehemitischen Kindermord),[35] das interessanterweise in Prosa verfaßt und mit zum Teil ausführlichen italienischen Bühnenanweisungen versehen

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[26] Vgl. M. I. Manusakas/O. Parlangeli, a 8 (1954) S. 109-132 [Unbekanntes kretisches Mysterium der Passion Christi].

[27] M. I. Manusakas, Ἑλληνικά ποιήματα γιά τή Σταύρωση τοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Mélanges offerts à Octave et Melpo Merlier.* Bd. 2 Athen 1956, S. 51-60.

[28] Die Bühnenanweisungen sind wenige und völlig konventionell.

[29] Zur ausgedehnten Spezialliteratur Puchner, "Kretisches Theater", op. cit., S. 105ff.

[30] Dazu vor allem W. Bakker, The Sacrifice of Abraham. The Cretan Biblical Drama "*Η Θυσία του Αβραάμ" and Western European and Greek Tradition.* Birmingham 1978.

[31] Keine Aktgliederung, bloß knapp über 1000 Verse Umfang, erfordert Mehrortbühne. Zur Bühnenlösung W. Puchner, Scenic space in Cretan theatre. *Mantatoforos* 21 (Amsterdam 1983) S. 43-57.

[32] Dazu ausführlich W. Puchner, Raum- und Zeitprobleme in der "Eugena" von Montselese. *Folia Neohellenica* VI (Amsterdam 1984) S. 102-120.

[33] Dazu Puchner, wie Anm. 9.

[34] Das Bruchstück ist noch unveröffentlicht und wurde von Linos Politis aufgefunden.

[35] Der Prosatext soll vom Verf. in Zusammenarbeit mit Nik. Panagiotakis herausgegeben werden.

ist.[36] Es wurde im katholischen Kloster auf Syros entdeckt und stammt sprachlich ebenfalls aus dem kykladischen Raum des 17. Jahrhunderts. Im gleichen Kloster wurde auch eine Handschrift mit einem "Hl. Demetrios"-Spiel entdeckt, das mit 1723 zu datieren ist, gleichfalls aus Naxos stammen dürfte, in Versen verfaßt und mit komischen Intermedien versehen.[37]

Der zweite geographische Schwerpunkt der Dramenproduktion des 17. Jahrhunderts fällt auf Chios. Bisher liegt ediert in kritischer Ausgabe von Th. Papadopulos der "David" vor,[38] ein Dramolett von 629 Versen um Bestrafung und Reue des Königs David, eingeleitet von einem allegorischen Prolog der Reue, Gerechtigkeit und dem Erbarmen. Epilogfunktion übt der Schutzengel des Römischen Reiches aus. Das Stück zeigt stark dialektale Färbung ("frankochiotika") und stammt aus katholischer Feder. Der Autor ist nicht bekannt, die Datierung dürfte schon ins 18. Jahrhundert fallen oder knapp vor der Jahrhundertwende liegen.[39] Neben den chorartigen Passagen fällt vor allem das Dämonen-Ballett auf. Den vier dummschlauen Teufeln ist die gesamte Gegenhandlung aufgebürdet, ihre Sprechrollen bilden fast ein Drittel des Stückes.[40]

Den Brückenschlag von der kretischen Tradition zu dieser Dramenform scheinen die religiösen Dramenwerke aus Chios zu bilden, die aus einer Handschrift von Ioannis Mavrokordatos stammen (dem Bruder des bekannten Alexander Mavrokordatos, dem Dolmetscher der Hohen Pforte), die 1973 in London von Sotheby und Co. versteigert wurde, in den Besitz von Erzbischof Makarios gelangte und bei dem Putsch gegen den

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[36] Interessant ist, daß hier auch der Schriftcharakter wechselt. Während der griechische Text in Schönschrift ohne weiteres leserlich ist, bieten die italienischen Bühnenanweisungen Probleme der Entzifferung.

[37] Eine kritische Edition dieses Stückes wird von Nik. Panagiotakis und dem Verf. vorbereitet. Zur Inhaltsanalyse vorläufig Puchner, Θρησκευτικὸ Θέατρο, op. cit., S. 246-249.

[38] Wie Anm. 21.

[39] Die Überlegung einer Datierung gleich nach 1694/95 stützt sich auf den Rache-Prolog der "Gerechtigkeit", der ausdrücklich der Insel Chios gewidmet ist. Nach der kurzen venezianischen Besetzung der Insel 1694/95 gehen die Türken vor allem gegen die Katholiken vor. Nur die Jesuitenpater bleiben auf der Insel und halten in Zivilkleidern heimlich die Messe in Privathäusern. Dazu Puchner, Ἡ περίπτωση, op. cit. (wie Anm. 21, S. 315f. mit der einschlägigen Literatur).

[40] Sie sprechen insgesamt 185 von den 629 Versen. Die Existenz der Dämonen scheint charakteristisch auch für andere chiotische religiöse Stücke. Vgl. dazu in der Folge.

zypriotischen Ethnarchen 1974 im Regierungspalast verbrannt ist.[41] Von dem Manuskript existiert eine Photokopie, von der die fünf religiöse Dramenwerke in kritischer Ausgabe vorgelegt werden sollen.[42] Die Theaterstücke dürften in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts entstanden sein und stehen möglicherweise in Zusammenhang mit den katechetischen Schulen der Hl. Anargyroi und des Hl. Viktor in Chios.[43] Alle Stücke stammen von orthodoxen Geistlichen. Die ersten drei Stücke, ein Dialog zur Darbringung Marias im Tempel, ein Auferstehungsspiel und ein Dialog zu Eleazar und den sieben Makkabäerkindern, sind von Michael Vestarchis, das vierte betrifft die Knaben im Feuerofen von Gregorios Kontaratos und das fünfte die Heilung des Blindgeborenen von Gabriel Prosopsas. Über die Biographien der drei Autoren ist nicht viel bekannt, doch soviel, daß sie Geistliche und angesehene Lehrer gewesen sind.[44] Das erste Werk des Vestarchis ist ein dialogisches Prophetenspiel mit hymnisch-lyrischen Partien zum Anlaß der Darbringung Marias im Tempel. Der Dialog im üblichen Fünfzehnsilber (400 Verse) wird von Propheten und Vorvätern des Alten Testaments bestritten. Das Stück weist geringe Theatralität auf, besitzt auch keine Bühnenanweisungen. Theatergerechter ist das zweite Stück um die Auferstehung Christi in sechs Szenen, schon näher an szenischem Verstehen, das die Osterhandlung bis zur Berührung der Wunden durch den ungläubigen Thomas verfolgt (616 Verse). Vorlage dürfte in beiden Fällen direkt die Heilige Schrift sein. Im Prolog des Dichters wird Homer in der Originalsprache zitiert.

Wesentlich interessanter, vielfältiger und umfangreicher (1607 Verse) ist das dritte Werk des Vestarchis, das auch zwei Intermedien umfaßt: eines lehrhaft integriert in das Stück als vierte Szene, das das Opfer Abrahams bringt (unabhängig vom kretischen Werk), und ein komisches am Schluß, das einen Astrologen und seine "Kunst" lächerlich macht. Neben der Haupthandlung um Antiochos Epiphanes, der das mosaische Gesetz abschaffen will und "hellenische" Sitten einführt, das Martyrium des alten Eleazar und der sieben Makkabäerkinder und ihrer Mutter, finden sich auch Szenen mit

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[41] Vgl. Manusakas, wie Anm. 24.

[42] Diese wird von M. I. Manusakas in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Verfasser seit Jahren vorbereitet.

[43] Zu diesen Schulen vor allem P. P. I. Zerlentis, Περὶ τῶν ἐν Χίῳ Φροντιστηρίων. *Athena* 29 (1917) S. 231-254 [Über die Seminare auf Chios].

[44] Dazu Manusakas, wie Anm. 24.

komischen Dämonen, die mit Hilfe des Antiochus ihren Sieg über den christlichen Glauben zu erringen hoffen. Quelle und Vorbild ist das ausführliche vierte Makkabäer-Buch des Alten Testaments, aus dem auch der umfangreiche lehrhafte Prolog und Epilog stammt. In der Threnos-Szene der Mutter der Makkabäer finden sich direkte Abhängigkeiten und Lese-Reminiszenzen aus der "Erophile" des Chortatsis.

Klassisch ausgewogen und zugleich theaternah ist das Stück von Kontaratos über die Drei Knaben im Feuerofen und das Götzenbild des Nebukadnezar (erstes und drittes Buch Daniel) in acht Szenen und einen allegorischen Prolog der "Fastenzeit" und des Engels (1118 Verse). Die Haupthandlung ist gerahmt von lustigen Dämonenszenen (1 und 8), die ihre (fehlschlagenden) Pläne zur Vorherrschaft der Idolatrie über den christlichen Glauben betreffen. Die Haupthandlung, Weigerung der Gefährten des Daniel, das goldene Standbild anzubeten, ihre Strafe im Feuerofen und ihre Rettung durch den Engel (Nebukadnezar bekehrt sich zu ihrem Glauben und läßt dies im ganzen Reich verkünden) folgt, mit lebhaftem Dialog, Musik- und Gesangseinlagen, häufigem Metrenwechsel (im 17. Jahrhundert sonst eher selten) dicht dem Text des Alten Testaments. Ganz zu Anfang und ganz zu Ende erscheint zur Belustigung des Publikums, wie die Bühnenanweisung vermerkt, ein kleiner Dämon, der sich über die Zuschauer lustig macht.

Deutlich ist der kretische Einfluß auch in dem Stück von Prosopsas über die Heilung des Blindgeborenen und seine Ausstoßung aus dem Tempel durch die Pharisäer (nach Joh. 9, 1-34). Trotzdem sich die Vorlage nicht besonders für eine dramatische Bearbeitung eignet, ist der Dialog zwischen dem "Blindgeborenen", den Nachbarn, seinen Eltern und den Pharisäern lebhaft und nicht ohne dramatische Zusammenstöße. Prosopsas ist zweifellos ein geschickter Dramaturg, obwohl oder gerade weil er sich eng, oft Vers für Vers, an die Bibelvorlage hält. Dieses Stück nähert sich noch am ehesten klassizistischen Dramaturgieprinzipien. Interessant ist auch die vorangestellte "Widmung" an einen Mäzen (Dimitrios Kalvokoressis, aus einer bekannten chiotischen Familie), die fast Vers für Vers der "dedicatio" der kretischen Tragödie "König Rodolinos" von Ioannis Andreas Troilos (Venedig 1647) nachgebildet ist.[45] Prosopsas benützt seine Vorlage jedoch bewußt und mit Geschick bringt er seine eigenen Abweichungen an, dort wo er sie für notwendig erachtet. Dasselbe gilt für den Prolog, den der

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[45] Vgl. die Neuausgabe von M. Aposkiti, Athen 1987.

"Neid" spricht: er ist dem Charos-Prolog der "Erophile" sowohl in der Struktur als auch in ganzen Verspartien nachgebildet, wobei der Dichter die Vorlage nur dort verläßt, wo es unbedingt erforderlich ist. Der Haupttext selbst folgt ziemlich eng dem spröden Bibeltext; Prosopsas erweist sich beim Umsetzen der Bibel-Koine des Johannes- Evangeliums in eine dialektal wenig gefärbte Volkssprache seiner Zeit, versifiziert im üblichen Fünfzehnsilber ("politischen" Vers), als fähiger Dichter und geschickter Dramaturg. Das Stück ist dreiaktig (957 Verse), doch sind zwischen die Akte Intermedien eingeschoben (das zweite hat durchaus Aktumfang), die einen Redewettstreit der Leibwächter des weisen Königs Darius bringen, wobei der Sieger, Serubabel, dem Perserkönig das Versprechen entlockt, Jerusalem wiederaufzubauen (3. und 4. Kap. des 1. Buches Esdra). Interessanterweise werden diese Intermedien als "Strophe des Dramas" bezeichnet, welcher Terminus sich sonst nur noch bei Petros Katsaïtis in seiner Tragödie "Thyest" (1721) wiederfindet.[46] Am Aktende wird jeweils eine Bibelstelle psalmodiert. Am Ende erfolgt noch ein lehrhaften Epilog (wieder beeinflußt vom Charos-Prolog der "Erophile"). War aus dem Text des vierten Stückes zu erkennen, daß es in der ersten Fastenwoche der Quadragesima aufgeführt wurde (der "Sonntag der Orthodoxie", an dem der Sieg über die Ikonomachen gefeiert wird, der erste Sonntag der Quadragesima, ist in einer Schlußlitanei deutlich erwähnt), so ist hier eine Vorstellung am Sonntag des "Blindgeborenen", dem fünften Sonntag nach Ostern, anzunehmen.[47]

Die kritische Edition dieser chiotischen Stücke aus der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts wird dadurch erschwert, daß aus dem Sammelkodex manche Seiten fehlen und in seinem ersten Teil im Zuge des Fotokopierens auf allen verso-Blättern die marginal gestellten Sprecherindikationen fehlen.[48] Vom ersten Stück des Vestarchis bis zu den Werken von Kontaratos und Prosopsas ist deutlich eine zunehmende Theatererfahrung, besseres Beherrschen der dramaturgischen Technik, ja sogar zunehmende Tendenz zu Ausgewogenheit und Symmetrie zu erkennen, die auf einer bereits

[46] Dazu W. Puchner, Ὁ Πέτρος Κατσαΐτης καὶ τὸ Κρητικὸ θέατρο. In: Εὐρωπαϊκὴ Θεατρολογία. Athen 1984, S. 183-222, bes. S. 191.

[47] Dies ist auch der Feiertag der Blindenvereine. Vgl. D. Lukatos, *Συμπληρωματικὰ τοῦ χειμώνα καὶ τῆς ἄνοιξης*. Athen 1985, S. 174. [Ergänzungen zum Winter und zum Frühling].

[48] Diese lassen sich jedoch fast in allen Fällen nach genauer Text- und Dialoganalyse ergänzen.

bestehenden Aufführungstradition gründen dürften.[49] Die Bedeutung dieser religiösen Theaterstücke liegt vor allem auch darin, daß sie von orthodoxen Geistlichen verfaßt sind, was für die griechisch-orthodoxe Kirche, mit Ausnahme etwa des Zypriotischen Passionszyklus,[50] ein Unicum darstellt. Die Kirche steht den Schauspielen seit frühchristlicher und byzantinischer Zeit feindlich gegenüber;[51] wenn sie also nun in den Katechese-Schulen des 17. Jahrhunderts eine Theateraktivität aus freien Stücken entfaltet, so kann dies nur unter dem Druck des katholischen Ordenstheaters, hauptsächlich der Jesuiten, geschehen sein. Insofern bilden diese orthodox-geistlichen Stücke aus dem Alten und Neuen Testament auch einen indirekten Beweis für die Ausbreitung und Intensität des religiösen Theaters der Gegenreformation in der Ägäis, wenn wir davon auch nur ein bruchstückhaftes Bild besitzen. Beide Entwicklungsstränge knüpfen an das Kretische Theater an, führen dramaturgisch jedoch zu gänzlich neuen Formen, die sich mit den Konventionen der klassizistischen Dramaturgie nicht mehr vereinen lassen. In fast allen Stücken bilden Kinder oder Jugendliche einen Teil der zum Teil zahlreichen Rollen, thematisch geht es in zwei Stücken um ihre Standhaftigkeit und ihr Martyrium. Vor allem Vestarchis bringt auch zum Teil enzyklopädisches Wissen, sowohl was Altes und Neues Testament betrifft als auch die griechische Mythologie (gesehen aus einem negativen Blickwinkel). Bibel- und Homerzitate im Original weisen die Sprachkenntnisse der Schulen aus.

Mit dem Rückgang der katholischen Ordenstätigkeit im Laufe des 18. Jahrhunderts und dem Entstehen einer Reihe von neuen griechischen Schulen im weiteren Balkanraum und im östlichen Mittelmeer, aus dem

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[49] Eine solche Tendenz ist auch bei Vestarchis selbst vom ersten bis zum dritten Stück festzustellen, wenn sie auch nicht zu Ausgewogenheit führt, so doch zu Theatralität und einem spezifisches Eingehen auf die Publikumswünsche (Schaueffekte, intensive Affektdramaturgie, komisches Intermedium zum Schluß).

[50] Wobei es fraglich bleibt, ob der Zypriotische Passionszyklus in der erhaltenen Form jemals aufgeführt worden ist. Dazu ausführlich W. Puchner, Θεατρολογικὲς παρατηρήσεις στὸν μεσαιωνικὸ "Κῦκλο τῶν Παθῶν" τῆς Κύπρου. In: Ἱστορικὰ νεοελληνικοῦ θεάτρου. Athen 1984, S. 91-107 (Anm. 181-194) [Theaterwissenschaftliche Anmerkungen zum mittelalterlichen Passionszyklus von Zypern].

[51] Dazu ausführlich und mit der gesamten Literatur W. Puchner, Τὸ βυζαντινὸ θέατρο. In: Εὐρωπαϊκὴ Θεατρολογία. Athen 1984, S. 13-94, Anmerkungen 397-416, Bibliographie 477-494. (sowie auch: Zum "Theater" in Byzanz. Eine Zwischenbilanz. G. Prinzing / D. Simon, *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz.* München 1990, S. 11-16, 169-179 (Anmerkungen).

Geiste der Aufklärung und unterstützt durch die Phanarioten,[52] dürfte diese Spieltätigkeit, mit der Auflösung der Kollege und "Phrontisterien" selbst, erloschen sein. Nachweisbare Spuren hat dieses ägäische Schul- und Ordenstheater nicht hinterlassen. In den griechischen "Akademien" von Bukarest und Jassy wird erst nach 1800 Theater gespielt, allerdings politisch-revolutionäres, auf Heptanesos (den Ionischen Inseln) dominiert Oper und das Volkstheater. Spuren eines akzentuiert christlichen Weltbildes finden sich nur bei Petros Katsaïtis.[53] Seine Werke sind jedoch mehr der Kretischen Theatertradition verpflichtet.

Nach Maßgabe der "Ratio Studiorum" der Jesuitenkollege muß dieses Theater in der Ägäis allerdings noch weiter verbreitet sind, als sich zu diesem Zeitpunkt nachweisen läßt. Insofern dürften die noch unveröffentlichten "relazioni" in den Archiven des Vatikans noch manche Überraschung bereithalten.

Soultani 19 Walter Puchner
10682 Athens, Greece

[52] Vgl. die Literatur in Puchner Anm. 4.

[53] Dazu Puchner Anm. 46.

RECENSIONES

Aethiopica

Gérard Colin (ed.), *Synaxaire éthiopien. Mois de Yakkatit. Édition critique du texte éthiopien et traduction* (= Patrologia Orientalis; t. 45; Fasc. 3, No. 203), Brepols, Turnhout 1992, pp. 446-612.

G. Colin si è impegnato a completare l'edizione della sezione rimanente del Sinassario etiopico. Aveva, infatti, negli anni precedenti dato all'edizione il Sinassario di Maskaram, Teqemt, Terr, (per le cui recensione cf. OCP 3 (1987) 443; 55 (1989) 242; 58 (1992) 285 rispettivamente). Anche questo mese è ricco di ricorrenze e memorie.

Infatti, il Sinassario di questo mese si apre con la commemorazione del concilio di Costantinopoli, rilevando gli anatemi e la dottrina dei 150 Padri conciliari.

Le feste e ricorrenze di Yakkatit, per menzionare le più significative, si possono classificare nel modo seguente:

1) Santi biblici (Osea, Anna, Elisabetta e Zaccaria, Maria la peccatrice che unse Gesù, Giacomo Alfeo, Onèsimo, ecc.);
2) feste gerosolimitane (presentazione di Gesù al Tempio);
3) Padri apostolici (Policarpo di Smirne);
4) Santi Antiocheni (Severo, Eustazio, ecc.);
5) Santi Romani (Ippolito, Teodoro il martire, Fabiano, ecc.);
6) Santi Copti (Pietro II, 21° Patriarca d'Alessandria [373-380] [*The Coptic Encyclopedia*, 6,1947], Alessandro il 43° Patriarca di Alessandria, Cirillo III [= Ibn Laqlaq] (*Ibid.*, 3, 677), Gabriele il 57° Patriarca di Alessandria [909-920] [*Ibid.*, 4,1127], Eulogio il leonino, Bisoy chiamato anche Pietro, Isidoro di Pelusio [*Ibid.*, 41308-1310], [*Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VII, 968-971], ecc.);
7) Santi Siri (Efrem, Paolo martire, Barsuma [*Ibid.*, II, 841-842], ecc.);
8) Ricorrenze particolari alla Chiesa d'Etiopia, come le memorie annuali e mensili.

Circa il 16 di Yakkatit, ricorrenza annuale della Madonna di Kidana-Meḥerat (= Patto di misericordia) — tipico della tradizione etiopica — si legge che Cristo avrebbe premiato sua Madre che si recava ogni giorno a pregare alla tomba del suo Figlio sul Golgota, promettendo la liberazione dallo Sheol a tutti quelli che fanno memoria di lei, invocano il suo nome, e aiutano, in suo onore, i poveri.

Di alcuni santi e sante il nome greco viene tradotto o spiegato, per es. Teodora: "dono di Dio", Teofania: "fede di Dio" (sic), Teodossia: "Gloria di Dio" e Atanasia: "Vivente che non muore".

Per molte memorie dei Santi il Sinassario dà il minimo necessario: l'annuncio delle memorie, se è martire o confessore, e una formula per ottenere la protezione di lui.

Secondo una nota alla fine del mese di Yakkatit, il nome di chi ha tradotto il Sinassario dall'arabo in etiopico, è un monaco egiziano del monastero di S. Antonio, chiamato Simone. Sempre secondo questa nota, si promette una copiosa benedizione a colui che copia, che legge, o fa leggere, e spiega questo libro.

La notizia della morte di Re Minas, avvenuta nel 1563, permetterebbe anche di stabilire approssimativamente l'anno della Revisione del Sinassario etiopico.

Gli antichi maestri della liturgia etiopica consigliavano i loro discepoli a non cantare le Lodi del mattino senza leggere la storia dei Padri cioè il Sinassario. Infatti, nella tradizione etiopica, la liturgia della Parola di Dio viene arricchita con la letteratura non biblica (come i Miracoli di Maria, il Sinassario, ecc.).

Mi congratulo, dunque, con l'Autore per questa edizione e traduzione del Sinassario etiopico, che spero di vedere portata a buon fine. È senz'altro di aiuto per la conoscenza agiografica della tradizione copta ed etiopica, ma soprattutto per la riscoperta della spiritualità genuina dei padri che sono le fondamenta delle due Chiese, madre e figlia.

Habtemichael-Kidane, O.F.M. Cap.

Getatchew Haile, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts, microfilmed for the Ethiopian manuscript microfilm Library*, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, Vol. IX: Project Numbers 3501-4000. Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St. John's Abbey and University, Collegeville, Minnesota, 1987, pp. xi+398.

Il volume, che, rispetto agli otto precedenti, in brossura, ha il pregio di essere consistentemente rilegato, è dedicato a *Blāttā* Marse'ē Ḥazan Walda Qirqos, maestro di lingua amarica dell'A. Getatchew Haile, degno discepolo di grandi maestri. Questo catalogo comprende la descrizione dei 500 mss. indicati, ad eccezione di 3826, 3849, 3978 e 3980, i films dei quali ultimi "were not received". La maggior parte dei codici è costituita da libri liturgici (*service books*) e di devozione (messali, antifonari, *horologia*, rituali,specie dei defunti); seguono, per la notevole quantità, libri delle sacre scritture, tra cui primeggiano i salteri, e, in numero più ridotto, testi agiografici: Atti di santi, omeliari, raccolte di miracoli, sinassari. Raggiungono invece poche unità, considerati quanto al contenuto, i mss. che trattano: storia, linguistica, legislazione, spiritualità, teologia e altro. L'area di provenienza di questo materiale librario è la regione dello Scioa.

Di peculiare rilevanza per la storia dell'Etiopia moderna, risultano i numeri 3750 e 3755-3763, in quanto forniscono documenti relativi alla delimitazione dei confini tra l'Etiopia e la Somalia Britannica. Tra il 1932 e il 1935, presero parte, ai detti lavori, delle commissioni miste; segretario di quella etiopica era il menzionato Marse'ē Ḥazan, propretario della documentazione in oggetto, nonché del ms. 3628, la sua autobiografia.

Meritano ancora di essere ricordati i codd. 3901 e 3987, con gli Atti di Zēnā Mārqos, in due versioni diverse, su cui si potrà mettere a confronto la traduzione dei medesimi Atti, eseguita da E. Cerulli [ST 219 (1962) 191-212]. Va' segnalato inoltre il *Sinodos* (EMML 3515; sec. XV?), per la sua rarità e la singolare considerazione che gode nella Chiesa etiopica.

A motivo dello studio che attualmente sto conducendo, da due antichi mss. etiopici della Vaticana, sugli Atti del martire egiziano Giyorgis Ḥaddis o Giorgio Iuniore, di cui spero pubblicare presto testo e traduzione, hanno attirato la mia attenzione i Ta'ammera Māryām o Miracoli di Maria, dove leggo (3872, f. 113a): Sawlā, the wife of Giyorgis Ḥaddis, e (3931, f. 62a): Giyorgis ḥaddis (*sic*, a p. 237, per Ḥaddis). Questo santo è commemorato nel Sinassario alessandrino il 19 *bunah*, e in quello etiopico il 19 *sanē*, che ritengo le sole fonti edite attraverso le quali Giyorgis, o meglio, presso i copti, Jirjis al-Muzāḥim, è conosciuto. Presumo che in 3931, f. 62a, si tratti dell'episodio spesso ricorrente nella recensione etiopica dei Miracoli di Maria e che narra dell'apparizione della Vergine, sotto forma di colomba, al santo Giyorgis in carcere (v. ad es. E. A. W. Budge, *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary...*, London 1900, pp. 56s – traduz. – e 32 – testo –); mentre ritengo che in 3872, f. 113a, si trovi lo stesso "miracolo" riportato nel. cod. "Cerulli Etiopici" 169, f. 149, cioè: "Saula, moglie di Giorgio Neotero e il corpo di Giorgio fatto a pezzi". I due citati "miracoli", come ho potuto constatare, sono stati tolti dal *Gadla Giyorgis Ḥaddis*, nei queli Atti si legge, fra l'altro, che il santo subì il martirio, per mano dei musulmani, in Egitto, nell'Anno dei Martiri 694 (= A.D. 978).

Esprimo, con animo grato, all'A. il mio plauso per l'eccellente lavoro svolto nella catalogazione di EMML, unito ai più fervidi auguri di buon proseguimento per quanto resta da fare.

O. Raineri

Apocrypha

La Fable apocryphe II. APOCRYPHA. Le Champ des Apocryphes 2. Brepols, 1991, pp. XIV-300 con 28 ill.

Un tempo, il riconoscere un testo come apocrifo significava negargli ogni diritto di fonte "credibile ed attendibile"; equivaleva a metterlo da parte. Il carattere apocrifo di un testo lo relegava al di là del "canonico", quindi fuori da un contesto esprimente una semantica atta ad illuminare uno spaccato di cultura, sia pure quella ufficiale. *Apocrypha* ha prodotto con questo volume, che è il secondo della serie, un esteso orizzonte di ricerca e d'analisi sulla *favola apocrifa*, un genere abbastanza comune, ricco di nuances e patterns culturali che tanta fortuna ebbe nei secoli antichi. Da dire subito, e con rammarico, che il lettore deve volgersi a p. 291 per avere un ragguaglio bibliografico e vedere le nuove voci aggiunte alla bibliografia data nelle pp. 13-67 del primo volume: questo per dire che i riferimenti bibliografici sono a volte di difficile lettura, a meno che non si consultino assieme i due volumi. Gli ambiti dove queste favole nacquero e culturalmente si sparsero sono essenzialmente il carrefour culturale del giudeo-cristianesimo e della variopinta formulazione del cristianesimo primitivo. Nel presente volume si presentano 11 saggi. Vi sono quelli di carattere biblico a cura di P. Geoltrain, J.-D. Dubois. F. Bovon, G. Stroumsa — si avvale quest'ultimo del corpo manoscritto di Nag Hammadi e

Qumrân per la ripresa dello studio sull'origine degli apocrifi — di S. Voicu che si ferma sull'intricato problema della tradizione manoscritta relativa alla storia dell'infanzia di Gesù, e di E. Novelli, in ultimo, che si ferma su tre scritti antichi richiamantesi all'autorità di Pietro. E. Patlagean presenta la produzione e diffusione della lettura apocrifa nella cultura bizantina, e sempre restando nel milieu bizantino, questa volta artistico, N. Thierry illustra scene di letteratura apocrifa rappresentate in qualche chiesa rupestre cappadoce. M. Hudry affronta la presenza artistica degli apocrifi nell'iconografia ecclesiastica della Savoia (cicli della Vergine, di Cristo e degli Apostoli). L'Apocalisse di Paolo è analizzata da P. Dinzelbacher nella sua fortunata prolificazione medievale. Le varie sfumature negli scambi, infine, fra il testo apocrifo e l'immagine all'interno della cristianità d'Egitto e della Nubia sono evidenziate ed illustrate con competenza da G. Roquet.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Archeologica

Demetra Papanikola-Bakirtzis, Eunice Dauterman, Henry Maguire, *Ceramic Art from Byzantine Serres* (*Illinois Byz. Studies III*), with contributions by Ch. Bakirtzis and S. Wisserman. Univ. of Illinois Press, Chicago 1992, pp. X-74.

Scavi archeologici condotti nella Grecia settentrionale, precisamente a Serres e nel suo vicinato, hanno portato alla luce ottimi esempi di ceramica bizantina, datati per lo più nella seconda metà del XIII secolo. Serres, città macedone situata a circa 95 Km nord-est di Salonicco (buona la presentazione storica della città a cura di Ch. Bakirtzis, pp. 36-39) sembra essere stata nel XIII secolo un centro importante per la produzione di oggetti in ceramica. Del materiale raccolto dall'Eforia bizantina di Kavala, 25 pezzi hanno formato l'oggetto di una mostra, di cui questo libro è il catalogo. Le schede approntate sono brevi, ma esaurienti: oltre ai dati normali di catalogazione e ad una buona fotografia in bianco e nero, la scheda offre utili indicazioni sulla forma dell'oggetto, sulla sua decorazione, sul composto argilloso impiegato, ed infine sulla modalità della invetriatura. I due saggi che introducono il catalogo sono appropriati all'economia della mostra. Siamo abituati, quando si tratta in genere di arte bizantina, a materiale di carattere iconico o aulico; in questa sede, invece, si presenta un materiale di vita ordinaria, direi, oggetti dati alla funzionalità domestica della famiglia bizantina. Sono soprattutto ciotole e piatti gli oggetti presentati, e da essi ben si nota la libertà dell'operaio, del ceramista, nella trattazione della materia. La ceramica è usualmente ascritta all'arte minore; ebbene, da essa fuoriescono motivi ed idee, libertà espressiva che in altri campi dell'arte "maggiore" difficilmente si presentano. L'uso decorativo del bestiario, del viticcio, dei colori e dei fiori si riallaccia ad una figuratività orientale "scritta" con la tecnica del graffito ben sviluppata nella scuola di Serres. La tecnica del graffito è illustrata chiaramente da D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis (pp. 21-35); queste pagine diventano importanti per seguire passo passo il processo lavorativo del pezzo decorato in ceramica. Dopo il catalogo, S. Wisserman (pp. 66-69) spiega i risultati dell'esposizione di 22 pezzi di

Serres alla "neutron activation analysis" (non si è attuata la X-ray fluor analysis) dalla quale, fra l'altro, appare che l'argilla dei nostri pezzi è stata recuperata da almeno tre distinte località. Un semplice glossario (p. 70-71) chiude questo libro, certamente utile per lo studio della ceramica bizantina.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Eugenio Russo, *Sculture del complesso eufrasiano di Parenzo, Pubblicazioni dell'Università degli Studi di Cassino.* Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, Napoli 1991, pp. 318 con 221 fotografie in bianco e nero.

Questo libro rappresenta i risultati delle indagini svolte a Parenzo nel grande complesso eufrasiano da E. Russo tra il 1979 ed il 1981. L'Autore ha ulteriormente visitato il complesso nel 1984 per mettere a punto alcuni dati delle sue precedenti analisi, ma, è da dire, quanto con ed in questo libro egli viene a proporre riguarda una sua metodologia applicata criticamente non solo a Parenzo, ma anche ad altri siti del bacino adriatico, ed in altri geograficamente distanti. Preme dire questo perchè la tesi di fondo di E. Russo rivede analiticamente, e a ragione, acquisizioni ripetute in varie pubblicazioni da altri autori a proposito delle *maestranze*, forse da dire *corporazioni*, e della mobilità di pezzi scultorei.

Il libro si snoda iniziando con un prologo ove la storia del complesso, e dico anche la storia sugli studi fatti sul complesso, viene affrontata nelle sue coordinate storiche ed ambientali. Segue la serie di voci relative ai vari pezzi presenti nella chiesa del vescovo Eufrasio, nell'atrio della stessa, nel palazzo episcopale e nel museo. Ad ogni voce usualmente risponde una fotografia (le foto sono molto buone, chiare ed essenziali alla comprensione visiva dell'esposizione scritta). Un epilogo, una forma di revisione critica sugli assunti storico-stilistici sparsi nel corso della presentazione delle varie voci, chiude il discorso dell'Autore. Alla fine v'è tutta la sezione della bibliografia. Devo riconoscere che l'uso del volume, quando il lettore vuole passare dalla completa e ragionata bibliografia posta all'inizio di una voce, o quando si voglia andare a controllare una citazione fatta nel prologo o nell'epilogo, l'uso del volume, dicevo, risulta di complicata fruizione. Le citazioni son date con l'uso, ormai accettato, dell'autore affiancato dall'anno di pubblicazione; la difficoltà sorge quando nella bibliografia si cerca una siffatta citazione: la bibliografia (pp. 197 e ss.) scorre secondo la cronologia e non alfabeticamente rendendo lento e noioso il ritmo della lettura e della consultazione delle fonti.

Il lettore, a mio parere, sarà aiutato a capire questa magistrale opera se, dopo il prologo, legge le serrate ma lucide pagine dell'epilogo. Quì, infatti, Russo dice che questa sua opera non è, propriamente parlando, un *catalogo*, bensì "una riflessione, un commento progressivo sulle sculture del complesso eufrasiano, che s'inquadrano in un orizzonte geografico e culturale assai vasto" (p. 271). Non è dunque un *catalogo*, bensì qualcosa in più, forse qualcosa di essenzialmente più sistematico: è una tensione continua a vedere, a rinvenire una costante storico-artistica all'interno di un'area culturale e geografica, lì ove la valenza culturale di questa tensione allarga

sempre più la geografia fisica. Parenzo offre un quadro singolarissimo a causa del suo insieme architettonico-decorativo, di alta qualità, ben preservato; su d'esso molti hanno scritto: alcuni decontestualizzando il complesso, altri leggendolo ancora sulla ovvia "mobilità di sculture e idee", ma immobilità degli uomini. Nella sezione analitica delle singole voci, lì ove si affrontano i vari pezzi del complesso, siano essi preeufrasiani (V sec.), eufrasiani (metà del VI sec.) o tardive, ma raffinate opere del XIII sec. (cf l'ottima lettura che il Russo fa del ciborio, dei capitelli, non delle colonne del ciborio, del tabernacolo inserito nel muro della navata sinistra, opere risalenti al 1277) si evidenzia chiaramente la conoscenza vasta della scultura del VI secolo che il Russo possiede in maniera pregevole. Ed è esattamente all'interno di questo ricco secolo, il VI appunto, dove Russo raggiunge una sintesi personalissima, e giusta nelle grandi linee, del nodoso problema delle maestranze e dei loro prodotti: egli ritiene che Parenzo evidenzia ciò che altrove era stato già intravisto, cioè come il complesso eufrasiano offra una gamma variegata fra opere direttamente importate (si ricordi che il marmo usato a Parenzo è generalmente quello bianco delle cave del Proconneso nel Mar di Marmara), opere eseguite sul posto da greco-costantinopolitani, ed opere locali d'imitazione. Questa convinzione risulta sempre più chiara quando il lettore s'inoltra nella lettura, sempre stimolante ed incalzante, dei vari pezzi decorativi (si veda l'analisi dei capitelli delle colonne centrali e quella condotta sugli stucchi delle 10 arcate, ove, nell'ultimo caso, si ripresenta ancora "la medesima sottile concezione coloristica e formale" nella varietà e differenziazione). Il complesso architettonico che ruota attorno alla figura del vescovo Eufrasio ha raggiunto con quest'opera lodevole di E. Russo certamente una sua significante e peculiare funzione all'interno della discussione accademica sull'arte decorativa del VI secolo; si spera, tuttavia, che anche l'ordito metodologico intrapreso e perseguito dal Russo sia da altri storici dell'arte perseguito ed applicato nell'analisi dell'opera sul campo.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Paolo Cuneo, *Architettura Armena dal quarto al diciannovesimo secolo*, con testi e contributi di Tommaso Breccia Fratadocchi, Murad Hasrat'yan, Maria Adelaide Lala Comneno, Armen Zarian. Tomo I: testi introduttivi e schede degli edifici; tomo II: tavole sinottiche ed apparati di consultazione. Roma 1988, pp. 926, foto bianco/nero, disegni, planimetrie ed una carta geografica.

Dopo numerosi anni di ricerca — i lavori "sul campo" iniziarono nel 1966 — P. Cuneo, coadiuvato da un gruppo di studiosi, ha concluso questa monumentale opera sull'architettura armena, abbracciando lo sviluppo storico e tipologico dell'edilizia religiosa dal IV al XIX secolo. È vero che alcuni di questi monumenti sono apparsi in pubblicaziani più o meno accessibili, ma molti altri sono rimasti sconosciuti ai più. L'interesse di questo lavoro consiste primariamente in un "rilevamento e censimento" dei monumenti, e nell'inserirne i procedimenti costruttivi (strutturali), estetici e storici nel contesto d'una architettura sempre coerente, pur con limitate

variazioni, ai principi della propria identità. La zona geografica presa in considerazione si espande dalla Turchia orientale all'Iran nord-occidentale, dall'Armenia all'Azerbaigian (I, 12-13); è, dunque, il vasto ed oscillante territorio dell'Armenia storica che qui viene analizzato. I dati architettonici di questa geografia sono affrontati e letti in modo totalmente nuovo rispetto al passato. Terminata l'era della lettura culturale dell'architettura armena dovuta sostanzialmente ai pro e contra Strzygowski. P. C., pur facendo suoi i requisiti metodologici classici (dipendenza o meno dell'architettura armena da altre architetture e culture), "si interroga invece su quanto ci sia di elaborazione autonoma, anche in rapporto al secolare isolamento politico-culturale e religioso, e quindi ideologico e psicologico, del popolo dell'altopiano" (I, 17). Questa nuova metodologia trova conferma negli eventi storici. Infatti la fine del VI secolo ed il VII, anni difficili per i bizantini, almeno per quanto riguarda lo sviluppo costruttivo (e prescindo dalle tipologie planimetriche), formano nel contempo il culmine classico nello sviluppo dell'architettura armena (interrogativo posto a suo tempo da C. Mango nella sua *Architettura Bizantina*, Milano 1978, 97-105). Questa metodologia, dunque, presa nella globalità delle sue interrogazioni interdisciplinari (l'architettura coi suoi dati costruttivi, l'urbanistica, l'economia, la politica e la religione) risulta efficiente e storicamente attendibile. Questa attendibilità la riscontriamo nei tre saggi introduttivi (I, 23-86) che puntualizzano i dati architettonici (che troveremo nelle 461 schede) in un insieme globale e comprensibile. Il primo saggio è di P. C.: "Profilo storico dell'architettura armena" (I, 23-57). Essenziale, incisivo e chiaro è il pregio di questo profilo che, sia pure voluto come introduzione a questo tema, resta ricchissimo ed utile per la conoscenza dei monumenti, per l'evoluzione storica della nazione armena, per la penetrazione critica di una tipologia, d'una variante strutturale, della planimetria di un più ampio complesso. Diviso in tre parti, il saggio presenta il periodo formativo (IV-VII sec.), il periodo maturo (IX-XIV sec.), il periodo tardo (XV-XIX sec.). Dalla forma più semplice fino a quelle più complicate, si è lavorato nel primo periodo all'esplicazione delle "possibilità espressive connesse con l'uso di strutture murarie in pietra". Viene da pensare, ma non è questa la sede per un'analisi, al fatto, sottolineato da P. C., che l'epoca classica cade in un "momento di risveglio in seno alla società armena, corrispondente tra l'altro all'unificazione del paese sul piano religioso (resa possibile dai concili di Dvin del 525 e del 552 che sancivano la separazione dottrinale e l'indipendenza culturale dalla chiesa bizantina), iniziò verso la metà del VI secolo con la nuova piena affermazione da una parte dell'autorità del Katolikosato, dall'altra del potere reale, affiancato (ma spesso anzi osteggiato) dalle grandi famiglie feudali ..." (I, 27). È estremamente stimolante vedere come il distacco religioso da Bisanzio — con un'assunzione autonoma di identità religiosa da parte armena — abbia influito sull'interpretazione ideologica del potere (religioso e politico) così da condurre a risultati (nella stessa attività d'edilizia religiosa) diametralmente opposti a quelli di Bisanzio. Ancora all'interno del VI-VII secolo abbiamo la rilevante comparsa della cupola. La tecnica edilizia armena in questo campo raggiunse certamente vertici sommi, e le varianti a livello planimetrico risultano tante quanto la robusta creatività degli architetti armeni riuscì a crearne. Anche su questo argomento sarebbe interessante considerare le varie motivazioni sulle differenze strutturali e costruttive

tra armeni e bizantini (si noti che il concio è il materiale prediletto dagli architetti armeni — e da quelli siriani che, stranamente, in vari casi sono ricorsi a conci più piccoli e/o pietre nel IX-X sec. — mentre Costantinopoli ed il centro-occidentale dell'Asia Minore usavano il mattone o la pietra tagliata). Le ardite soluzioni armene per la cupola sono risolte "con una geniale interposizione, tra la calotta della cupola (sempre emisferica) e il muro d'ambito: il tamburo, struttura che assolve pienamente con la sua forma al compito di assorbire le componenti orizzontali delle spinte della volta stessa" (T. Breccia Fratadocchi, CCRB 20, 1973, p. 184). Francamente non saprei quanto di simbolico e significante vi sia nell'alzata considerevole del tamburo armeno; di certo, il lavoro strutturale del tamburo è importante, al punto che solo più tardi i bizantini sono ricorsi *sistematicamente* a questa soluzione, sia pure nel loro peculiare linguaggio (V. Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture*, OCA 237, Rome 1991, 151-2). Con la ripresa economica e sociale, dalla fine del IX sec., il periodo maturo riprende motivi del periodo formativo e li sviluppa portandoli a perfezione. Appare predominante il *xac'k'ar* (croce di pietra), che avrà una diffusione ed un ruolo importante nell'arch. armena, e la zelante attività dei cantieri monastici. I monasteri hanno funzione aggregante e socialmente arricchente nel loro territorio. Meno studiato fino ad oggi restava il periodo tardo (XV-XIX sec.). Gli esperimenti e soluzioni che P. C. espone, sia nell'area occidentale turca, come in quella orientale persiana, sono letti sempre nel complesso evolversi delle situazioni politiche. È del XVII sec., così sembra, l'apparizione della chiesa (a sala) — *gavit'*, monumento sviluppatosi nel Vaspurakan, regione altamente attiva durante il periodo più maturo.

Il secondo saggio è opera di M. Hasrat'yan, "Gli Architetti Armeni" (I, 59-71), ove il termine 'architetto' (p. 59) è analizzato filologicamente e storicamente (il lettore può completare questo soggetto con la trattazione di G. Downey in Byz 18, 1946-1948, 99-118 per i bizantini, e di H. C. Butler, *Early Churches in Syria*, Princeton 1929, 254-7 per i siriani). Il termine per eccellenza altomedioevale è *sinol*, e molti architetti sono così nelle fonti armene. Questo breve saggio non solo elenca un buon numero di architetti, ma ne indica le opere, la tecnica, l'ambiente e il materiale in cui e con cui esercitavano la loro arte. Probabilmente un'ermeneutica di più testi può dare la chiave per comprendere il *sinol* altomedioevale applicato a Gregorio Illuminatore, Narses III, Komitas ed altri. Vorrei pensare ad una valenza causativa del verbo "costruire", come *far costruire* (un "fecit" epigrafico), e vedere, per date così alte, un aiuto interpretativo veniente dall'epistola 25 del Nisseno, oppure lo *skariphos* mandato da Eudossia ed attuato da Porfirio col tramite dell'architetto antiocheno Rufino (*Vita S. Porphyrii*, ed. H. Gregoire — M.-A. Kugener, 76, 29 e 78, 1-6).

L'ultimo saggio, opera di A. Zarian, "Lineamenti di storia urbanistica dell'Armenia" (I, 73-86) presenta i dati urbanistici importanti (dalla geologia alla rete viaria) per leggere rettamente i monumenti. Capitali sono le note sul rapporto potere-architetti, sulle differenti funzioni delle città libere e regie; è accennato il ruolo amministrativo ed agricolo che i centri religiosi esercitano su vasti possedimenti e villaggi; sono molto bene spiegati i modelli di coordinamento dei centri urbani, da quello cosiddetto a triangolo, a quello medioevale concentrico, per arrivare a quello lineare. La montagna è infatti l'area tradizionale dell'urbanistica armena; dato

questo confermato anche per la Cilicia Armena che ha avuto recentemente una buona trattazione da parte di R. W. Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia. D.O.S.* XXIII, Washington 1987; cf. p. 56, nota 47). Anche se il riferimento a Bisanzio (gli stratioti e relativa casa-torre) sembra insufficientemente fondato (Zarian si appoggia su Haussig, *Kulturgeschichte von Byzanz*), non credo sia da supporre una popolazione fra 150.000 e 300.000 abitanti ad Aren (I, 78 e nota 44) appoggiandosi sul solo testo di Cedreno II, 577,7 e 578,9. Cedreno forse non conosceva Artze τὸ λεγόμενον (577,7), e l'indica come κωμόπολις un *oppidum pago simile, quod muris caret, Graecis emporion*: Du Cange, *Glossarium ad Script. Med. et Inf. Graecit.*, s.v.; Stephanus, *Thesaurus* IV, 2195. Aren non era molto fortificata, come lascia intendere Cedreno 577, 10-11 (= Zonaras III, 638,13); era, comunque, un grande emporio "internazionale" (Cedreno, ib.; Zonaras III, 638, 11-12).

La seconda parte di questo poderoso volume — ottima la veste tipografica, arricchita di buone foto, disegni antichi — è occupata dalle 461 schede relative agli edifici. P. C. ha scritto le schede 1-250 (relative quasi tutte all'Armenia, eccetto le 24 dell'Azerbaigian); M. A. Lala Comneno da 251 a 461 (Azerbaigian, Rep. Islamica d'Iran, Turchia). La scheda riguarda un solo edificio religioso; quando si ha un complesso architettonico, di cui è possibile offrire una planimetria completa, la scheda lo contempla. Queste schede costituiscono degli ottimi strumenti di lavoro, completi nella loro essenzialità e capaci, al tempo stesso, d'incanalare ulteriori ricerche. Ciascuna scheda, infatti, comprende: a) un titolo, includente: 1) il numero relativo alle tavole e alla carta a fine volume II; 2) nome della città, dell'edificio, dedicazione, date relative alle fasi costruttive); 3) regione o provincia d'appartenenza; b) testo descrittivo con notizie storiche sul sito, edificio, patronato e costruttori; c) bibliografia sintetica, ma essenziale, di riferimento; d) grafici (planimetria generale, piante particolari); e) documentazione fotografica, recente e buona, accompagnata, quando è possibile, da foto, incisioni, disegni antichi.

Il secondo volume è prettamente tecnico, e presenta inizialmente (pp. 709-749) sinottici tipologici delle piante, ove il lettore, aiutato dal numero iniziale della scheda posto accanto alla pianta, ha subito l'idea della ricorrenza tipologica e della variazione rispetto a tipologie analoghe. Ottima, pure, la sinossi delle "aggregazioni e recinti", ove un solo colpo d'occhio abbraccia il complesso sviluppo di tutto l'insediamento religioso. Eccellente è la sinossi iconografica (pp. 751-832). Le foto, oltre 800, non sono ordinate secondo gli edifici, ma secondo determinate tematiche, rispondenti a precisi interessi e soluzioni architettoniche: volumi esterni, spazi interni, elementi architettonici, decorazione, scultura, tecnica costruttiva. L'importanza di queste sinossi sta soprattutto nella loro capacità di sollecitare interrogativi: il lettore può essere sospinto ad esaminare altre schede per rispondere ad insorgenti nuovi quesiti nati dallo spiegarsi d'una nota costruttiva, strutturale, iconografica. A cura di M. A. Lala Comneno è la cronologia comparata dal I al XIX sec. (pp. 833-871). Il succedersi delle date e degli eventi principali relativi all'impero romano d'occidente e d'oriente, dell'Armenia e del mondo iranico aiuta sensibilmente il lettore a rileggere fatti relativi all'architettura armena. Pure di Lala Comneno è l'esauriente bibliografia (oltre 1500 titoli) che copre la materia trattata (pp. 873-908; una lieve imperfezione di stampa a p. 873 è dovuta ad uno sfasamento di linea fra abbreviazione e titolo). Segue, infine, la traduzione italiana dei nomi delle chiese e

dei monasteri (p. 909); il rinvio a nomi geografici (910-911); un glossario di termini tecnici; un indice alfabetico dei capoluoghi di regione o di provincia, ed infine l'indice generale dei siti e dei monumenti (912-923). Utilissima è la carta geografica che abbraccia tutto il territorio esaminato, dove al nome si affianca il titolo ed il numero della scheda.

È un opera cui d'ora in poi si deve far riferimento nell'investigare con giusta metodologia la peculiare e ricchissima produzione architettonica armena.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Byzantinica

Βενιζέλος Χ. Χριστοφορίδης, *Ισιδώρου Γλαβά αρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης ομιλίες, Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης*, Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα Θεολογική Σχολής Τμήματος, Θεολογίας. Τομος 1, παράρτημα αριθ. 6, τόμος πρωτος. Θεσσαλονίκη 1992, pp. 237.

In questo volume si pubblicano tredici omelie del santo arcivescovo di Thessalonica Isidoros Glavas, il cui episcopato (1380-1396) coincise con un periodo particolarmente critico per l'impero bizantino a causa delle aggressioni Ottomane.

Nonostante le condizioni avverse di quel periodo, Glavas, personalità complessa, dotata di eccezionale talento retorico, coadiuvato da una solida cultura sia classica che teologico-cristiana, riuscì a dedicarsi con successo alla produzione scritta di lettere pastorali ed omelie. In queste ultime, dove non manca la speculazione teologica, Glavas dà una particolare importanza ai problemi sociali e morali della sua città e della sua chiesa, mentre adatta in maniera chiara ed incisiva le Sacre Scritture alle esigenze pratiche dei suoi tempi. La raccolta delle omelie di Isidoros comprende cinquanta titoli, suddivisi in due codici: il *Parisinus Gr. 1192* (contenente 31 omelie) ed il *Vaticanus Gr. 651* (contenente 20 omelie con la ripetizione dell'ultima del *Parisinus Gr. 1192*, che in questo codice è la prima). V. Ch. Christoforides pubblica in questo volume tredici (XXVIII-XL) delle venti omelie contenute nel *Vaticanus Gr. 651.* Tutte si basano su pericopi evangeliche domenicali e coprono il periodo liturgico che va dalla settima domenica di Luca (domenica dell'indemoniato di Gerasa) alla domenica di Zaccheo. Non ci sono indizi certi per poter collocare cronologicamente queste omelie, ma alcune di esse contengono testimonianze storiche che permettono all'autore di stabilire con una certa precisione il tempo in cui furono scritte. Così Christoforides colloca la stesura dell'omelie n. XXVIII, XXX, XXXVII, XXXVIII tra il 1382 ed il 1384.

Prima dell'edizione del testo, Christoforides descrive i codici conosciuti contenenti le opere dell'arcivescovo; in particolare: *Parisinus Gr. 1921*, *Vaticanus Gr. 651*, *Angelicus Gr. 51*, *Ambrosianus Gr. 1056*, *Vossianus-Miscellaneus Gr. 12, V*, *Napolitanus ex Vindob. Gr. 19*, *Casanatens. Gr. 1386*, Αγ. Στεφάνου (Μετεώρων) 351, 37, *Ottobonianus Gr. 397*, *Ambrosianus Gr. 346*, Σιναϊτικός 143, Ιβήρων 696, Μεταμορφώσεως (Μετεώρων) 154, *Marcianus Gr. IV, 46*, *Marcianus Gr. XI, 25*, *Vaticanus Reg. 43*, Ιβήρων 286 ("Αθων 4406).

Il buon apparato critico insieme agli interessanti riferimenti bibliografici e alle note critiche fanno di quest'opera d'ora in poi un valido punto di riferimento per chi è interessato alla produzione letteraria di Isidoros Glavas. Nello stesso tempo, la pubblicazione dei suoi sermoni offre agli studiosi una rara fonte di informazioni sulle condizioni sociopolitiche, ecclesiastiche e civili della Salonicco del XIV secolo.

K. Douramani

Dumbarton Oaks Papers, vol. 45, in 4*. Washington, D.C. 1991, pp. XV-176 with 72 plates.

Il presente volume ospita, nelle sue prime pagine, due dovute ricordanze: Otto Demus, commemorato da H. Belting; A. Grabar, rievocato da H. Maguire. Ambedue questi grandi studiosi sono deceduti nel 1990; hanno impresso un sigillo indelebile nell'intelligenza culturale ed artistica di Bisanzio. Nell'aprile del 1990 si è tenuto un Symposium a Dumbarton Oaks su *The Holy Image*, e tre interventi avutisi allora appaiono in questo numero di DOP. Il primo è di G. Dagron, "Holy Images and Likeness" (pp. 23-33); queste brevi pagine, dal pensiero profondo ed ancorato a testi accertati, sono volte a puntualizzare concezioni gnoseologiche sottostanti al concetto di *immagine*. Precedentemente (pp. 1-22) A. Kazhdan e H. Maguire ("Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art") riuniscono una considerevole quantità di dati, tratti dal vasto e strano mondo agiografico, utili per il campo artistico. N. Oikonomides, "The Holy Icon as an Asset" (pp. 35-44, questo contributo appartiene al Symposium citato) tratta dell'icona, ordinaria e speciale, con un intento veramente nuovo ed intelligente. Il mondo dell'icona diventa un campo di interessi sociali, una specie di marketing che si evidenzia negli intrecci di carattere sociali e finanziari. Il terzo saggio derivante dal Symposium è di N. Patterson Ševčenko, "Icons in the Liturgy" (pp. 45-57). Nel pensare all'uso dell'icona in un contesto di "liturgical use", l'autrice ci dice che essa intende ciò che accade in un regolare ufficio, ripetuto e ben definito, celebrato in comune da un'assemblea monastica o cattedrale, sotto la direzione di un presidente canonicamente riconosciuto. Le icone della Theotokos sono qui considerate nella loro fruizione a proposito di qualche ufficio liturgico: il dato artistico offerto dall'autrice è ben proporzionato ad una corretta conoscenza delle fonti liturgiche. R. S. Nelson e J. Lowden, "The Palaeologina Group: Additional Manuscripts and New Questions" (pp. 59-68) aggiungono nuovi MSS al gruppo dei 15 attribuiti da Buchtal e Belting all'atelier costantinopolitano, ed al contempo, allargano ragionevolmente l'orizzonte semantico, culturale, sociale e geografico del senso di atelier. Il contributo di L.-A. Hunt, "Art and Colonialism: the Mosaics of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (1169) and the Problem of 'Crusader' Art" (pp. 69-85) sottolinea il contributo indigeno, all'interno della disputata questione relativa all'arte crociata, nella creazione musiva avutasi a Bethlemme. Ben ponderata è l'analisi dell'influenza politica sulla coordinazione e cooperazione artistica in Palestina a quel tempo. S. Guberti Bassett, "The Antiquities

in the Hippodrome of Constantinople" (pp. 87-96) riprende temi della sua dissertazione dottorale sulla riutilizzazione della statuaria antica nella capitale, dal IV al VI secolo, concentrandosi, in particolare, in quella dell'ippodromo. Un testo che ha ricevuto in passato poca attenzione — come poco conto si è dato anche al soggetto in generale — è il *Sententiae ad Virginem* di Evagrio Pontico che S. Elm (pp. 97-120) prende qui in considerazione. Le pagine sono dense, ricche di spunti per delineare la specificità femminile all'interno del grande fenomeno monastico, soprattutto nei primi tempi della sua evoluzione. Th. Papazotos, "The Identification of the Church of 'Profitis Elias' in Thessaloniki" (pp. 121-127) propone, come ipotesi di lavoro, l'identificazione della chiesa dedicata al profeta Elia a Salonicco con il katholikon del monastero paleologo de Akapniou; in precedenza l'identificazione tendeva verso il katholikon della Nea Moni (G. Theocharides). E. McGeer, "Tradition and Reality in the *Taktika* of Nikephoros Ouranos" (pp. 129-140 con un'appendice e foto su un sigillo di N. Ouranos) rivaluta la *Taktika* di Ouranos, apportando la convinzione che nel trattato non si trova soltanto un nostalgico concentrato di vecchie nozioni logistiche, ma che lo stesso Ouranos abbia aggiunto note dovute alla sua personale esperienza militare. Una proposta di identificazione della Grand Magne (Palaia Maïni), citata nella *Cronaca di Morea*, con la fortezza di Kelephà è il contributo presentato da J. M. Wagstaff, "Further Observations on the Location of Grand Magne" (pp. 141-148). Eccellenti sono le note critiche di S. Ronkey, "An Introduction to Eustathios' *Exegesis in Canonem Iambicum*" (pp. 149-158); Ronkey lavora da anni su Eustazio, e qui raggiunge risultati che ben evidenziano caratteristiche nuances del tenore linguistico ed esegetico di un dotto bizantino. Chiude il volume D. M. Olster, "The Date of the George of Pisidia's *Hexaemeron*" (pp. 159-172), ove si sottolinea il carattere "politico" e non esclusivamente teologico di quest'opera scritta negli anni '30 del VII secolo.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Dumbarton Oaks Papers, vol. 46, in 4*; *Homo Byzantinus, Papers in Honor of Alexander Kazhdan*, ed. by A. Cutler and S. Franklin, Washington D.C., 1992, pp. VIII-329 with plates.

Un affresco policromo composto da 29 omaggi, scritti da amici e colleghi, è consegnato a A. Kazhdan in questo volume. A. Cutler e S. Franklin, curatori di questo numero di DOP, introducono A. K. rispettivamente attraverso il sentiero della sua vita intellettuale (la formazione nelle allora Repubbliche Sovietiche, il suo insegnamento accademico, l'andata negli Stati Uniti — abbia il lettore il gusto di concedersi un pendant alle pagine di Cutler col leggersi il profilo presentato da A. A. Gurevich (p. 89 e ss.), pagine dirette e vivide nello scorrere dei fatti e delle scelte intellettuali di quegli anni — ed attraverso l'abbondante bibliografia. Se il titolo di questo affresco suona *Homo Byzantinus*, è certamente perchè si vuole evidenziare l'intenzionalità della ricerca, dell'analisi attenta di Kazhdan volta sempre ad illuminare il *byzantinus*. E ciò è stato perseguito, con tonalità più o meno aderenti a

questo fine, in tutti e per tutti gli scritti di Kazhdan che hanno toccato e toccano ancora oggi i molteplici aspetti della civiltà bizantina. Sui variegati aspetti della cultura di Bisanzio toccati dallo studioso russo vertono i temi degli scritti presentati in questo volume. Essi sono i seguenti: R. Browning, "A Fourteenth-Century Prose Version of the *Odyssey*"; G. Constable, "Dictators and Diplomats in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries: Medieval Epistolography and the Birth of Modern Bureaucracy"; A. Cutler, "*Pas oikos Israil*: Ezechiel and the Politics of Resurrection in Tenth-Century Byzantium"; G. Dagron, "L'ombre d'un doute: L'hagiographie en question, VIe-XIe siècle"; S. Franklin, "Greek in Kievan Rus'"; S. Gero, "The Alexander Legend in Byzantium: Some Literary Gleanings"; A. Gurevich, "Why am I not a Byzantinist?"; J. Herrin, "'Femina Byzantina': The Council in Trullo on Women"; W. Hörandner, "Ein Zyklus von Epigrammen zu Darstellungen von Herrenfesten und Wunderszenen"; H. Hunger, "Der *homo byzantinus* und das Bleisiegel"; S. A. Ivanov, "Slavic Jesters and the Byzantine Hippodrome"; P. Karlin-Hayter, "Further Notes on Byzantine Marriage: Raptus-*arpagi* or *mnisteiai*?"; F. Kianka, "The Letters of Demetrios Kydones to Empress Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina"; A. E. Laiou, "Imperial Marriages and Their Critics in the Eleventh Century: The Case of Skylitzes"; J. N. Ljubarskij, "Man in Byzantine Historiography from John Malalas to Michael Psellos"; R. J. Macrides, "Bad Historian or Good Lawyer? Demetrios Chomatenos and Novel 131"; P. Magdalino, "Eros the King and King of *Amours*: Some Observations on *Hysmine* and *Hysminias*"; H. Maguire, "The Mosaics of Nea Moni: An Imperial Reading"; C. Mango, "Diabolus Byzantinus"; A. Markopoulos, "An Anonymous Laudatory Poem in Honor of Basil I"; M. Mullet, "The Madness of Genre"; N. Oikonomides, "The First Century of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas"; E. Patlagean, "De la chasse et du souverain"; F. Poljakov, "Ein neues Zeugnis über Ignatij von Smolensk und die russische Kolonie in Konstantinopel im ausgehenden 14. Jahrhundert"; A. Poppe, "Once Again Concerning the Baptism of Olga, Archontissa of Rus'"; I. Ševčenko, "The Search for the Past in Byzantium around the Year 800"; A.-M. Talbot, "Empress Theodora Palaiologina, Wife of Michael VIII"; R. W. Thomson, "'Let Now the Astrologers Stand Up'; The Armenian Christian Reaction to Astrology and Divination"; A. J. Wharton, "The Baptistery of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and the Politics of Sacred Landscape"; (chiude il volume la lista delle abbreviazioni usate). Come ben si constata, si tratta di apporti scientifici di ottima qualità e varia natura che ben si addicono ad onorare A. Kazhdan. Al lettore i saggi offrono certamente un materiale ed una lettura stimolante su vari temi, a volte raramente toccati, che la cultura bizantina ha prodotto soprattutto durante il suo lungo medioevo.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Evstratii Presbyteri *Vita Evtychii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani* quam edidit Carl Laga (*Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca* 25), Brepols, Turnhout 1992, pp. LIV+105.

Come di costume nella *Series Graeca* del *Corpus Christ.*, si dà alle stampe in modo accuratamente critico questa *Vita Eytichii* grazie alla cura e competenza di C. Laga; l'A. informa anche che il Commentario a questo interessante testo agiografico sarà fornito da A. Cameron. L'intento precipuo di questo libro è consegnare al lettore un testo greco filologicamente corretto e sicuro della *Vita* del patriarca, e sopperire così alle edizioni filologicamente carenti pubblicate in *Acta SS.* April. I (1675) 548-572 e LIX-LXXXIII (su questa edizione dei Bollandisti, Laga felicemente fa notare la presenza della traduzione latina attuata da Zini nella metà del XVI sec. che aveva sott'occhio il *Marcianus gr. 359* mentre Papebrochius leggeva il *Vat. gr. 1660*) e quella dei *librarii* della PG (le ultime variazioni avutesi nella PG 86 sono del 1865). Un approfondimento linguistico e stilistico sull'opera di Eustrazio, umile presbitero e "discepolo di Eutichio" secondo il *Vat.* sarà, almeno si spera, un ulteriore lavoro promesso da Laga. Il testo greco si basa su tre MSS: oltre al *Vaticanus*, del 916, scritto dal monaco Giovanni dello Studius di Costantinopoli, e al *Marcianus* della fine del X-inizi XI sec., v'è il *Patmiacus 254* dell'X-XI sec. Lavorare su tre soli MSS ha dato la possibilità all'A. di addentrarsi molto bene in uno studio comparativo delle versioni manoscritte ed offrire così uno stemma convincente. Un aiuto importante per ritenere l'archetipo già parzialmente corrotto è sorretto dalle accertate citazioni di Gregorio di Nazianzio (3 citazioni riportate da Eustrazio) e una della *Vita Macrinae* di Gregorio di Nissa: un MS è postulato per il *Vat.* ed il *Patm.*, diverso dal *Marc.*, che mostra in sè già chiaramente corruzioni testuali. Giustamente si è ritenuto dare un apparato critico negativo: pur nella difficoltà di rispettare il MS, e al contempo di ritenere quanto di importante e di peculiare il greco di Eustrazio (VI sec.) offriva, Laga ha saputo fare delle scelte di lettura acute ed intelligenti nello stendere il testo base. È pur vero che i criteri e le motivazioni nell'optare per un tipo di apparato piuttosto che per un altro è e resterà motivo continuo di discussione e di scorrimento d'inchiostro: francamente le linee essenziali tenute e rispettate dall'A. sono più che convincenti. Le citazioni dirette sono in corsivo nel testo stampato. Eustrazio si è servito oltre che di testi scritturistici — in modo veramente abbondante per illustrare il suo eroico e taumaturgico patriarca (*thavmata* del *Marcianus* è ripreso dal *thavmastos* riferito dal testo ad Eutichio) — anche dei Padri Cappadoci. Di questi, il più ripreso risulta Gregorio di Nazianzio (37 citazioni, di cui la gran parte spetta alla *Orat. 21* "In Athanasium", e alla *Orat. 43* "in Basilium") la cui prosa è lucidamente esemplare, inserita com'è nella tessitura parenetica del testo di Eustrazio che certamente non eccelle in stile. Una serie di utili indici chiude questo volume, esile, ma prezioso e corretto.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Theoleptos of Philadelpheia, *The Monastic Discourses. A Critical Edition, Translation and Study by Robert E. Sinkewicz, C.S.B.*, Toronto 1992 (= Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. Studies and texts 111), pp. VIII, 418.

Senza i fondamentali e pionieristici studi di Vitalien Laurent e Sévérien Salaville, Teolepto, metropolita di Filadelfia (1250-1322), sarebbe rimasto a lungo solamente uno fra i tanti autori inseriti da Nicodemo Aghiorita e Macario di Corinto nella loro *Filocalia*. Le ricerche dei due illustri Padri Assunzionisti hanno via via messo a fuoco i lineamenti e l'attività di questa singolare figura di monaco e di vescovo, partecipe, e spesso protagonista, di diverse vicende che segnarono e turbarono la vita della Chiesa e dell'Impero bizantini nei primi convulsi decenni del XIV secolo. Gli scritti di direzione spirituale di Teolepto hanno anche permesso di conoscere la destinataria di queste istruzioni e il suo sfortunato destino: Irene, figlia di Niceforo Choumnos, uno dei potenti dell'Impero, che, dopo uno splendido matrimonio con l'erede al trono imperiale, era rimasta vedova a soli sedici anni, e aveva quindi vestito l'abito monastico, entrando nel monastero costantinopolitano del Philanthropos Soter, del quale doveva diventare la badessa, e dove avrebbe trascorso il resto della sua lunga vita. L'edizione dell'opera completa di Teolepto, intrapresa, ma non portata a termine, da S. Salaville, costituiva perciò uno dei principali *desiderata* non solo degli studiosi del XIII-XIV secolo, ma anche degli storici della Chiesa, del monachesimo e della spiritualità. Con grande piacere e soddisfazione va pertanto accolto questo volume di Padre Sinkewicz che costituisce senz'altro una magnifica realizzazione di questi auspici.

Il libro di S., già noto per la sua edizione dei *150 Capitoli* di Gregorio Palamas, per le importanti edizioni e studi su Barlaam Calabro e sugli inizi della controversia palamitica e per la realizzazione del *Greek Index Project*, comprende due sezioni distinte: un'ampia introduzione (pp. 1-78) precede l'edizione dei testi accompagnata dalla traduzione inglese (pp. 79-383). Gli indici delle citazioni bibliche e dei riferimenti alla letteratura classica e patristica sono seguiti da quello delle immagini della vita quotidiana e dall'utilissimo indice generale delle opere di Teolepto (comprendente le lettere e i discorsi antiarseniti).

L'introduzione si articola in tre distinti capitoli. Nel primo S. tratteggia la vita di Teolepto: gli oscuri inizi, la scelta monastica, i difficili anni dell'Unione di Lione, il periodo dell'episcopato a Filadelfia, i dissidi all'interno della Chiesa (scisma arsenita) e le complicazioni politiche (arrivo della Compagnia Catalana). Dopo una breve presentazione della figura di Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina (pp. 18-20), S. fornisce una dettagliata lista delle opere di Teolepto (o a lui attribuite, come il *Canone al dolcissimo Gesù* di Teoctisto Studita). Il secondo capitolo (pp. 26-66) è consacrato all'insegnamento di Teolepto: dopo aver trattato di tematiche più propriamente "monastiche" e della via che va dall'ascesi alla contemplazione, S. si sofferma a lungo sull'integrazione della spiritualità monastica nella dimensione ecclesiale. Il terzo capitolo (pp. 67-78) presenta i manoscritti contenenti gli scritti di Teolepto e segnala le edizioni delle singole opere pubblicate dalla *Filocalia* e dai moderni studiosi. È descritto innanzitutto il celebre Vat. Ottobon. gr. 405, manoscritto appartenuto con ogni probabilità alla stessa Irene-Eulogia, e in seguito finito ad Alessandria (nota sul f. 2r). Il codice contiene ventitré discorsi e cinque

lettere di Teolepto. L'Alexandrinus graecus 131 (XIV secolo) è una copia diretta dell'Ottob. gr. 405, comprendente gli stessi scritti in un ordine diverso. Il copista (o il suo committente) ha cercato infatti di ordinare le omelie sulla base dell'anno liturgico. Altri due codici, Marc. gr. I, 29 (949) e Athos Kastam. 25 (461), contengono due soli discorsi, il *Logos sulla pratica segreta in Cristo* (nr. 1), che figura nella *Filocalia* e il *Testamento spirituale* (nr. 23). Mentre l'Athos Karakallou 72 (1585) presenta soltanto il primo di questi trattati (nr. 1), il Vatopedi 214 (a. 1862) è una copia del testo edito dalla *Filocalia*. S. segnala altresì, basandosi sul catalogo di Pasini, il Taur. B.VII.11 (p. 75), dove ai ff. 251-269 figurava un tempo il trattato nr. 1 (e il nr. 23?). Aggiungiamo *en passant* che dopo l'incendio del 1904 (e non del 1945 come scrive S.), sono rimasti soltanto 65 fogli (descritti recentemente da N. U. Gulmini, *I manoscritti miniati della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino*, vol.II. *I manoscritti greci*, Torino 1989, nr. 26: pp. 40-41, figg. 93-95), tra i quali non si ritrova nessun passo di Teolepto. L'esiguo numero di codici deve, a nostro avviso, far riflettere perché costituisce un indizio significativo sulla diffusione delle opere del metropolita di Filadelfia. La limitata circolazione degli scritti di Teolepto va altresì raffrontata con la straordinaria popolarità di altre opere e di altri autori contemporanei: basti qui soltanto pensare alle decine e decine di codici contenenti gli opuscoli dello pseudo-Simeone e di Niceforo.

La seconda parte del volume di S. presenta l'edizione di una lettera, indirizzata a Irene poco dopo la morte di Giovanni Paleologo e l'entrata della principessa in convento, e di ventitré discorsi e istruzioni di Teolepto, accompagnati dalla traduzione inglese e dagli opportuni rinvii alle fonti bibliche e patristiche. Questo libro perciò, assieme ai due discorsi sullo scisma arsenita pubblicati di recente dallo stesso Sinkewicz, *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1988) 52-94, alle due lettere edite da Angela Hero, *Journal of Modern Hellenism* (d'ora in poi JMH) 3 (1986) 6-30; 4 (1987) 2-16, e in attesa delle ultime due epistole di Teolepto (che saranno stampate fra poco), rende accessibile non soltanto agli studiosi, ma anche al pubblico più vasto delle persone interessate alla storia della spiritualità, l'opera del metropolita di Filadelfia.

Tra i ventitré titoli pubblicati nel volume, la parte maggiore è costituita dalle omelie o dai discorsi di soggetto spirituale pronunziati da Teolepto nel monastero costantinopolitano della famiglia Choumnos, consacrato al Philanthropos Soter (nr. 4-5, 7-12, 15-22). Questa fondazione religiosa era un monastero "doppio". Con questo termine si suole definire un convento nel quale vivevano, in due parti distinte e separate, monaci e monache. Per quanto riguarda il Philanthropos Soter va ricordato che lo stesso Niceforo Choumnos, padre di Irene, vi trascorse i suoi ultimi giorni. Soltanto uno dei sermoni di Teolepto (nr. 10) è rivolto ai monaci, mentre i rimanenti sono indirizzati alle monache dirette da Irene. Tra le altre opere troviamo innanzitutto le istruzioni scritte, redatte dal metropolita di Filadelfia su richiesta della principessa (nr. 1, 3), i brevi trattati sulla vigilanza, la *hesychia* e la preghiera (nr. 2, 6), privi di ogni riferimento alle occasioni ed ai motivi della loro redazione, un'omelia sul Natale (nr. 13) che Teolepto, assente da Costantinopoli, fece pervenire in forma scritta alle monache del monastero costantinopolitano, ecc. Chiude la serie l'importante *Testamento spirituale* di Teolepto (pp. 352-382), inviato da Filadelfia a Irene-Eulogia e alla sua compagna Agathonike nei primi mesi del 1322 (sulle circostanze cfr. p. 22 e n. 93). La cronologia del *corpus* non presenta particolari

difficoltà (pp. 22-23), dal momento che la successione di questi scritti nell'Ottobon. 405, manoscritto orgnanizzato dalla stessa Irene, è ispirata da ragioni d'ordine cronologico. S. riassume in una tabella la datazione delle singole opere (p. 23). Soltanto per sette titoli (nr. 6-10, 14, 16) non è proposta alcuna datazione. In merito si possono fare alcune osservazioni supplementari. La serie 6-10 è preceduta dall'omelia sulla Trasfigurazione, pronunziata da Teolepto nel monastero del Philanthropos Soter il 6 agosto 1308, ed è seguita dal sermone per la domenica del *tyrophagou* del 5 marzo 1318. Il nr. 6, *Sulla hesychia e sulla preghiera*, sembra un'istruzione scritta, mentre i successivi sono dei discorsi tenuti dal nostro metropolita nel monastero del Philanthropos (cfr. nr. 7, § 1, l. 1; nr. 8, § 1, l. 1; nr. 9, § 1, ll. 1-2, nr. 10, § 1, l. 2). Noi sappiamo che Teolepto fu assente da Costantinopoli per circa un decennio, dal 1308 al 1317/18 (*terminus post quem* del suo ritorno nella capitale l'1 settembre 1317, cfr. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, nr. 2082, 2083, 2085-2087). In modo ipotetico, ma con una certa verosomiglianza, si può pertanto supporre che le omelie nr. 7-10 risalgano a quell'epoca, e cioè all'inverno 1317/18. Mentre la datazione del nr. 14 non può essere determinata con esattezza, il discorso nr. 16 (cfr. § 1, l. 1) fu pronunziato durante la Settimana Santa del 1321.

L'edizione delle opere di Teolepto ci permette di intravvedere la sua attività di direttore spirituale, anche se dobbiamo sottolineare che i testi a noi pervenuti (soprattutto per quanto riguarda la corrispondenza del metropolita con Irene e le monache del Philanthropos) costituiscono purtroppo soltanto una parte degli scritti originari, della quale, tra l'altro, non è possibile stabilire la consistenza. In primo luogo, la nostra visione del sodalizio di Teolepto con Irene è necessariamente parziale, dal momento in cui non si è conservata nessuna lettera della principessa al suo direttore. Le reazioni di Irene alle missive di Teolepto ci sono perciò conosciute solamente dalle scarne e laconiche note vergate in margine alle epistole del metropolita nell'Ottobon. 405. Alcune lettere di Irene sono menzionate negli scritti di Teolepto. Così, nel 1307, egli redige un breve testo sulla vita ascetica in risposta ad una precisa richiesta di Irene (nr. 3, § 1: p. 154; e cfr. nr. 1, § 1: p. 84, ll. 10-11) e, tra la fine del 1321 e gli inizi del 1322, di ritorno a Filadelfia, riceve tre lettere della principessa (cfr. JMH 3, 1986, p. 8, l. 45 e sgg.; 4, 1987, p. 2 , l. 1 e sgg.) e una di Agathonike (JMH 3, 1986, p. 18, l. 222 e sgg.; 4, 1987; p. 16, l. 223 e sgg.). Sulla base di queste indicazioni e conoscendo le abitudini (e il carattere) di Irene, anche grazie alle sue lettere più tarde, indirizzate al suo secondo direttore spirituale, possiamo supporre che durante il decennio di assenza di Teolepto dalla capitale ella avesse scritto innumerevoli volte al maestro lontano. È altresì difficile credere che il metropolita per tutto quel periodo non si fosse mai rivolto per iscritto alla sua figlia spirituale. Se siamo costretti a muoverci nel campo delle ipotesi quando pensiamo che gli scritti di Teolepto, legati alla sua attività di direttore spirituale di Irene e delle monache del Philanthropos Soter, non possano aver conosciuto un silenzio quasi decennale, sappiamo per certo che egli scrisse una lettera alla monaca Agathonike (JMH 3, 1986, p. 28, l.404 e sgg.; 4, 1987, pp. 2, l.7 e sgg., 16, l.223 e sgg.), lettera che non sembra esserci pervenuta.

Passiamo ora ad alcune brevi osservazioni su alcuni punti dell'introduzione. S., commentando la frase "Seduta nella cella, ricordati di Dio", ecc. (Καθημένη γοῦν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μνημόνευε Θεοῦ), nr. 1, § 16: p. 94, l.182, scrive che con queste

parole "Theoleptos places himself squarely in the tradition of Nikephoros the Hesychast and the *Methodos*" (p. 33). Non pensiamo che per queste parole si debba necessariamente rimandare a questi due autori, dato che questa espressione era, all'epoca, un vero e proprio "luogo-comune" della letteratura monastica. Così, ad esempio, il secondo direttore della stessa Irene, personaggio che non può certo essere considerato un esicasta, scriveva: "Sedendo nella mia cella e raccogliendomi di fronte all'unico Dio", ecc., A. Hero, *A Woman's Quest for Spiritual Guidance*, Brookline/Mass. 1986, nr.14, l.1 e sgg.: p. 68 (cfr. OCP 55 [1989] 505-506). Senza voler qui esaminare i diversi significati assunti da questa ingiunzione, cfr. I. Hausherr, "Les Exercices spirituels de saint Ignace et la méthode d'oraison hésychaste", OCP 20 (1954) 7-26, non si deve dimenticare che i precedenti negli autori più antichi erano molto numerosi. Ricordiamone alcuni. Simeone Nuovo Teologo: "Allora tu, sedendo solitario in un angolo", PG 120, col. 963B. Abba Ammona: "Sedendoti nella tua cella, raccogli la tua mente", PO 11, p. 486. Evagrio: "Siedi nella tua cella e raccogli la tua mente", *Φιλοκαλία*, I, p. 42. E uno pseudo-Efrem: "Sedendoti nella quiete della cella, raccogli i pensieri", Assemani, II, Roma 1743, p. 91.

Alle pp. 4-5, S., parlando dell'apprendistato monastico di Teolepto, ritorna sulla questione dei suoi rapporti con Niceforo l'Esicasta. Non ci dilungheremo sul problema più del necessario dato che lo abbiamo già toccato in due diverse occasioni, cfr. RSBN 24, 1987, p. 170 e sgg., "Niceforo l'esicasta (XIII sec.): alcune considerazioni sulla vita e sull'opera", in *Amore del bello. Studi sulla Filocalia*, Bose 1991, pp. 84-85. S., basandosi sulle *Triadi* di Gregorio Palamas (I, 2, 12 e II, 2, 3), ritiene che Teolepto fosse uno dei discepoli di Niceforo. Egli però avverte, e a ragione, che "the witness of Palamas should be treated with some caution" (p. 5), dato che presenta delle incongruenze soprattutto dal punto di vista cronologico. Un'indagine accurata sui personaggi menzionati da Gregorio Palamas ci ha indotti a credere che qui non siano menzionati i discepoli di Niceforo, né i rappresentanti di una "scuola" esicastica (come S. sembra affermare a p. 37), ma soltanto una schiera di "celebrità" monastiche degli anni a cavallo tra il XIII e il XIV secolo. Molti di questi personaggi sono per noi dei semplici nomi, ma le poche notizie in nostro possesso ci mostrano che ciascuno era il rappresentante di una particolare cerchia o di un gruppo ben determinato, con tendenze, connotati e intenzioni contradditorie e divergenti. Le scarse informazioni disponibili ci mostrano come alcuni (Atanasio Lipentrino) fossero tra i *leaders* arseniti, fazione combattuta aspramente da Teolepto e da Atanasio I. Seliote aveva macchinato per far deporre Atanasio I, e così via. Se davvero questi monaci fossero stati insieme discepoli di Niceforo, si dovrebbe probabilmente concludere che il loro maestro non sarebbe stato molto soddisfatto di aver avuto degli allievi tanto "turbolenti". L'unico elemento che li *sembra* accomunare, sia pur per breve tempo, resta la radicale avversione alla politica religiosa dell'imperatore Michele VIII e all'Unione raggiunta a Lione nel 1274. La maggior parte di questi monaci erano inoltre collegati in modi diversi ai monasteri del monte S. Aussenzio. Un soggiorno di Teolepto all'Aussenzio è, a nostro avviso, più probabile di una sua permanenza sull'Athos, alla quale sembra rimandare Filoteo Kokkinos. Nell'*Encomio* di Gregorio Palamas leggiamo che Teolepto divenne metropolita di Filadelfia, provenendo dal "monte della santità" (τὸ τῆς ἁγιότητος

ὄρος). Oltre a rimanere strano e inspiegabile il motivo per cui Niceforo Chomnos, nel suo *Encomio* di Teolepto, avrebbe dovuto tacere un eventuale soggiorno di Teolepto sull'Athos, c'è anche da chiedersi se effettivamente le parole di Filoteo vogliano indicare l'Athos. Nelle sue composizioni agiografiche (*Vitae* di Saba, Germano, Isidoro, G. Palamas), infatti, Kokkinos quando parla dell'Athos lo menziona *sempre* esplicitamente (cioè facendone il nome). Soltanto dopo averlo nominato, utilizza (e nello stesso periodo, o in frasi vicine) termini quali "Santa Montagna" (Ἅγιον/Ἱερὸν Ὄρος), o simili. E lo stesso vale anche per altri toponimi, come, ad esempio, il monte Papikion. Detto questo, non dobbiamo nasconderci che i due passi di Gregorio Palamas continuano a costituire un problema. Forse un aiuto a comprendere i motivi e le intenzioni di queste righe potrebbe giungere da una rilettura dei testi monastici del XIV secolo che trattano, procedendo via via a una progressiva, anche se inconsapevole, trasformazione dei fatti storici in gesta epiche, dei difficili anni dell'Unione di Lione e dello scisma arsenita. Un'opera agiografica contemporanea offre uno spunto di un certo interesse e di ulteriore riflessione, poiché contiene una fugace menzione di Teolepto, sfuggita a S. e agli studiosi che si sono occupati del metropolita di Filadelfia. Nella redazione della *Vita* del patriarca Atanasio I, Giuseppe Kalothetos si è basato sostanzialmente sulla *Vita* scritta da Teoctisto. Parlando del primo soggiorno di Atanasio sull'Athos, egli aggiunge alcuni particolari assenti nel *Bios* più antico. Dopo aver parlato di Esphigmenou, dove egli stesso era stato monaco, dice che Atanasio fu discepolo di un illustre anziano, da lungo tempo esperto nella *praxis* e nella *theoria* (ἀνδρὶ μεγάλῳ γέροντι, ὃς ἐκ μάκρου τοῦ χρόνου πεπλουτηκὼς ἦν θεωρίαν καὶ πρᾶξιν πᾶσαν). Tra i discepoli di costui c'erano uomini di grande virtù, tra i quali colui che successivamente fu metropolita di Filadelfia e quello che ebbe la carica di *protosynkellos* dell'Attica. Quest'ultimo ebbe uno stuolo di discepoli e costruì un monastero di particolare importanza. Di lì a poco, aggiunge l'agiografo, l'anziano morì, *Ἰωσὴφ Καλοθέετου Συγγράμματα*, ed. D. G. Tsamis, Thessaloniki 1980, p. 466, ll.424-447. Mentre il secondo dei personaggi a cui Kalothetos allude resta, almeno per il momento, sconosciuto, il primo è, evidentemente, Teolepto. Il racconto di Kalothetos, intenzionato a presentarci Teolepto e Atanasio quali discepoli di un unico maestro, ci sembra poco verosimile. E questo per la semplice ragione che la cronologia rende impossibile, per quegli anni, un soggiorno di Teolepto sull'Athos. Atanasio, nato attorno al 1230, giunse infatti all'Athos nel 1250/51 circa e vi rimase fino al 1254. Allora Teolepto aveva quattro anni!

A p. 37, S., parlando dei trattati spirituali di Teolepto inviati a Irene Choumnaina, aggiunge: "Ironically, the same abbess later became a zealous anti-Palamite". A nostro avviso, questo giudizio va, se non altro, sfumato, in quanto non riteniamo che esista alcun "filo rosso" che colleghi Teolepto con Gregorio Palamas e il Palamismo. Per la scelta monastica del giovane Gregorio fu decisivo un incontro con Teolepto, ma è un dato di fatto che la più fedele discepola di Teolepto sia diventata uno dei *leaders* antipalamiti e che un altro personaggio di primo piano (che fu in rapporto epistolare con Teolepto), Niceforo Gregoras, sia stato uno strenuo oppositore di Palamas. Per l'antipalamita Arsenio di Tiro, come per i palamiti (Palamas, Kalothetos), il metropolita di Filadelfia era un modello di santità e di saggezza, ma, nonostante i tentativi operati da ambedue le fazioni in lotta, è

evidentemente impossibile sapere cosa Teolepto avrebbe fatto se fosse stato in vita al momento della controversia teologica.

Al termine di queste osservazioni su alcuni dettagli, non possiamo non ringraziare ancora una volta l'illustre Padre benedettino che ha reso accessibile, e in una splendida veste, questo *corpus* di testi. Si deve sperare che ora questi scritti spirituali vengano letti, e magari tradotti in altre lingue, in modo di poter esser conosciuti anche al di fuori della ristretta cerchia degli specialisti.

A. Rigo

Canonica

Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐρεύνης τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Δικαίου, 29-30 (1982-83) Ἐκδιδομένη ἐπιμελείᾳ τῆς Διευδυντρίας του Κέντρου. Ἀκαδήμια Ἀθηνῶν, Ἀθῆναι 1990, pp. 1312.

Il primo saggio di questo volume, opera di Georgios Michailidês Nouaros "Le cause di divorzio secondo la legislazione del tribunale ecclesiastico di Ko" (pp. 7-22), è uno studio accurato del contenuto del primo volume del "Archivio della Santa Metropoli di Ko" opera in quattro volumi, pubblicata a cura del metropolita dell'isola, Emmanouel Karpathios, negli anni 1958-62. L'autore prende in esame le sentenze emesse dal tribunale ecclesiastico dell'isola per le cause concernenti il diritto di famiglia con particolare riguardo alle cause di divorzio. Molto interessanti appaiono le sentenze di divorzio per colpa di uno dei due coniugi, poichè aiutano a comprendere i costumi mentali dell'epoca. Dallo studio delle varie cause e delle relative sentenze del tribunale ecclesiastico risulta evidente che queste ultime si basano spesso su deviazioni da leggi ufficiali sia del diritto canonico che di quello civile bizantino.

Il secondo saggio, è opera di Menelaos Tourtoglou "Osservazioni sulle consuetudini legali (motivate dallo studio di due consuetudini legali di Bitinia)" (pp. 23-36). Si presenta la particolare condizione nella quale venne a trovarsi la giustizia greca subito dopo la rivoluzione del 1821. La liberazione della Grecia dall'occupazione turca e la creazione di un nuovo stato ebbe come conseguenza quasi immediata l'esigenza di un nuovo codice civile valido per tutto il paese, sostituendosi alla moltitudine di usi e consuetudini regionali. Georgios Rodokakês "L'accettazione del codice commerciale francese" (pp. 37-48), analizza il fenomeno apparentemente insolito dell'adozione del codice commerciale francese da parte del nuovo stato greco, già dal 1 gennaio 1822. G. R. individua i motivi che indussero il governo a prendere tale decisione.

Il quarto saggio, opera di Menelaos Tourtoglou "L'influenza della rivoluzione francese nella legislazione penale greca durante la rivoluzione e nel periodo del governo di Capodistria" (pp. 49-60), prende in esame il codice penale del nuovo stato greco. È degno di nota il fatto che nonostante la dichiarazione dei padri costituenti secondo i quali "le procedure penali si devono esplicare in base alle leggi dei nostri gloriosi imperatori cristiani", (si legga "imperatori bizantini"), di fatto la

nuova procedura penale si discostava parecchio da quella bizantina. L'autore nota che le nuove leggi vigenti, sia durante il periodo della rivoluzione che durante il governo di Capodistria, erano impregnate di spirito liberale e si avvicinavano a quelle del codice penale francese.

Il quinto saggio opera di Xenofon Antoniadês "La proprietà privata e la compravendita di immobili nella Skyros occupata dai Turchi" (pp. 61-122), si occupa delle leggi che regolavano sia la proprietà che la compravendita di immobili nell'isola di Skyros.

L'ultimo saggio di questo annuario, opera collettiva di Anastasia Sifoniou-Karapa, Georgios Rodokakês, Lydia Artemiadê "Il codice del notaio Ionnes Meniates. 1680-1689 (cf. G. A. K. 986)" (pp. 123-312), dà un'edizione integrale del codice del notaio dell'isola di Naxos, Ioannes Meniates. Gli autori, dopo una breve analisi paleografica e codicologica presentano il codice che nei suoi 484 fogli contiene vari atti notarili databili dal 4 Marzo 1680 al 10 Novembre 1689. La pubblicazione di questo codice riveste particolare interesse poichè questa fonte legale, con i suoi 914 atti, copre quasi tutti i soggetti del diritto privato, e contemporaneamente, abbraccia unitariamente un arco di dieci anni.

Quest'opera rappresenta un valido contributo allo studio della storia del diritto post-bizantino e, di riflesso, di quello greco moderno, così come quest'ultimo è venuto a formarsi dopo la rivoluzione del 1821. Inoltre i temi legali trattati forniscono, in maniera chiara ed incisiva preziose informazioni sulla società dei sec. XVII-XIX, di grande interesse non solo per lo storico del diritto, ma anche del sociologo, dello storico-politico, e dell'antropologo.

K. Douramani

Giorgio Barone Adesi, *Monachesimo Ortodosso d'Oriente e diritto romano nel tardo antico.* Dott. A. Giuffrè, Ed., Milano 1990, pp. XIII + 418 + Errata corrige.

Il monachesimo è un fenomeno regolato essenzialmente dallo Spirito. Non si lascia inquadrare facilmente in definizioni giuridiche. Eppure, studiare il fenomeno anche da questo punto di vista può illuminarlo di una luce inconsueta, proprio là dove gli studi ricalcano vie già battute altre volte. È quanto accade nel presente studio, secco ed arduo, come lo vuole il genere letterario giuridico, ma scopritore di nuovi aspetti che non di rado hanno condizionato il fenomeno sotto osservazione.

Un tema che ci interessa in maniera speciale è il rapporto monachesimo e società. Quanto alla condizione femminile impariamo che, oltre ai montanisti, c'erano altre correnti eretiche, come i quintilianisti ed i priscillianisti che accordavano alla donna una posizione rilevante (p. 28). Il Crisostomo crede i monasteri destinati a sussistere fino all'evangelizzazione dell'Impero (pp. 79-80); l'idea patristica di comunione dei beni (pp. 159, 164, 175-177, 206); il caso di Eutropio (p. 203); l'amministrazione della giustizia nei monasteri, di solito riservata al superiore della comunità (p. 221); la crescita del potere monastico con il conseguente tramonto dei privilegi clericali (p. 259); l'accoglienza degli schiavi fuggitivi ricono-

sciuta da Basilio Magno (pp. 299-306); le normative del Concilio di Calcedonia (451), che mostra la vita monastica come un bene acquisito, ma dà moniti severi contro chi disturba la pace civile e ecclesiastica, additando i pericoli che tale vita corre (p. 326-328).

C'è tanta scienza, ci sono alcune semplificazioni e talvolta l'apparato scientifico avrebbe dovuto essere integrato meglio. C'è una certa sproporzione tra annotazione e contenuto, specie nel primo capitolo (cfr pp. 44-45). Il linguaggio è un po' artificioso (pp. 123-124, 132). Però l'erudizione è grande. Tanto più sorprende la modestia dell'A. che, nella conclusione esprime solo alcune osservazioni invece che trarne conclusioni esaurienti (pp. 353-369). Chi pensa che sia nuovo l'interessamento della vita religiosa alla giustizia sociale, troverà, in queste pagine, alcune sorprese.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

N. Οικονομίδης (εκδότης), *Το Βυζάντιο κατά τον 12ο αιώνα, Κανονικό Δίκαιο, κράτος και κοινωνία*. Εταιρεία Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Παραφύλλα, Αθίνα 1991, pp. 620.

Nel 1989-1990 si sono tenuti in Atene due incontri internazionali su "Bisanzio durante il XII secolo". Concentrandosi su questo periodo, i due convegni hanno studiato lo sviluppo canonico avutosi nel pensiero bizantino (si pensi alle figure di Alessio Aristenos, Giovanni Zonaras ed il più conosciuto Teodoro Balsamone) con particolare attenzione ai concetti di *exousiai* e di *koinônia*. N. Oikonomidis ha curato l'edizione dei contributi dei seguenti partecipanti (alcuni di essi sono citati due volte per i due contributi offerti in ciascun colloquio): S. Troianos, Ioli Kalavrezou, H. Hunger, C. Gallagher, K. Pitsakis, S. Perentidis, H. Saradi, G. Dagron, P. Magdalino, B. Stolte, O. Lampsidis, I. Medvedev, H. Bartikian, A. Laiou, M. Loukaki, C. G. Fürst, P. Boglioni, P. Magdalino, H. Saradi, E. Papagianni, F. Euaggelatou-Notara, S. Troianos, V. Tiftixoglu, J. Meyendorff, B. Stolte, A. Schminck, R. Macrides, P. Pieler. Anche se il libro sembra essenzialmente indirizzato — considerando il titolo — a puntualizzare dati canonici, in verità il lettore trova in molti di questi saggi ricchi spunti sulla mentalità, cultura e vita quotidiana bizantina, ripresentati attraverso la prosa logica, tipicamente medievale, dei canonisti bizantini. È questo libro un buon auspicio di lavoro e ricerca interdisciplinari: l'intelligenza del dato canonico arreca nuove sfaccettature alla realtà ancora per tanti aspetti non toccata dalla storiografia ufficiale bizantina.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Dimitrios Salachas, *Istituzioni di diritto canonico delle Chiese cattoliche orientali*, Edizioni Dehoniane, Roma/Bologna, 1993, pp. 414.

This work treats the institutions of canon law as outlined in canons 27-572 of the new *Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium* (CCEO). Dimitrios Salachas, who teaches Oriental canon law on various Canon Law Faculties in Rome, states that the aim of his book is to analyze these institutions of the Oriental Churches described in CCEO "in the light of ancient canonical norms until today, that is, of the almost bimillenary Oriental tradition, sanctioned by the first *Sacri canones* until the decrees of Vatican II" (p. 13). Divided into four parts, the work presents ancient sources of Oriental canon law and the historical *iter* of CCEO in Part I. Then, Part II is a commentary on cc. 27-41 (The Churches *sui iuris* and the Rites), Part III deals with the supreme authority of the Church and the various structures of the Oriental Churches *sui iuris* (cc. 42-176) and Part IV covers eparchies and their bishops as well as clerics, the laity and religious in the Church (cc. 177-572).

The author's work proves useful when it quotes from the dogmatic constitutions of Vatican II with respect to the CCEO canons which implement them. In this regard, for example, it can be seen how canons 49 (the college of bishops), 323-331 (clerics), 399 (the laity) and 410-411 (the religious state) have been faithful to the decrees of Vatican II. The author's discussion regarding the formulation of the canons is also helpful when it quotes from the proceedings of the Pontifical Commission for the Revision of Oriental Canon Law as reported in *Nuntia*. This is particularly evident in Part IV, chapter 4 (The State of Monks and All the Other Religious).

However, it would not appear that the author always realizes his stated goal of analyzing the CCEO canons in the light of the *sacri canones*. In Part IV, the sacred canons are not mentioned often in chapter 2 (cc. 323-398) and in chapter 4, which covers cc. 410-572, sacred canons are quoted or referred to only in connection with canons 447, 448, 454, 457, 468, 481-5 and 487. Even when sacred canons are mentioned there and elsewhere in the book, a subsequent analysis of the CCEO canons in the light of these sacred canons is not always evident. Instead, throughout the work, the CCEO canons are oftentimes just quoted or re-stated in the author's text (see for example: pp. 244-7; 268-272; 371-397).

Nevertheless, as Professor Jean Gaudemet states in the Preface to this work, Salachas does provide the basis and the invitation for numerous future studies by bringing together, as he does, the material for this book. Professor Gaudemet rightly adds: "Is this not perhaps the finest commendation that one could give to this work?" (p. 9).

J. Abbass, O.F.M. Conv.

Christologica

Sergej Nikolaevič Bulgakov, *L'Agnello di Dio: Il mistero del verbo incarnato.* Introduzione all'edizione italiana di P. Coda. Traduzione dal russo di Ornella M. Nobile Ventura. Città Nuova Editrice, Roma 1990, pp. 522.

La scomparsa, cinquant'anni fa, (1944-1994) di Sergej Bulgakov ha privato l'Ortodossia di una delle voci più autorevoli. Certamente, per la capacità speculativa, egli era senza pari, almeno fra gli Ortodossi del suo secolo; c'è chi insinua, addirittura, di questo millennio (G. Cioffari). Della biblioteca intera che Bulgakov ha prodotto il presente libro è comunemente riconosciuto come la chiave di volta.

L'attuale volume non fu mai recensito sulle pagine di OCP, ma l'allora cattedratico B. Schultze ha dedicato all'argomento, sulle pagine di OCP (cfr il suo articolo, "Problemi di teologia presso gli ortodossi," 1943, pp. 135-170) un'attenzione ampia, ma prettamente negativa. Si è lasciato trarre in inganno dall'importanza che Bulgakov dà ad Apollinare († ca 390), eretico condannato dalla Chiesa. Un'attenta lettura mostrerà che Bulgakov è molto prudente proprio verso una possibile accusa di apollinarismo. È vero che parte dell'antropologia di Gesù viene a mancare, però nell'interpretazione di Bulgakov questa parte è la persona umana, essendo la persona di Cristo quella del Logos. Così Bulgakov dà un'interpretazione calcedonese all'apollinarismo (*L'Agnello di Dio*, p. 51).

Forse era difficile dare retta a Bulgakov perchè congiunge la rilettura globale della fede con interpretazioni controverse anche in seno alla stessa ortodossia, per esempio Ario non fu ascoltato, in particolare le proposte sofiologiche e cosmologiche (p. 60). Infatti, anche la *kenosi* o umiliazione del Logos è doppia: da parte del Logos che, discende dal cielo, ma rimane in cielo, e da parte dell'uomo, che, trasformandosi, rimane uomo. Il *tertium quid* di una tale relazione è la Sofia (*L'Agnello di Dio*, pp. 283-284). Fu questa, per Bulgakov, la pietra d'inciampo di Ario — il non aver capito che tra Dio trascendente e l'uomo creato qualche cosa di comune c'è, per l'appunto — la Sofia.

Preziosa l'introduzione di P. Coda, probabilmente il miglior esperto italiano di S. Bulgakov. Provocatorie anche le sue parole: "Utilissimo e arricchente sarebbe un raffronto fra la prospettiva «iconica» della teologia ortodossa, quella «analogica» della teologia cattolica e quella «dialettica» della teologia evangelica, proprio a partire dalla lettura trinitaria dell'evento pasquale" (pp. 23-24). Pensiamo che una tale mediazione tra le Confessioni è possibile, specialmente quando il simbolo reale, alla base della tradizione cattolico-ortodossa, media, al di qua della visione beatifica, attraverso la parola. Coda avrebbe però dovuto mettere più in risalto la tipica filosofia bulgakoviana dei nomi.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Kenneth P. Wesche (ed.), *On the Person of Christ: The Christology of Emperor Justinian*. Translated and introduced by Kenneth Paul Wesche. St Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, New York 10707, 1991, pp. 204.

In his bid to restore the unity of the empire on faith Justinian, Emperor from 527 to 565, tried his hand at theology. The success was anything but encouraging, not only because Justinian embroiled himself in the heresy of aphthartodocetism a year before he died, but also because he gave the wrong example to somebody like Henry VIII in his quest for supremacy within the Church in England. But Constantinople II (553), a common dogmatic platform at least for Orthodox and Catholics, remains associated with his name, in spite of the unfortunate circumstances which accompanied it.

The present publication has a preface (pp. 9-10), a General Introduction (pp. 11-22), plus three texts introduced respectively by an introduction to the text: "Justinian's Letter to the Monks of Alexandria against the Monophysites" (pp. 27-107) with the introduction (p. 25); "A Letter to the Three Chapters" (pp. 115-158), with the introduction (pp. 111-113), and "The Edict of the True faith" (pp. 163-198) and the introduction (pp. 161). At the end the editor has provided us with a Select Bibliography (pp. 199-203).

Justinian seeks to fathom the meaning of "Jesus is the Divine Logos," especially by the frequent juxtaposition of Jesus and Logos, who are furthermore qualified as "one and the same" (p. 13). To try and understand this effort the editor analyzes Justinian's use of terms like hypostasis and nature. Wesche's criticism of Boethius, namely that person becomes a function of nature, scores a point, especially if we concentrate on the latter's famous definition of person as "rationalis naturae individua substantia." It is, however, less pertinent when the editor seems to simply equate Boethius with the Latin ontology of person. With our modern sensibilities to more nuanced pluralistic states of affairs, against prevalent preconceptions, it certainly sounds forced, to cite but two early examples, to squeeze the Western Aponius with his Origenist anthropology and the highly influential Origenist Nemesius of Emesa into one pattern, not to say anything about the corrective to the Boethian definition by Hugo of St Victor, Thomas Aquinas and so many others. This schematic over-simplification of person as function of nature in the West and hypostasis as the foundation of being in the East derives rather from Théodore de Regnon (†1893) and through lack of consultation of A. Grillmeier, whose *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche* B2/1 (Freiburg i.Br. 1986) and 2/2 (Freiburg i.Br. 1989), so relevant for the argument of Wesche's publication, are nowhere listed (see p. 200), let alone discussed.

The second and third texts are concerned with Justinian's justification of posthumous condemnations, especially since the condemnation of theologians who had died in communion with the Church, such as Theodore of Mopsuestia, and others who had been reinstated by an ecumenical council, such as Theodoret and Ibas, posed a serious question that was to occupy Justinian for so long (see p. 112). When the editor claims that de facto controversy on the Fifth Council continues between East and West, one would have expected him to specify in order to illustrate the point (p. 161), especially since the discussion of God's suffering

expressed in the decrees of the Council has become a central argument in contemporary Western christologies.

Apart from some stock-in-trade arguments the editor has made available important texts which are usually under-exposed in contemporary christological discussion and, besides, the introductions throw precious light on the historical background.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Codicologica

Alain Desreumaux, *Répertoire des Bibliothèques et des Catalogues de Manuscrits Syriaques* (= Documents, Études et Répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherches et d'Histoire des Textes) avec la collaboration de F. Briquel-Chatonnet, Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche, Paris 1991, pp. 285.

Non si può non accogliere con piacere l'apparizione di questo libro. Agli "addetti al lavoro", a coloro che lavorono sui manoscritti siriaci, il lavoro di A. Desreumaux è altamente lodevole per la sua funzionaltià, utilità e completezza. Trattandosi di MSS siriaci, l'autore sottolinea subito la difficoltà che si incontra quando si voglia avere un quadro completo di MSS disponibili nell'avvicinarsi ad un soggetto di ricerca. L'intento iniziale del presente libro è quello di stabilire una lista possibilmente completa dei luoghi ove si trovano i MSS, con un'ulteriore lista bibliografica dei cataloghi. Per *catalogo* si intende non solo l'usuale accezione, ma esso include in quest'opera anche una serie di informazioni, di note che segnalano anche dei semplici accenni di questo o quel MS in qualche fondo. Si è cercato, insomma, di offrire agli studiosi qualsiasi strumento o traccia per individuare e trattare qualsiasi MS siriaco (abbiamo un repertorio bibliografico di 858 titoli). Il capitolo principale del libro è dedicato alla bibliografia dei MSS classificati per nazione e per luogo di conservazione; un capitolo tematico comprende 211 titoli dei MSS catalogati per soggetti; la lista degli autori di tutti gli indici citati comprende circa 700 nomi; ben 393 biblioteche o collezioni aventi MSS siriaci sono state recensite. La novità del lavoro in sé, e la coscienza che certamente altri MSS esistano in qualche sconosciuto luogo, induce A. Desreumaux a chiedere aiuto a tutti coloro che maneggiano MSS siriaci a correggere e completare questa opera. È, dunque, un primo tentativo, ripetiamo, notevole e coraggioso, di collezionare funzionalmente dei dati importanti sulla vasta produzione manoscritta siriaca sí da offrire a chiunque debba accedere — non solo agli specialisti del campo — alla letteratura teologica siriaca un facile e subitaneo accesso ai testi manoscritti.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Annaclara Cataldi Palau, *Catalogo dei manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Franzoniana (Genova) (Urbani 2-20)*, Supplemento n. 8 al *Bollettino dei Classici*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1990, Roma, pp. 122+25 tavole.

La descrizione di questi 19 manoscritti greci (il n. 1 è ebraico) della Biblioteca genovese Franzoniana, detti Urbani perché l'abate Paolo Gerolamo Franzoni la legò ai Missionari Urbani di S. Carlo Borromeo, era già apparsa in tre fascicoli di *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, negli anni 1986-1987. Qui è opportunamente raccolta in un volumetto, con Prefazione, Bibliografia e Introduzione, salvo ad attendere il completamento. Infatti gli altri manoscritti Urbani 21-40 sono destinati a un altro Supplemento al *Bollettino dei Classici* linceo, corredato di un indice concernente tutti i codici descritti.

È senz'altro una felice iniziativa quella di descrivere più dettagliatamente l'antica e ricca collezione di manoscritti greci raccolta da Filippo Sauli nel secolo XVI. Già la datazione dei manoscritti li impone all'attenzione. Di questi 19, i più recenti, che risalgono al secolo XVI, sono tre. Dieci sono dell'unde-cimo secolo, due dei quali datati con precisione agli anni 1057 e 1075. Due sono fra il decimo e l'undecimo secolo. Tre sono del decimo secolo. Uno è del secolo nono.

I testi interessano la Patrologia Greca, con *Catenae biblicae*, o con opere dei Padri. Gli autori rappresentati sono Atanasio, Basilio, Epifanio, Giovanni Crisostomo e Gregorio Nisseno. Il Padre che appare più di frequente è il Crisostomo, con undici codici su 19.

Mi auguro di veder presto completato questo catalogo, destinato a rendere preziosi servizi alla scienza.

V. Poggi, S.J.

Ecclesiologica

Alexandre Faivre, *Ordonner la fraternité*. Pouvoir d'innover et retour à l'ordre dans l'Église ancienne (coll. *Histoire*), Paris, Ed. du Cerf, 1992, 555 p.

L'auteur, professeur à la faculté de théologie catholique de Strasbourg, auquel on doit déjà une volumineuse thèse sur les différents échelons du ministère (*Naissance d'une hiérarchie*, Paris, Beauchesne, coll. Théologie historique, 40, 1977) est l'un des meilleurs spécialistes des institutions ecclésiastiques aux premiers siècles. Après une importante introduction méthodologique, l'auteur, reprenant partiellement des travaux antérieurs, décrit les structures des communautés chrétiennes jusque vers 260, puis celles de l'époque constantinienne (en gros, par régions) et s'avance, en Occident, jusqu'au VIIe siècle. Des investigations sur la situation familiale des clercs et leurs conditions de vie matérielle, un excursus sur "le clergé dans l'oeuvre d'Augustin" (l'innovation consiste à imposer aux clercs de vivre dans un monastère), conduisent A. Faivre à faire le point sur une question difficile, mal étudiée (sauf les emplois de λαϊκός): "les origines du laïcat" (résumé de *Les Laïcs aux origines de l'Église*, Paris, Le Centurion (1984). Cette seconde

partie sur les "rapports flous" clerc/laïcs est complétée par un chapitre en forme de "question incongrue": "Une femme peut-elle devenir laïque"? (p. 205-212) — concession obligée aux revendications féministes actuelles? — et un autre, assez neuf, sur les "laïcs théologiens" et la fonction d'enseignement aux premiers siècles (p. 213-253).

La troisième partie, "Normes et pouvoirs" (p. 271-435), qui reprend le sous-titre de l'ouvrage, montre les difficultés qu' ont éprouvées les premières générations à discerner les critères de la Vérité, au fur et à mesure qu'elles s'éloignaient des origines de l'Église, et expose les réponses données par Clément de Rome et Irénée, ainsi que les enjeux de la querelle pascale et des premiers conciles. Enfin après un panorama de la documentation canonico-liturgique (état des textes et genre littéraire), A. Faivre dévoile comment la "Constitution ecclésiastique des apôtres" (*CPG* 1739) "fait parler les origines" (p. 395-435). La conclusion récapitule les conditions de réussite d'une innovation pratique et souligne le rôle d'Irénée dans l'élaboration de leur légitimation.

Malgré la présence de certains chapitres additionnels et de pages d'introduction, on a cependant l'impression d'un "patchwork". Si certains articles semblent avoir été modifiés pour tenir compte d'une évolution de l'auteur (cf. p. 274 n. 5), d'autres gardent la trace des préoccupations de l'auditoire (cf. p. 23). On ne sait si c'est pour gommer les disparates ou par manque d'acribie dans la mise au point finale, l'origine des composantes de l'ouvrage est loin d'être indiquée avec toute la précision voulue. Par exemple, ce n'est que p. 106 n. 32 que le lecteur apprend que les p. 216-225 sont reprises d'*Irénikon* 1987, p. 198-210. Il faut relever pour le regretter, à notre avis — que la *fraternité*, présente dans le titre, soit pratiquement absente du contenu de l'ouvrage. Or, le terme même de fraternité et vraisemblablement la plupart de ses manifestations concrètes, sont une innovation chrétienne, comme vient de le montrer l'Abbé Dujarier dans un ouvrage récent (Michel Dujarier, *L'Église-Fraternité*. I. Les origines de l'expression "adelphotès-fraternitas" aux trois premiers siècles du christianisme. Préface de Mgr A. T. Sanon [coll. Théologies], Paris, éd. du Cerf 1991; cfr. OCP 58 [1992] 621). Basile de Césarée, dont on connaît l'ardeur à combattre les innovations (καινοτομία), pas seulement doctrinales, est rarement cité dans cet ouvrage. Il n'a pas, à notre connaissance, laissé une "production légale parallèle" (cf. p. 446), soi-disant héritée des apôtres, mais il est l'un des rares auteurs anciens à admettre l'existence de traditions secrètes (surtout liturgiques), reçues de ceux-ci et transmises oralement: cette opinion ne méritait-elle pas d'être prise en considération dans une étude sur la norme de la Vérité? A. Faivre ne cite pas, par exemple à propos de l'obligation du célibat ecclésiastique, *La plus ancienne decrétale*, attribuée à Damase et éditée, par E. C. Babut (Paris 1904). Le texte en est difficile et controversé, mais le Professeur Y.- M. Duval (Paris-X Nanterre) achève une nouvelle édition appuyée sur un très ancien manuscrit non utilisé par Babut et assortie d'un important commentaire.

La "bibliographie sélective" et raisonnée compte tout de même 66 p. (p. 455-511): ses subdivisions ne sont malheureusement pas reprises dans la table des matières. Outre quelques coquilles, la typographie ne distingue pas toujours nettement articles (pagination parfois absente) et monographies. Quelques rééditions avec suppléments ne sont pas mentionnées. Les domaines couverts par cette bibliographie

considérable sont beaucoup plus vastes que la matière traitée dans l'ouvrage (structures sociales de l'Empire romain, structures géographiques des Églises, *Domus ecclesiae*, histoire du canon biblique. "Les femmes dans l'Église ancienne" ont droit à une section spéciale: sans doute ce sujet a-t-il suscité un grand intérêt depuis une trentaine d'années, mais n'eût-il pas fallu aider le lecteur à faire son choix parmi plus de cent livres et articles "récents", parmi "les plus significatifs" (p. 492-497)? L'auteur, qui se défend ailleurs (p. 455) "de déverser un fichier bibliographique", ne pouvait-il pas lui-même opérer un certain classement? La dernière section bibliographique est consacrée à la documentation canonico-liturgique. Il eût été utile d'indiquer systématiquement les numéros de la *Clavis* grecque, l'étendue précise de la Collection de Vérone (cf. p. 507), les traductions latines de J. -M. Hanssens (1970). La traduction française intégrale du *Testamentum Domini* par F. Nau a d'abord paru dans le *Canoniste contemporain* de 1907 (30) à 1913 (36). Nous avons édité des fragments grecs inédits, abusivement attribués à s. Basile, dans *Augustinianum* 32 (1992) 261-277. Noter qu'un fragment copte a été également conservé dans la liturgie d'ordination du patriarche d'Alexandrie; que la traduction française des *Constitutions apostoliques* dans SC 320, 329 et 336 (1986-1987), due à M. Metzer, est disponible maintenant en un seul volume (Éd. du Cerf, Paris 1992). A la bibliographie générale, ajouter A.- G. Martimort, "Tradition apostolique", DSp, t. XV, fasc. 99-101 (1991), c. 1133-1146.

On voit par cet aperçu toutes les richesses que renferme cet ouvrage, résolument moderne et latin. Moderne, parce que, reflétant sans doute les préoccupations des étudiants strasbourgeois de l'auteur, on y cherchera en vain, sauf erreur, le point de vue des "anciens" : sans doute certains textes étaient-ils inconnus des érudits des XVI-XVIIIe siècles, mais l'on a peine à croire que les problèmes traités dans ces pages n'aient pas suscité la réflexion des mauristes par exemple. Quelques indications bibliographiques eussent été les bienvenues. Latin, d'autre part, parce qu'il se réfère ici ou là (cf. p. 53-54) aux réformes postérieures à Vatican II, notamment la suppression par Paul VI des ordres mineurs (1972), sans que les institutions des Églises orthodoxes et non-chalcédoniennes — l'autre poumon de l'Église universelle — soient prises en considération, alors même que la documentation qui est à la base de cette somme est en grande partie orientale. Sans avoir aucunement les compétences nécessaires, nous conjecturons cependant que la réflexion de ces Églises a été différente de celle de l'Occident. Puisse cet ouvrage très utile et stimulant susciter d'autres études complémentaires.

B. Gain

Ferdinand R. Gahbauer, *Die Pentarchietheorie*. Ein Modell der Kirchenleitung von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, (= Frankfurter Theologische Studien. Bd 42.), Verlag Josef Knecht, Frankfurt am Main 1993, pp. 468.

Da un po' di tempo appaiono sulla pentarchia approfonditi studi. Un buon avvio alla rivisitazione della pentarchia viene dallo storico ortodosso B. Pheidas, nel 1969. Qualche anno dopo lo Scriptor della Vaticana Vittorio Peri, le dedica un contributo

nella Settimana sull'Alto Medioevo a Spoleto del 1986, poi pubblicato nel 1988. Ed ora, in questo lavoro di 468 pagine, la pentarchia, in quanto modulo strutturale ecclesiologico, è argomento di una tesi dottorale difesa alla Facoltà Teologica cattolica di Francoforte. L'A. distingue opportunamente una pentarchia informale, una pentarchia classica, un'idea di pentarchia e una teoria della pentarchia. La prima corrisponde all'identificarsi graduale di territori ecclesiali, a partire dal 380. La seconda, o classica, coincide con il concilio di Calcedonia, che riconosce in Gerusalemme la quinta sede patriarcale. È la pentarchia classica, canonizzata un secolo dopo, nella codificazione giustinianea (Novella 131). Questa pentarchia che enumera Roma, Costantinopoli, Alessandria, Antiochia e Gerusalemme, non si identifica con l'idea di pentarchia del katholikos di Seleucia, Išo'jahb. L'idea di pentarchia di Massimo il Confessore, o sottostante a concezioni conciliari, non suppone ancora una teoria della pentarchia. Una teoria della pentarchia in senso largo è propugnata da Giovanni di Gerusalemme, al sinodo di Hiereia del 754. Teodoro Studita e Niceforo di Costantinopoli la formulano in senso stretto, senza contrapporla al primato del papa. Al concilio costantinopolitano degli anni 869-870 la pentarchia è connessa con l'apostolicità. Da allora, fino alla rottura tra Oriente e Occidente, nel 1054, tappe intermedie allontanano reciprocamente i due mondi. Nella serie dei patriarcati, Costantinopoli comincia a precedere Roma. Balsamone elenca in ordine Costantinopoli, Antiochia, Roma, Alessandria, Gerusalemme. Finché, scendendo di un altro scalino, Roma diviene l'ultima della serie. La teoria della pentarchia rimane in vita anche dopo le veloci e vastissime conquiste islamiche che mettono in crisi l'impero bizantino, dove soltanto, secondo Peri, la pentarchia si giustificherebbe. Perfino in Occidente, Rufino di Assisi e Gioacchino da Fiore, continuano a teorizzarne. Del resto, non liquidano la teoria della pentarchia, né i tentativi ecumenici di Lione e di Firenze, né la conquista turca di Costantinopoli, né il riconoscimento da parte del patriarca ecumenico di un patriarcato di Mosca nel 1589 e neppure le varie autocefalie maturatesi nell'ambito ortodosso. L'A. cerca le ragioni del persistere anche oggi di questa teoria nel dialogo ecumenico. Permette vera autonomia della Chiesa locale. Consacra una forma legittima e doverosa di sinodalità. Inserisce i rapporti tra le Chiese in una sana prospettiva di comunione paritaria. Perciò, si augura l'A. come epilogo, questo modello ecclesiologico è raccomandabile.

L'opera si impone all'attenzione per la vastità della ricerca compiuta, la ricchezza della documentazione raccolta e la chiarezza sintetica con la quale vengono esposti i risultati finali dell'indagine. È un prezioso servizio alla scienza e all'ecumenismo. Approvo la prospettiva del modello ecclesiologico. Tuttavia, per gettare ponti sullo iato fra Oriente e Occidente a livello di Chiesa, penso che il modello cui appellarsi è quello trinitario, cioè di un'unica Chiesa, di varie Chiese, eguali e distinte. È il modello del connubio misterioso fra unità e pluralismo, autonomia locale e universalità. Soltanto nella luce della Trinità, Cattolici e Ortodossi si metteranno gli uni alla scuola degli altri, per scoprire, i primi un aspetto della Chiesa da loro misconosciuto, ma valorizzato dagli Ortodossi, cioè la Chiesa locale; e per scoprire gli Ortodossi l'altro aspetto, da loro trascurato ma sottolineato dai Cattolici, della Chiesa universale.

V. Poggi, S.J.

John Meyendorff (ed.), *The Primacy of Peter. Essays in Ecclesiology and the Early Church*. St Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, N. York (2nd edition) 1992, pp. 182.

The present publication is the second edition of an English translation, first published in 1960, of the French original, which Meyendorff himself edited in 1960 (*La Primauté de Pierre dans l'Église orthodoxe*. Delachaux et Niestlé, Neuchâtel 1960, pp. 150.) To the articles included in the first edition, Nicholas Koloumzine's "Peter's Place in the Primitive Church" (pp. 11-34), John Meyendorff's "St Peter in Byzantine Theology" (pp. 67-90), Nicholas Afanas'ev's, "The Church Which Presides in Love" (pp. 91-143) and Alexander Schmemann's, "The Idea of Primacy in Orthodox Ecclesiology" (pp. 145-171), has been added that of Veselin Kesich "Peter's Primacy in the New Testament and the Early Tradition" (pp. 35-66). Information on the contributors (p. 173), the Index (pp. 175-178) and the Index of Biblical References (pp. 179-182) enhance the usefulness of this collection of essays.

On the basis of the choice of the authors (all come from the Russian Orthodox schools of Saint-Serge and/or St Vladimir's) one can already form an idea of its theological orientation. N. Koulmozine underlines the unique role of Peter, analogous to that of the Pentecost Church, but which disappears when this unique and unrepeatable Pentecostal Church ceases to exist, symbolized by the disappearance of The Twelve as an institution after Peter leaves Jerusalem (pp. 14, 32-34). Going by the principle that, for all its limits, the method of biblical criticism is the best available today (pp. 35-36; see also V. Kesich, *The Gospel Image of Christ*. Crestwood, N. York (2) 1992, p. 195), Kesich takes us an important step foreward in tackling the problem exegetically, when one thinks of the monopoly of one-sided symbolic interpretation often prevalent in Orthodox hermeneutics until now. He adopts F. C. Moule's distinction between development, which is growth internal to a specimen of a species, and evolution, where alien forces, by selection and mutation, bring about a new species. Kesich considers the leap from Peter's preeminence in the New Testament to his primacy to be a matter of evolution prodded on by non-biblical factors (pp. 60-61). This argument is valid with regards to certain forms in which primacy was historically exercised, but in order that the argument be conclusive with regards to primacy as such one would have to establish that the analogy to other doctrines really obtains — whether, for example, the leap between the foundations of other dogmas in the New Testament and in the conciliar definitions is not equally great and is not guided in like fashion by non-biblical factors (see the role of a non-biblical term such as *homoousion*, condemned as heretical as late as the synod of Antioch of 268, in the shaping of dogma).

The cornerstone of the publication is Afanas'ev's article, published six years before the latter's death and marking the culmination of a whole lifetime of reflection on the canonical and theological relevance of primacy. His essay is well-known and its title has almost become the sign of hope for a new Orthodox ecclesiology: "The Church which presides in love" (p. 91). Around it may be organized the contributions of his disciple Alexander Schmemann and of their disciple John Meyendorff. Perusing Meyendorff's article one can see there is a

whole palette of reactions which, taken as a whole, afford several points for dialogue. For one thing, the reaction to the enhanced Roman claims in the Middle Ages was slow and even benevolent; besides the examples cited by Meyendorff, which include Barlaam (pp. 83-85), there was a whole series of attempts to establish dialogue on several topics connected with such names as St Anselm (the synod of Bari), Anselm of Havelberg, Nicetas of Maroneia, Nicephorus Blemmides, John Bekkos etc.

Building on Afanas'ev's insights, Schmemann distinguished between three kinds of primacy: regional, autocephalous and universal (Rome and Constantinople), whereby the most important is the autocephalous (p. 145). For Schmemann, there can be no supreme power, i.e., no power is higher than that of the bishop's, because that would mean power over Christ himself (p. 154). Eucharistic ecclesiology does not pander to congregationalism, nor does it make of the local Church a self-sufficient monad, but merely establishes the ontological identity of all Churches with the Church of God (pp. 154-155). Naturally, where the doctrine that the Church is the Body of Christ has been eclipsed, there easily develops the idea that the synod is the supreme authority: whereas, in point of fact, the synod only bears witness to the identity of all Churches as God's Church in faith and love (p. 159). Rome errs not in defending a universal primacy, as Orthodox all too readily assume, but rather in identifying it with supreme power (p. 163).

The importance and the limits of the book become manifest. Meyendorff's book, hailed as an ecumenical event when first published in French and then in English translation, has still lots to say, but the second English edition does not present us with an updated version of modern developments. For one thing, it may give the impression that only Russian theology has opened up to a more positive assessment of the primacy, when, in fact, one need only remember J. Zizioulas among the Greeks to realize that the same ecclesiology represented by Afanas'ev has been further perfected by Zizioulas, who in turn has influenced Greek professors such as P. Vassiliadis. Not only that, but even some of the more astounding ecclesiologies among the Russians themselves are directly pertinent to a discussion of the primacy. Thus, Florovsky's criticism of V. Lossky's pneumatology, who in turn had rejected Catholic ecclesiology as Christomonistic, is an important element of the picture. Again, if ecclesiology pre-conditions our theological statements by putting them into their life-context, what kind of pre-conditioning is the primacy? What is the role of Christ's glorified humanity in heaven and how does this affect our theological statements now? We speak of the primacy of grace, the primacy of love (*agape*), and so forth. There is lacking, in this collection of articles, an essay of the speculative vigour of a S. Bulgakov.

The work as a whole is weak where Orthodoxy is usually strong, because it does not integrate the positive attempts at a critical hermeneutics with all the data of tradition present in the Early Church, and strong, where Orthodoxy is usually weak, because it abandons many of the long-standing prejudices against Catholicism and makes a sustained effort at an objective discussion of the case at issue.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Epigraphica

Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in the Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece*, Österreichische Akad. der Wiss., philos.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften, 226. B., Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die TIB, B. 5, Verlag der Öst. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Wien 1992, pp. 118 with 99 photographs.

Questo meticoloso e prezioso lavoro di S. Kalopissi-Verti intende recuperare in forma organica una miriade di informazioni offerte da numerose iscrizioni dedicatorie sparse nelle chiese della Grecia continentale ed insulare. Tale è infatti nella Grecia del XIII secolo, l'orizzonte storico entro il quale si situano tutte le iscrizioni, data la prolificazione di chiese, per la gran parte di modeste dimensioni, e di piccole cappelle che portano, quasi d'obbligo, iscrizioni o ritratti di donatori recanti ottime informazioni prosopografiche, storiche, sociali ed in qualche caso anche economiche. Questo materiale è stato in passato pubblicato (fatta eccezione per alcuni sporadici casi, trattati dall'autrice in Appendice, p. 103 e ss.) da vari autori interessati ciascuno però a singoli monumenti; riunito con buona maestria metodologica, questo *corpus* fornisce ora dati molto utili su territori come l'Epiro, la Macedonia, la Tessalia, l'Acarnina, l'Etolia, l'Attica, il sud di Mani nel Peloponneso, su isole tra le quali spiccano Creta e Naxos. L'autrice ha il merito indiscutibile di collazionare questo sparso materiale — quasi tutti i monumenti sono stati da lei visitati e le iscrizioni controllate personalmente, anche se già pubblicate — e di presentare una sistematica lettura di questi territori tesi alla conservazione di una eredità culturale bizantina quando in alcune vi si erano stabiliti i Latini. La catalogazione si attua in due momenti: a) iscrizione sic et simpliciter (cat. *A*); b) testo figurativo ed epigrafico (cat. *B*). La gran parte del materiale epigrafico e figurativo è datato, e questo aiuta non poco a completare un mosaico prosopografico soprattutto quando i donatori appartengono ad uno stesso territorio. La qualità della decorazione e la fabbrica della chiesa sono degli ottimi indicatori per il tipo di intervento avutosi sull'edificio. Dicevo che le chiese sono per lo più di modeste dimensioni, e molto spesso l'evento che si menziona nell'iscrizione è la ristrutturazione muraria o decorativa (vi sono casi di differenti livelli di affresco); altre volte si costruisce e si decora ex novo, come nel caso di alcune piccole cappelle (cf A 21, la chiesetta di S. Michele a Polemitas, con una lunga iscrizione indicante i donatori e quanto di terreno ed alberi essi hanno dato). In quest'ultimo caso, come in altri (cf A 20b, A 24b, singolare offerta in denaro di A 19) la ricostruzione che proviene dall'analisi di Kalopissi-Verti è veramente vivida ed affascinante per quanto riesce a ricreare della vita del villaggio e dei suoi abitanti. Esauriente la bibliografia data nel *corpus*, ed ottimo lo studio prosopografio attuato sui vari personaggi citati. Questi vanno dalle sfere più alte degli uffici pubblici provinciali (una sola volta sembra essere rappresentato Michele VIII Paleologo: B 2a) a gente ordinaria e semplice (che nella sua povertà donava da un quarto ad un nomisma), da patriarchi a semplici monaci. Attente sono state le ricostruzioni ipotetiche delle iscrizioni mutile, ed opportuno il presentare, quando si dava il caso, le legature ed abbreviazioni; il commento reso necessario dalla peculiarità del testo epigrafico, resta sempre pertinente e corretto (nel caso di A

17, l. 6-8, molto semplicemente tenderei a leggere una citazione letterale e parafrasata di Mt 6, 10a e 12b, piuttosto che invocare come causa un pericolo pubblico).

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Historica

J. Ries – G. Santarelli – M. Maragno – P. Giuriati – Š. Šenčik – L. Grygiel – M. Delahoutre – S. Grygiel, *Il Pellegrinaggio nella formazione dell'Europa.* Aspetti culturali e religiosi. Prefazione del card. P. Poupard. A cura di M. Maragno (= Centro Studi Antoniani, 13), Padova, Promeuropa – Bologna 1990, pp. 236.

Sono otto saggi, preceduti da due prefazioni, la prima di P. G. Bettanio, direttore di Promeuropa e la seconda del cardinale Poupard, Presidente del Pont. Consiglio della Cultura.

I saggi sono differenti per mole e impostazione, ma sono accomunati dallo stesso oggetto, il pellegrinaggio religioso. Il primo saggio di J. Ries, *Il pellegrinaggio nella vita dell'Homo religiosus*, è generale, senza specificazione di religione e di luogo. Anche l'ultimo saggio è generale, St. Grygiel, *Il pellegrinare. Riflessioni sulla dignità, giustizia e cultura* (pp. 211-227). "La cultura — dice — si crea nel tempo sacro. Nel tempo chiuso la soggettività dell'uomo deve necessariamente cadere in preda alla disperazione. Solo davanti a quelli che pellegrinano c'è il futuro ... la loro speranza" (p. 227).

Tutti gli altri saggi invece trattano di pellegrinaggi cristiani relativi a località europee: Loreto, Padova, Levoča, Częstochowa, Compostella.

Il pellegrinaggio di Loreto occupa il maggior numero di pagine. Ne tratta, per il passato, G. Santarelli, *Il pellegrinaggio lauretano* (pp. 39-120) e per il presente M. Maragno, *La rinascita del pellegrinaggio a Loreto* (pp. 121-145). Del pellegrinaggio a S. Antonio in Padova, P. Giuriati, *Il pellegrinaggio antoniano* (pp. 147-171) ricostruisce, in base a ricca documentazione statistica, attualità e mutamenti. Più breve è il saggio dedicato alla Montagna Mariana slovacca di Levoča, dove i pellegrinaggi erano "le uniche manifestazioni libere permesse ai cittadini sotto il regime comunista" (p. 174). Per Ludmila Grygiel, *Il pellegrinaggio a Częstochowa* ha svolto un "importante ruolo nella formazione dell'identità nazionale e culturale dei Polacchi" (p. 177).

M. Delahoutre, *Il pellegrinaggio a San Giacomo di Compostella* (pp. 193-210) afferma che le migliaia di pellegrini diretti a Santiago venivano in contatto con l'Islam. In questo senso, quel pellegrinaggio ha arricchito l'Europa. "Nel campo delle scienze, delle arti e delle tecniche gli Arabi ci hanno trasmesso, lungo la via di San Giacomo, la loro numerazione, un modo di ragionare ispirato ad Aristotele, e innovazioni tecniche" (p. 208). L'augurio finale di quel saggio si addice a tutto il libro: "Possano esserci anche oggi uomini capaci di comprendere le proprie radici e capaci in futuro di fornire modelli di integrazione, di umanità e di santità" (p. 209).

V. Poggi, S.J.

Francis X. Martin, O.S.A., *Friar, Reformer and Renaissance Scholar,* Life and Work of Giles of Viterbo (1469-1532), with a Foreword by John W. O'Malley, S.J. edited by John E. Rotelle, O.S.A. (= The Augustinian Series, vol. 18) Augustinian Press 1992, pp. 424.

"Un des plus illustres savants et cardinaux de l'ordre de Saint-Augustin". C'est ainsi que le *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* [6 (1915) 1366-71] qualifie Gilles de Viterbe, une des figures trop peu ou mal connues de la Renaissance, à la fois humaniste, homme de haute vertu et réformateur.

Le P. Francis X. Martin, O.C.A., professeur depuis 1962, d'Histoire médiévale à l'University College de Dublin, reprenant l'essentiel de sa thèse (inédite) soutenue en 1959 à l'Université de Cambridge, s'attache dans cet ouvrage à faire connaître la physionomie humaine et spirituelle de Gilles dans son contexte socio-politique et religieux. On ne sait quasiment rien de la vie de Gilles avant son entrée en 1488 au monastère des Ermites de Saint-Augustin de Viterbe. L'A. met en relief son goût très vif pour l'étude et la vie solitaire. Outre le grec, il connaissait plusieurs langues orientales dont l'arabe, l'hébreu et le syriaque et il étudia aussi la littérature rabbinique au point que certains savants juifs le considèrent comme une figure prophétique dans l'histoire des relations judéo-chrétiennes (p. 175). C'est donc malgré lui qu'en 1506 il dut accepter, sur injonction de Jules II la charge de vicaire général de son Ordre. L'année suivante il était élu Prieur général. Prédicateur de talent, il eut à prononcer en 1512, le discours d'ouverture du 5ème Concile de Latran. En tant que Prieur général, il travailla activement à la réforme de son Ordre et dès le début s'opposa résolument à Luther. Ces deux aspects de son activité sont heureusement illustrés par le choix de Sermons et de Lettres mis par l'A. respectivement à l'Appendice II (pp. 203-336) et III (pp. 337-388) en traduction anglaise.

En 1517, il est créé cardinal par Léon X qui l'envoie auprès de Charles Quint pour l'engager à organiser une croisade contre les Turcs. Il avait dû auparavant se décharger du gouvernement de son Ordre.

Les dernières années de sa vie furent attristées par le sac de Rome en 1527 au cours duquel il perdit sa riche bibliothèque et le peu de succès dans les efforts déployés pour la réforme de son Ordre.

Au chapitre 6, l'A. retrace les tentatives des biographes de Gilles et des historiens pour faire le portrait de cet humaniste, ami d'autres humanistes dont certains de moeurs et d'orthodoxie plus que douteuses et en même temps, zélé réformateur. Ce sont, selon lui, deux aspects qui ne doivent pas être séparés: "There was no separation of «pagan» and «Christian» elements in his thought. His ideals found practical expression in reform ... reform of discipline which he formulated when prior general of the Augustinians, reform in theology which was to be presented in Platonic terms, and reform in biblical studies so that the living word of God might be heard in all its keenness (p. 144)".

Ce livre traite bien d'autres aspects de la riche personnalité et de l'action de Gilles qu'on ne peut évoquer ici. En tous cas, c'est un livre plein d'intérêt pour une meilleure connaissance de cette époque des débuts de la Réforme. Signalons enfin à

la page 188, la liste des oeuvres de Gilles qui comprend 36 titres d'ouvrages dont la plupart sont encore inédits.

R. Lavenant, S.J.

Sandra Origone, *Bisanzio e Genova*. Università di Genova – Istituto di Medievistica, ECIG – Edizioni Culturali Internazionali Genova, Genova 1992, pp. 364.

Seguendo un ordine cronologico e tematico al tempo stesso, l'Autrice contribuisce allo sforzo di ricostruire storicamente i rapporti tra la Superba e l'Impero bizantino. Tali rapporti, attestati, fra l'altro, da ben 83 documenti ufficiali stilati tra il 1155 e il 1452 (cfr. il regesto posto in appendice, pp. 274-288) furono notoriamente intensi e, in certi periodi, non meno storicamente importanti di quelli analoghi della Serenissima, descritti ultimamente da Donald M. Nicol nel suo volume *Venezia e Bisanzio* (trad. ital. di L. Perria, Rusconi, Milano, 1990; cfr. OCP 1991, 445-446).

La materia è esposta in 15 capitoli raggruppati in tre sezioni: le relazioni bizantino-genovesi dalle origini al 1204, anno dello smembramento dell'Impero bizantino ad opera della quarta crociata, che segnò il trionfo di Venezia e l'esclusione di Genova, sua maggiore concorrente (capp. I-VI, pp. 13-109); le relazioni bizantino-genovesi dal 1261 al 1453, vale a dire dal Trattato di Ninfeo concluso con Michele VIII Paleologo alla caduta di Costantinopoli in mano a Mehmed II, che segnò la fine dello Stato bizantino (capp. VII-XIII, pp. 113-248); il bilancio storico e storiografico di questi ultimi due secoli, nei quali Genova, grazie ai privilegi ottenuti nel suddetto Trattato e al susseguente possesso di città come Pera/Galata e di isole come Chio, è saldamente installata nel tessuto geografico, economico e militare del tardo Impero bizantino (capp. XIV-XV, pp. 249-271).

Nel delineare tale esposizione l'Autrice ha cura, fra l'altro, di abbozzare "lo sfondo internazionale" entro cui si collocano le iniziative politiche di Genova verso l'Impero bizantino. Tali inziative presentano caratteristiche inconfondibili. Primo: fin dagli albori della sua indipendenza, Genova divide le sue energie di Repubblica marinara tra Oriente e Occidente, mentre Venezia — almeno fino alla prima metà del secolo XV — le concentra in gran parte sull'Oriente. Secondo: Genova non cerca normalmente possedimenti coloniali, ma "fondachi", piazze commerciali, dove i suoi cittadini possano vivere secondo le leggi della Madre-patria e darsi ai traffici, pur nel rispetto delle leggi del Paese ospite. Terzo, nonostante gli interventi protettivi del governo del Comune di Genova, tante iniziative partono da singoli individui, da singole famiglie o da gruppi di cittadini, che talora faranno fortuna in modo eccezionale (Doria, Gattilusio, Giustiniani, Grimaldi, Guercio, Negro, Zaccaria, ecc.). Si tratta di caratteristiche, già rilevate da vari studiosi, fra i quali ci basti ricordare il prof. Michel Balard (*La Romanie génoise [XIIe-début du XVe siècle]*, voll. 2, Genova 1978).

Superfluo aggiungere che nel predetto "sfondo internazionale" e alla luce di tali caratteristiche si rende più intelligibile la politica piuttosto pragmatica di Genova

verso il Papato e l'Impero d'Occidente, verso Pisa e Venezia, verso i Normanni, gli Svevi e gli Angioini del Regno di Sicilia, verso i Turchi in ascesa e via dicendo. Ed è ugualmente superfluo dire che le sue relazioni con Bisanzio ne sono essenzialmente condizionate in tutti i piani, compreso quello, ad esempio, dei voltafaccia diplomatici e delle azioni piratesche.

L'esposizione della Origone non è così lineare e di facile lettura, come sembrerebbe a prima vista. Il lettore non riesce a vincere una certa impressione di frammentarietà narrativa. Ma il volume ha il pregio innegabile di voler illuminare l'ampia e complessa materia storica in tutti i suoi aspetti, da quello istituzionale e sociale a quello culturale e religioso, dimostrando una ferma sensibilità storiografica moderna. Questa volontà è sostenuta da una informazione storica di prima mano: per quanto ci consta, non c'è fonte pertinente greca, latina, paleo-francese, paleo-italiana, ecc. che venga trascurata; non c'è studioso moderno della materia che non sia citato o discusso. Ciò appare dalle numerose note e dalla vasta bibliografia specifica (pp. 289-342); la quale, unita con l'Indice dei nomi (pp. 343-355) e l'Indice dei luoghi (pp. 357-362), conferisce al volume anche il valore di un'utile opera di consultazione.

C. Capizzi, S.J.

Mario Scaduto S.I., *L'opera di Francesco Borgia. 1565-1572,* (= Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia, volume quinto), Edizioni "La Civiltà Cattolica" Roma 1992, pp. 36*+466+3 carte.

La *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia*, iniziata dal P. Pietro Tacchi Venturi S.J. con 4 tomi, che abbracciano il periodo del fondatore Ignazio di Loyola, continuata con i due tomi di Mario Scaduto S.J. sull'epoca del secondo generale P. Diego Laynez, si accresce ora di un altro grosso volume dello stesso P. Scaduto, sull'epoca del terzo generale dei Gesuiti, S. Francesco Borgia. Il fatto che l'antico cortigiano al seguito dell'imperatrice Isabella, poi viceré di Catalogna e Grande di Spagna, Duca di Gandía, rimasto vedovo si faccia gesuita, prima segretamente e poi in maniera manifesta, costituisce per la nuova famiglia religiosa un provvidenziale prezioso acquisto. Infatti, dopo esser stato il Borgia commissario delle province iberiche, quindi delle province italiane e assistente del generale, il Laínez morente lo fa suo vicario e la congregazione convocata per dare al Laínez un successore elegge il Borgia terzo generale dei gesuiti. E quest'uomo che, con l'aiuto di Ignazio supera una crisi personale quando chiede, ispirandosi ai consigli del francescano Juan de Tejeda, il permesso di isolarsi sette anni in preghiera, sentendosi rispondere essere ciò contrario allo spirito di una Compagnia di contemplativi nell'azione, deve affrontare da generale il problema del tempo da assegnare alla quotidiana preghiera mentale. In proposito lo Scaduto rettifica quanto O. Carrer aveva scritto basandosi su informazione incompleta.

Ma, dovendo in questa sede limitare la nostra prospettiva, citiamo piuttosto gli aspetti dell'epoca gesuita borgiana che interessano l'orientalismo. Uno dei primi è

senz'altro il fatto che nel secondo anno di generalato del Borgia, cioè nel 1566, il Collegio Romano abbia per primo a Roma una stamperia con caratteri arabi mobili, sia pure per accontentare l'espresso desiderio del papa Pio IV (p. 225 n. 17). È invece del Borgia e dell'ambasciatore del Portogallo Àlvaro de Castro il piano suggerito al papa Pio V l'8 maggio 1568 di una congregazione di cardinali *ad negotia conversionis infidelium.* Solo le circostanze ritarderanno lo sbocco di quel progetto nella *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, attiva dal 1622. Durante il generalato del Borgia la Compagnia partecipa attivamente alla crociata contro il Turco, fornendo cappellani alle truppe di terra e di mare. Già nel 1565, al tempo dell'elezione del Borgia a generale, la Cristianità è in apprensione per l'assedio turco a Malta. Durante la stessa congregazione quattro padri lasciano l'assemblea per imbarcarsi e il Borgia ne manda altri due con due fratelli coadiutori. Alla notizia della liberazione di Malta, Borgia predica per ringraziarne Dio, nella chiesa romana di S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli (pp. 229, 375-376). Altri quattro gesuiti, guidati dal provinciale di Roma Cristóbal Rodríguez, si imbarcano nel 1569 sulla flotta destinata a reprimere la rivolta moresca di Granada (pp. 377-378). Due gesuiti partono nel 1570 per Cipro e la Serenissima ne chiede altri in assistenza alle truppe che si battono nella disperata guerra di Candia (pp. 378-381). Più fortunata è invece la battaglia di Lepanto cui partecipano, per assistere spiritualmente soldati e marinai, 6 gesuiti, tre padri e tre fratelli, sotto la guida del già nominato P. Cristóbal Rodríguez, imbarcato a bordo dell'ammiraglia di Don Giovanni d'Austria. Proprio i gesuiti propongono alle autorità che i banditi infestanti la Sicilia godano di amnistia, qualora accettino di imbarcarsi contro il Turco (pp. 381-385). A parte questi aspetti orientalistici del governo del Borgia, altri ve ne sono che interessano tutta la Compagnia e quindi di riflesso anche l'attività gesuitica in Oriente: la legislazione interna che l'istituto gesuitico si dà sotto di lui; le case di noviziato di cui è esempio emblematico S. Andrea al Quirinale; lo sviluppo dei collegi e della *ratio studiorum* che vi è applicata; la scoperta e la valorizzazione di soggetti eccezionali come il Possevino, più tardi inviato a Ivan IV il Terribile, ma già sotto il Borgia rivelatosi intelligente stratega di apostolato in Piemonte e in Francia; la pratica del ministero della penitenza e l'affidamento della Penitenzieria Apostolica ai Gesuiti; le missioni popolari e, non ultime le speciali "missioni" del papa a conseguenza di una delle quali il santo generale termina la sua esistenza terrena appena rientrato a Roma.

Ammirevole senz'altro questa tardiva fatica dell'ultraottantenne gesuita siciliano. Pure non raggiungendo la perfezione del capolavoro storico realizzato nell'opera precedente della stessa collana, M. Scaduto, *L'Epoca di Giacomo Laínez*, si tratta comunque anche questa volta di opera seria, onesta e ben scritta.

V. Poggi, S.J.

Αλέξης Γ. Κ. Σαββίδης, *Βυζαντινοτουρκικά μελετήματα. Ανατύπωση άρθρων 1981-1990.* Εκδόσεις Ηρόδοτος, Αθήνα 1991, pp. 378.

Quest'opera è una collezione di saggi scritti dall'autore durante il decennio 1981-1990 e pubblicati in vari periodici ed annuari scientifici; copre cronologicamente l'arco di tempo storico che va dal XI al XVI sec. L'asse contenutistico dell'opera ruota attorno ai rapporti di Bisanzio con: a) Le popolazioni turcofone dei Balcani nel XI-XIII sec. (s.n. 8, 11), b) I Turchi Selgiuchidi della Mesopotamia e dell'Asia Minore nel XI-XII sec. (s.n. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 13, 18), c) I Turcomanni dell'Asia Minore ed i Turcopuli cristianizzati nel XI-XIV sec. (s.n. 3, 12, 15, 16, 17), e d) I Turchi Ottomani nel XII-XV sec. (s.n. 2, 3, 10, 11, 17). L'articolo n. 16 si riferisce, invece, al periodo post-bizantino trattando il XVI sec. che rappresenta il periodo di massimo splendore dell'impero Ottomano.

Il primo saggio si intitola: "Lo storiografo arabo Ibn-al-Athir (1160-1233) e la sua cronaca universale come fonte per la storia delle crociate e dei rapporti tra Bisanzio ed i Selgiuchidi" (pp. 19-31, in greco). L'autore considera lo storiografo iracheno come la fonte storica più autorevole del XIII sec., e dopo una breve presentazione della sua vita si occupa più dettagliatamente delle sue due grandi opere: la "Storia universale completa" e la "Storia degli Atabeg di Mossul".

Il secondo saggio, "L'opera del cronografo turco Asik Pasha Zade (1400-1486) come fonte per la storia del periodo tardo bizantino e proto ottomano" (pp. 33-47, in greco), si occupa del più antico e probabilmente più importante cronografo turco del periodo che va dal 1421 al 1566.

Il terzo saggio si intitola: "Il fronte orientale di Bisanzio nella prima parte del XIII sec.: Gli imperi di Nicea e Trebisonda di fronte alle minacce Selgiuchida e Mongola" (pp. 49-70, in inglese). Sabbidês, individua nei due stati bizantini in "esilio" quello di Nicea nella Bitynia e quello di Trebisonda nel Ponto, l'unico ostacolo serio alla politica espansionistica dei Selgiuchi.

Il quarto ed il quinto saggio, "L'emiro Selgiuchida di Smyrne Tzacas e le sue incursioni nelle coste dell'Asia Minore, nelle isole dell'Egeo meridionale e nella Costantinopoli (1081-1106)" (pp. 71-86 e 87-102, in greco), costituiscono le due parti dello stesso studio. La prima parte (s.n. IV) ricostruisce le vicende dell'emiro dal 1081 fino al 1090. Nella seconda parte (s.n. V), si descrive il tentativo dell'emiro di diventare signore di Costantinopoli.

Il sesto saggio si intitola: "I grandi Comneni del Ponto ed i Selgiuchidi di Rum (Ikonion) nel periodo 1205/6-1222. Il racconto di Ibn Bibi sull'occupazione di Sinope (1214)", (pp. 103-127, in greco). L'autore esamina i rapporti dello stato bizantino del Ponto con i Selgiuchidi nei primi anni del XIII sec., basandosi sulle fonti dell'epoca: Ibn Bibi, Ibn al-Athir, Abulfeda, Bar Hebraeus, Michele Panaretos.

Il settimo saggio, "Il sultano Selgiuchida Alp Arslan e Bisanzio" (pp. 129-136, in greco), è dedicato al grande sultano dell'XI sec. È grazie a lui che lo stato selgiuchida ha potuto affermarsi di prepotenza e crescere fino ad ottenere una indiscussa supremazia dal XI al XIII sec.

L'ottavo saggio, "L'ultima incursione Pecenega contro Bisanzio (1122-23)" (pp. 137-151, in greco), prende in esame i Peceneghi, popolazione turcofona che arrivò

alle province balcaniche di Bisanzio alla metà dell'XI sec. dopo aver attraversato le steppe russe.

Il nono saggio, "I Cumani e Bisanzio. XI-XIII sec." (pp. 153-170, in greco), esamina i rapporti di Bisanzio con i Cumani, popolo turcofono dello stesso ceppo dei Peceneghi.

Il decimo saggio, "Una nota sui termini *Rûm* ed *Anatolia* nel periodo Selgiuchida e proto-Ottomano" (pp. 171-179, in inglese), esamina i vari significati dei termini *Rûm* ed *Anatolia/Anatolou*, così come appaiono nelle fonti musulmane dell'XI sec.

L'undicesimo saggio, "Asik-Pasha-Zade sulla conquista di Trebisonda dai Turchi Ottomani nel 1461 d.C" (pp. 181-189, in inglese), prende in esame l'eccellente opera di questo cronografo turco del XV sec. sulla conquista di Trebisonda da parte del sultano Maometto II.

Il dodicesimo saggio si intitola: "Rodi dalla fine del dominio dei Gabala fino alla conquista degli Ospedalieri, 1250.1309 d.C." (pp. 191-224, in inglese). Questo studio offre un'esposizione dettagliata della storia di Rodi in connessione con la storia del Dodecanneso.

Il tredicesimo saggio si intitola: "I Kleinchroniken sulle relazioni bizantine con i Selgiuchidi e le relazioni dei regni Franchi orientali con Saladino ed i Mamelucchi (A.D. 1067-1291)" (pp. 225-235, in inglese). L'autore prende in esame, in questo studio, le anonime "Brevi cronache" bizantine offrendo interessanti riferimenti a fonti parallele Bizantine, Sire, Latine e Musulmane.

Il quattordicesimo saggio si intitola: "Un'importante recente contributo alla navigazione del XVI sec.: La traduzione in greco di Piri Reis'Bahriye" (pp. 237-244, in inglese). L'autore presenta in questo studio la traduzione greca dell'opera di Piri Reis.

Il quindicesimo saggio, "Attaleia XI- inizio XIV sec. Il passaggio dal potere cristiano a quello musulmano" (pp. 245-286, in greco), offre una visione completa della storia della città di Attaleia nel periodo summenzionato, basata sia su fonti bizantine che musulmane.

Il sedicesimo saggio si intitola: "Mercenari turcofoni cristianizzati negli eserciti bizantini e latini dell'oriente" (pp. 287-296, in greco). L'autore prende in esami questi soldati che hanno servito le truppe bizantine e latine tra l'XI ed il XIV sec.

Il diciassettesimo saggio, "Morea ed Islam, VIII-XV sec. Un quadro generale" (pp. 297-321, in inglese), è un contributo alla storia di Morea (oggi Peloponneso) nel periodo che va dalla seconda metà dell'VIII sec. fino all'annessione della penisola all'impero Ottomano nel 1458/60.

L'ultimo saggio di quest'opera è una recensione critica dell'autore, dell'opera di Peter M. Holt, *The Age of Crusades. The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517*, London — New York 1986 / Longman: A History of the Near East), (pp. 327-338, in greco).

L'opera, essenziale ed incisiva nonostante la varietà degli argomenti toccati, non perde affatto il suo carattere unitario. Particolare interesse presenta la bibliografia abbastanza esauriente che, insieme alle citazioni delle fonti usate dall'autore, accompagna ogni saggio.

K. Douramani

Iconica

Theonie Baseu-Barabas, *Zwischen Wort und Bild: Nikolaos Mesarites und seine Beschreibung des Mosaikschmucks der Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel (Ende 12. Jh.)*, (Diss. der Univ. Wien 230), VWGÖ, Wien 1992, pp. XV+254+22 Bilder.

Questo libro è la tesi dottorale di Th. Baseu-Barabas, scritta sotto la direzione di H. Hunger all'Università di Vienna: un lavoro ben fatto, discreto e prudente nelle sue affermazioni conclusive, nuovo per quanto concerne la personalità di Mesarites letto come guida-retore-predicatore. Il libro è frutto di una ricerca compiuta nell'atmosfera culturale dell'Istituto di Bizantinistica e Greco Moderno dell'Università, e questo dato rende più comprensibile il titolo ("Fra Parola e Immagine" — per inciso, il lettore può vedere la conferenza inaugurale di G. Cavallo "Testo e Immagine" nella Settimana di Spoleto 1993) che evidenzia non soltanto il carattere artistico-descrittivo dell'opera di Mesarites, ma anche la finalità stilistica e filologica del testo stesso. Per marcare questi aspetti relativi al testo e all'Autore della *ekphrasis* (l'opera "La Descrizione della Chiesa degli Apostoli a Costantinopoli" si colloca fra il 1198 e 1203), Baseu-Barabas affronta lo scorrere delle scene mosaicate con ritmi metodologici differenti dopo aver presentato la struttura intera dell'opera. Sarebbe stato opportuno puntualizzare il quartiere della capitale nel XII secolo (con tutta la consistenza degli annessi alla chiesa) considerando quanto si va a ben dire sulla datazione delle scene (p. 227 e ss.); ancora utile sarebbe stato il ricordare Choricius che, a Gaza, descrive camminando dall'esterno verso l'interno, ed all'interno, in ambo le chiese, muovendosi lungo la navata centrale. Pur sostenendosi sui precedenti studi di A. Heisenberg e G. Downey relativi alla chiesa dei SS. Apostoli — si ricordi che anche Costantino Rodio (X sec.) aveva prodotto una descrizione del ciclo musivo della chiesa — e puntuali arrivano da parte dell'Autrice i riferimenti critici a Costantino quando servono a chiarire o particolareggiare il dato offerto da Mesarites — Baseu-Barabas sosta più a lungo sull'ottica filologico-interpretativa ed artistico-parenetica del "testo figurativo" di Mesarites (intelligente l'analisi sulla variazione semantica di *logos*, pp. 127-142; importante l'uso stilistico del motivo dell'*acqua* (simbolismo ricorrente nella cultura teologica) col quale Mesarites gioca per ravvivare la sua descrizione. Data la questione non del tutto risolta sulla datazione dei vari brani musivi evocati da Mesarites, credo che sarebbe stato opportuno attingere non solo ad altri esempi musivi, ma anche ai cicli completi di affreschi (alcuni ben anteriori alle date delle scene musive) per localizzare alcune scene difficilmente situabili sulla base del solo testo scritto: quanto, tuttavia, l'Autrice propone a pp. 232-3 (situare i mosaici sui muri della planimetria dela chiesa) è certamente un buon risultato. Indici ed illustrazioni seguono a chiusura del volume.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Δίπτυχα, Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῶν Μελετῶν, Ε', Φιλοσοφικὴ Σχολή - Τομέας Βυζαντινῆς Φιλολογίας καὶ Λαογραφίας - Πανεπιστημιόπολη, Ἀθήνα 1991-1992, pp. 281 con illustrazioni.

Il presente numero di *Diptycha* offre 12 articoli di vari interesse. N. Gioles ("Delle note sul programma iconografico della cupola a Constantinopoli nella seconda metà del IX secolo, pp. 5-31) analizza le motivazioni teologiche (molto poco quelle ideologiche) che hanno portato a determinati programmi decorativi nelle cupole nella capitale. Per supplire un retroterra storico più completo, mi sembra che convenga partire dall'ottavo secolo per capire le motivazioni storiche che conducono poi a cambiamenti nella decorazione artistica delle chiese e della cupola (cf. Ruggieri, OCA 237, Roma 1991). P. Pagonari-Antoniou ("Gli Epigrammi bizantini dei codici *Vatopediou 35, Marc. gr. 507* e *Zagoras 115*", pp. 33-57) offre l'edizione critica dei 49 epigrammi (*Stichoi diaforoi eis tas eikonas tôn heortôn*) con un buon commentario su di essi; gli epigrammi sono stati editi anche da W. Hörandner in DOP 46 (1992). Ph. Demetrakopoulos ("Dal manoscritto al libro stampato: i casi di due letterati in terra greca", pp. 59-85) evidenzia un clima intellettuale nella Grecia del XVI sec. analizzando l'attitudine di Pacomio Roussanos e Arsenio "maestro", due monaci eruiditi aventi diversi atteggiamento verso i MSS. Seguono: T. C. Lounghis, "Un empire romaine devant la féodalisation. Remarques sur l'emploi du terme *eirini* au XIe siècle", pp. 87-95; A. G. S. Savvides, "On the Armenian-Georgian-Byzantine Family of Apocapes (Abukab) in the 11th Century", pp. 96-104; S. Lampakis, "*Navi* e non *legni*. Un contributo per comprendere un passo nel viaggio di Mazaris nell'Ade", pp. 105-109; E. G. Tsionas, "Un'analisi matematica della temporale durata della permanenza sul trono di Bisanzio: analisi storicometrica", pp. 110-125; C. P. Kyrris, "Bicameralism in Medieval Cyprus 1192-1489", pp. 126-148; I. D. Polemis, "Due canoni inediti in onore di S. Atanasio Atonita, scritti da Giovanni Sgoures", pp. 149-171; una lunga presentazione dei tardi cicli iconografici nella chiesa della Panagia Mesochôritissa segue ad opera di M. Aspra-Vardavaki ("Gli affreschi nella chiesa della Panagia Mesochôritissa a Melles, Creta", pp. 172-250); Ch. G. Angelidi, "De Aelia Pulcheria Augusta eiusque Fortuna", pp. 251-269; V. N. Vlyssidou, "A proposito dell'ambasciata di Fozio agli 'Assiri'", pp. 270-279.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Σταύρου Ζουμπουλάκη, *Ὁ Ἰωάννης ὁ Πρόδρομος ὡς ἄγγελος*. Οἱ θεολογικὲς προϋποθέσεις τῆς φτερωτῆς ἀπεικόνισής του. Ἐκδόσεις Δόμος, Ἀθήνα 1992, σ. 75+4 εἰκόνες.

In this theological investigation the author first discusses the artistic significance of John the Precursor's winged appearance. At once he corrects the Greek poet's Z. Lorenzatos' explanation that it rose under Turkish denomination as an expression of the yearning for freedom in the long struggle for Greek independence (p. 11), a

belief to which he was probably misled by Ph. Kontoglou (pp. 14-15). In point of fact, however, the first such winged representation can be traced back to the end of the thirteenth century at the time of the influence of the "Paleologian renaissance", the oldest known icon of this type being found in the church of St Achilleios in Serbia [1296-1297] (pp. 12-13). But it is Christ himself, in effect, who, by calling his precursor "angel-messenger" (Mt 11:10), was the first to rouse interest in the theme (pp. 20, 57-58). The author adduces grounds for an angelology based on the Precursor, namely, that he bore a message and lived like an angel, so much so that monasticism, also called an "angelic" way of life, has seen in him its prototype (pp. 18-19).

The author makes his point through an impressive array of patristic quotations and references, and bases his observations also on liturgical hymnography (e.g., pp. 41-42, 57), modern studies (e.g., p. 42: A. Kartsonis; p. 48: R. Roques) and so forth. But his angelogy remains rudimentary, partly because he lacks a comprehensive hermeneutics, both for scriptural as well as for theological statements. With regards to angels Orthodoxy has an invaluable message against a typically reductionistic — and ultimately materialistic — mentality that wants to "do without" angels. A work nowhere referred to in this study but which develops the theme of the relevance of angels in Orthodoxy more extensively is L. Heiser's, *Die Engel im Glauben der Orthodoxie*. Paulinus-Verlag, Trier 1976.

Zoumpoulake thus illustrates with considerable erudition the central role of angels in the Orthodox world-view, but does not take up the challenge of a modern angelology. Nonetheless his work may be read profitably because, among other good points, one may discover in it an unsuspected ally in the search for a new interpretation of the religious life (monasticism), an up-to-date angelology.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Islamica

Paolo Branca, *Voci dell'Islam moderno*. Il pensiero arabo-musulmano fra rinnovamento e tradizione. Prefazione di Maurice Borrmans (= Biblioteca araba e islamica, 8), Casa Editrice Marietti, Genova 1991, pp. XIII+314.

Il progetto è sufficientemente ambizioso per richiamare la nostra attenzione e voler controllare se la sfida promessa dal titolo è mantenuta con coerenza fino in fondo. Non si tratta di un quadro complessivo di tutto l'Islam moderno. Si tratta di "voci" e il sottotitolo annuncia onestamente la limitazione al mondo arabo-musulmano, che non si identifica con tutto l'Islam. Mancano infatti, per esempio, l'Islam indiano, presente soltanto con Muhammad Iqbal (pp. 158-160), l'Islam indonesiano, l'Islam turco, l'Islam malese e l'Islam ancora più dirimpettaio a noi, come d'Albania o di Bosnia.

Con tutto ciò il mostrare la varietà e la ricchezza del pensiero arabo musulmano moderno, rimane lo stesso una coraggiosa impresa e la lettura del libro fa provare una sincera ammirazione per l'A. Ci sembra infatti che egli riesca a condurre per

mano il Lettore, non solo nel centinaio di pagine della prima parte, dove dà un quadro generale delle varie correnti che agitano il pensiero arabo-musulmano, da quando Napoleone Bonaparte sbarca in Egitto, fino alla rivoluzione di Khomeini.

Ma soprattutto nella seconda parte, antologica, dove la scelta di testi spesso tradotti dall'originale, costituisce una rarità nell'editoria italiana, opportuna lettura esemplare per iniziarsi appunto allo sviluppo di un pensiero che spazia da un al-Afġani a un Taha Husain, dai radicali Ḥasan al-Bannā o Sayyed Qutb, al personalismo realista di un Muḥammad Aziz Laḥbabi, fino alle istanze di un Muḥammad Arkoun, o alla moderazione serena di un Muḥammad Talbī o di un ʻAbd al Maǧīd Šarfī. Questo libro è un richiamo salutare, rivolto al non-musulmano, portato dalla ignoranza e dai preconcetti a considerare l'Islam un monolito compatto senza striature e senza divergenze. L'islam è un fenomeno umano mondiale, all'interno del quale c'è una ricca gamma di idee e di valori. Tocca a noi instaurare un dialogo con quei musulmani il cui pensiero è meno lontano e più aperto. È la migliore lezione di questo libro.

V. Poggi, S.J.

Bernd Radtke, *Weltgeschichte und Weltbeschreibung im Mittelalterlichen Islam*, (= Beiruter Texte und Studien, Bd 51), In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, Beirut 1992, pp. 544.

Ibn H̱aldūn è stato il primo a creare una storia islamica critica? Gli storici islamici suoi predecessori avevano una gnoseologia, una cosmologia, una visione della realtà? Quest'opera vuole rispondere a tali domande, percorrendo la produzione storica islamica, araba e persiana, fino al 1500. Dopo aver posto tale quesito nel primo capitolo di questo grosso volume, l'A. esamina nel secondo capitolo storie universali islamiche in arabo (di Yaʻqūbī, Ṭabarī, Masʻūdī, Maqdisī, Ǧawzī, Ibn al-Aṯīr ecc. fino ad Ibn H̱aldūn) e in persiano (da Ṯaʻālibī, a Gardizī, a Ǧūzǧānī, a Rašīduddīn, a Banākatī, fino a Qazwīnī) mettendole a paragone con storie universali cristiane in latino (di Ippolito, Isidoro di Siviglia, Gregorio di Tours, Beda il Venerabile, Claudio di Torino, ecc. fino a Onorio di Autun) in greco (Chronicon paschale, Teofane il Confessore, Giorgio Monarca), in siriaco (Chronicon miscellaneum et Anonymum) e in arabo (Eutichio, Agapio di Mabbug e Bar Ebreo). Il paragone rivela somiglianze nel modo di impostare la storia universale. L'A. fa risalire tali somiglianze all'archetipo comune dello *Hexaemeron* o racconto veterotestamentario delle creazione. Infatti, l'Islam partecipa della tradizione creazionistica biblico-giudaica, come aveva rilevato Rosenthal. Nel terzo capitolo l'A. riscontra, nelle storie universali islamiche due tipi di prospettiva: una, salvifica, dalla cosmologia islamica; un'altra culturale, dove il criterio della verità si identifica con la ragionevolezza, senza sfociare tuttavia nel positivismo. Il semplice riferire i fatti e cercarne le cause non è tipico della storiografia islamica. Il quarto capitolo è dedicato all'esame emblematico di un'opera storiografica islamica, *Kanz al-durar*, o

Tesoro di pietre preziose, riassunto di storia universale maggiore, *Kanz al-tigān*, tesoro delle corone, redatta nel secolo XIV dall'egiziano Abū Bakr Ibn al-Dawādārī.

L'A. conclude che, a paragone con la storiografia dell'Occidente medievale, la storiografia musulmana è più moderna, più liberale e più ricca, servendosi anche di storie non islamiche.

Riconosco con l'A. che lo storiografo islamico, da Ya'qūbī a Mas'ūdī a Ibn Ḫaldūn, non ha difficoltà a basarsi su fonti non musulmane. Ho tuttavia qualche riserva quanto alle generalizzazioni. I Musulmani, nel loro fervore di traduzione dal greco in arabo, lasciarono da parte lo storico Tucidide. Tale esclusione non si deve a difetto di senso storico, né a un'eclisse della fama di Tucidide, rimasta viva presso i Bizantini, quali Fozio e il suo discepolo Areta di Patrasso. Neppure si deve a una presunta incapacità islamica di attingere a fonti non musulmane. Dipende piuttosto da una voluta, consapevole scelta. La storia tucididea non rientrava negli schemi dei Musulmani e proprio per questo i Musulmani non tradussero Tucidide. Avevano altre categorie storiche. Ma neppure gli storici cristiani Eusebio, Orosio e Agostino, come osserva Momigliano, ricorsero a Tucidide o a Tacito.

Si intende che l'osservazione non infirma il valore di questa ricerca laboriosa e complessa, nella quale si paragonano opportunamente storici islamici a storici cristiani orientali e occidentali. E non mi sorprende che tale vasto comparatismo scopra delle somiglianze. Si tratta in ambedue i casi di storia religiosa. E lo stesso Ibn Ḫaldūn, anche se paragonato a Tucidide (L. E. Goodman, *Ibn Khaldūn and Thucydides*, *J. of the Am. Or. Soc.* 1972, 250-270) non è meno convinto musulmano di Mas'ūdī, come Gibb ammoniva.

V. Poggi, S.J.

Arthur Wormhoudt, *The Blessing of Ishmael and Esau in the Diwan of Abu Tayyib ibn al Husain al Kindi al Mutanabbi*, William Penn College, 1992, pp. 58.

Abū Tayīb B. al-Husayn al-Kindī al-Mutanabbī (915-965) vissuto nel decimo secolo della nostra era, quarto dell'egira, ha composto un *diwān* in cinque parti, corrispondenti a limo, umore, grumo, corpo carneo, bambino. Il *diwān* si compone di 287 stanze, alcune delle quali contano anche 60 versi. Il poeta vi celebra tra l'altro la storia di Abramo, cara agli Ebrei, ai Cristiani e ai Musulmani, scoprendovi valenze recondite e simboli mistici. Mutanabbī vede un rapporto fra i 318 del seguito di Abramo e le costole del corpo umano maschile (l'A. poteva menzionare la stessa sacralità di quel numero anche per i cristiani, come dimostra la tradizionale cifra dei 318 Padri al concilio di Nicea). Ma il poeta coglie pure un rapporto fra la figura di Lot e la distinzione di vocali da consonanti, fra la cecità di Isacco e la scrittura semitica senza vocali. La poesia di Mutanabbī canta, oltre i personaggi biblici, Abramo, Sara, Hagar e Ismaele, Isacco, Esau e Giacobbe, i contemporanei Sayf al-Dawla, l'eunuco Kafur, Abū Shuja Fatik, Abū Fadl ibn al 'Amid, 'Adūd al-Dawla e i suoi due figli. Con la libertà dell'artista, Mutanabbī vede rappresentati in Shamal e Majruh, destrieri di 'Adūd al-Dawla, i biblici Ishmael ed Esau. Le pellicce,

di cui Rebecca avviluppa le braccia di Giacobbe perché assomigli al peloso Esau, richiamano a Mutanabbi i chiodi che configgono in croce le mani di Cristo. Eppure, con questi slanci poetici e un così accentuato simbolismo la visione del poeta è coranica: unico Dio, Signore degli albori, Signore di tutto il genere umano. Proprio come recitano le ultime tre sure coraniche.

V. Poggi, S.J.

Liturgica

George Guiver, C.R., *Company of Voices. Daily Prayer and the People of God.* Pueblo Publishing Company, New York 1988, pp. xiii + 280.

The author claims this to be a pastorally oriented history of the Divine Office, but in fact it is much more. For G. places the question of the hours squarely in its total context, giving rise to inevitable questions about the very nature of prayer, what it means to be church, what it means to be a christian in dialogue with God and one's fellow men and women. The material is treated with freshness and verve — and often with novelty, for G. does not hesitate to offer new interpretations and views.

Part I deals with "Prayer and Human Nature." Since G. recognizes that the Prayer of the Hours is first of all *prayer*, he opens with a treatment of some of the concepts and elements constitutive of "liturgical thinking" like prayer, myth, anamnesis, time, pattern, formula. His distinction (pp. 23-24) between "the prayer of careful concentration" and "stream prayer," i.e. prayer in which we just plough through IT all and let it wash over us without pausing for reflection, is most useful. "*Stream prayer* builds up deposits over a long time" (p. 23) — how true that rings to anyone who has prayed the Office in common over the years! Very good, too, are G's reflections on the necessity of *hearing* the Scriptures read, and on formulary vs. spontaneous prayer, and on rituals as "symbolic games" (p. 24ff).

Ch. 4 on "Formula" is especially good, as is ch. 5 on "Work and Play," showing that liturgical prayer, like everything else worthwhile, must be worked at. Liturgy, like most important events that mark one's time on earth, is a formal performance, to be done with preparation and care. Ch. 6, "Habeas Corpus," had a special resonance for me. How often in the past, on reading or hearing about the "superiority" of mental prayer over vocal, I wanted to shout, "Says who?" against this platonic intellectualism. G. insists that the body, gesture, posture, ritual have their place in prayer as in life. And since prayer is one, the private-public prayer dichotomy should not be overdone (ch. 7).

In part II, "The History of Daily Prayer," I found chapters 14-16 on the Office in the West from the Middle Ages to modern times especially good, full of fresh new material — even to the extent of dealing with the Offices in Transylvania and Poland (pp. 137-144)! Part III, on "The Content of Daily Prayer," deals with the components of the Office (gesture, poetry, psalmody, lections, intercessions). Part

IV, "Interpreting the Facts," returns to take a second look at some of the issues adumbrated in Part I, but now reviewed in the light of Parts II-III.

This is a delightful book, full of common sense, written in a breezy, fast-moving style, full of homely similes and examples, from marriage to football to soldiering to the games people play, and laced with practical, no-nonsense, down-to-earth wisdom. Anyone interested in the Divine Office or, indeed, any Christian prayer, should read it.

R. F. Taft, S.J.

Enrico Mazza, *La mistagogia. Una teologia della liturgia in epoca patristica.* (*Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae*, Subsidia 46 = Collana Studi di liturgia, nuova serie 17, a cura dell'Associazione Professori di liturgia [APL]) C.L.V. - Edizioni liturgiche, Roma 1988, pp. 198.

Enrico Mazza, *Mystagogy. A Theology of Liturgy in the Patristic Age.* Translated by Matthew J. O'Connell, Pueblo Publishing Co., New York 1989, pp. xii+228.

Veterans of the Italian liturgical establishment like E. Cattaneo, S. Marsili, M. Righetti, D. Sartore, A. M. Triacca, C. Vagaggini, and others, some no longer with us, have long enriched us with their writings: students of liturgy ignore the Italian authors at their own peril. In recent years new names have strengthened this honor roll, like the author under review, Enrico Mazza, Professor at the Catholic University of Milan.

The present book is an important one. Its oral style has advantages and disadvantages. There is an immediacy and easy flow to oral style that keeps things moving. But sometimes they move too fast, leaving some points undigested. For instance, the opening part (pp. 15-22) of chapter 2, on Ambrose, depends heavily on one author, Francesconi, that it is almost a catena of citations. But eventually M. gets his wind and things move well, especially with chapter 3 on Theodore of Mopsuestia, who becomes the point of reference for the other two eastern commentators treated, John Chrysostom and Cyril/John II of Jerusalem.

The relation between saving event and sacrament is central to Theodore as for Ambrose. Much more basic than the richness of Theodore's allegory is his relating liturgy to the events of Jesus' Passion and to the heavenly liturgy. Though he develops the narrative, representational aspect more than others, he also sees the rites as a type of the resurrection and last things, providing an image of "realized eschatology" here below. More complex than Ambrose's, Theodore's system holds together through his unitary vision which maintains all levels in dynamic tension. For him, the eschatological gifts are not just the fruit of the sacraments, but their very content. M's discussion of the problems of this relationship is especially good (pp. 97-101), as is the conclusion of this chapter (pp. 101-104) on the broader issues of sacramental theology at the end of the fourth century, when platonism and typological exegesis no longer provided a sufficient ideological structure to guarantee sacramental realism. These are perennial theologico-liturgical problems,

which will crop up again in Iconoclasm in Byzantium (726-843) and in the ninth-century eucharistic disputes in the West.

In both Ambrose and Theodore, vocabulary is important and relatively consistent, and M. is carefully attentive to the language, even doing what few bother (or are able) to do: check the French version of Tonneau and Devreesse (ST 145) against the extant Syriac version (the original Greek is lost).

John Chrysostom's baptismal homilies bring another nuance. His ascetico-monastic orientation gives a strong ethical and pastoral stamp to all the golden-mouthed's preaching. This attention to the issues of life here below distinguishes Chrysostom's method from the eschatological emphasis of his contemporary and schoolmate Theodore. On Chrysostom, M's bibliography must now be completed with van de Paverd's excellent new study of the homilies on the statues (OCA 239).

On the Cyril/John II of Jerusalem authorship dispute, M. favors the latter (p. 150). He also favors E. Cutrone's interpretation (OCP 44 [1988] 52-64) of the structure of the anaphora (with no institution narrative) in Cyril/John, which parallels the anaphora of Theodore. M. has developed this more fully in "La struttura dell'anafora nelle catechesi di Teodoro di Mopsuestia," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 102 (1988) 147-183, esp. 159ff. The method of the hagiopolite author(s) is different from Theodore's at least in the treatment of the eucharist, where they eschew allegory, narrative dramatization, and heavenly liturgy typology. Baptism, however, is an imitative representation of the baptism of Jesus. M. considers this hagiopolite system, based on symbol as meaning but not as identity, to be weaker in ensuring the vital link between saving event and sacramental rite.

In his final reflections (ch. 6) M. sees these differences among the authors as personal and not as reflecting different schools of thought.

If the rest of the the world can sometimes be faulted for ignoring liturgical Italian scholarship, M's cites neither H.-J. Schulz's fundamental work on Byzantine mystagogy (*Die byzantinische Liturgie*, Lambertsverlag, Freiburg 1964: Paulinus-Verlag, Trier 1980; *The Byzantine Liturgy*, Pueblo, New York 1986), nor the present reviewer's article on the same topic: R.F. Taft, "The Liturgy of the Great Church. An Initial Synthesis of Structure and Interpretation on the Eve of Iconoclasm," DOP 34-35 (1980-1981) 45-75.

The English translation is excellent, though the English language edition neglects to indicate from what work it was translated. Furthermore, in the light of the available computer technology I fail to see why American publishers use endnotes, cumbersome at best, instead of footnotes.

R. F. Taft, S.J.

Pierre Raffin, *Les Rituels Orientaux de la Profession Monastique*, (*Spiritualité Orientale*, n. 4), (Abbaye de Bellefontaine, Bégrolles-en-Mauges 1992), pp. 196.

Il libro risponde in modo intelligente e funzionale alle riflessioni che il Concilio Vaticano II aveva iniziato sulla vita religiosa. L'Autore è ben consapevole dell'immane orizzonte culturale che si trova innanzi, la cristianità orientale, ma con

linguaggio semplice, con un cammino illustrativo ed incisivo, riesce a condurre il lettore attraverso la gamma variegata e ricca del monachesimo orientale. I rituali che Raffin presenta sono: il bizantino, l'armeno, il siro-occidentale (= giacobita), il maronita, il caldeo (siro-orientale), il copto. È una piacevole e ricca lettura quella offerta da queste pagine (pp. 27-158); la diversità dei rituali trova il suo fondamento nella unica vocazione monastica a cui l'Oriente ha risposto, nella storia, con una molteplice forma di adesione. Le edizioni a cui Ruffin fà riferimento per le sue traduzioni sono buone, ed usate sempre nei passi citati per esteso. Non soltanto la persona religiosa, ma anche i laici e lo studioso del monachesimo orientale trova questi testi interessanti e pregni di profondo pensiero religioso. Certamente non rientrava nell'economia dell'opera uno schema illustrativo dei vari rituali, ma l'immagine che il lettore recepisce dal singolo rituale sarebbe certamente di gran lunga più profonda se vi fosse stata anche un'aggiunta illustrativa di qualche caso agiografico. Verso la fine Ruffin offre un quadro di "liturgia comparata" sui rituali. È certamente una bella intuizione il sottolineare il carattere *liturgico* della professione monastica orientale, un atto situato all'interno di un'azione liturgica celebrativa (p. 181); caratteristica questa ripresa e rivitalizzata dall'*Ordo professionis religiosae* romano sotto le istanze del Vaticano II. A modo di epilogo, poche pagine alla fine (191-3), sorprendentemente stimolanti per vivificare il senso del monachesimo nel mondo d'oggi.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Patristica

Micheline Albert, Robert Beylot, René-G. Coquin, Bernard Outtier, Charles Renoux, *Christianismes Orientaux*, Introduction à l'étude des langues et des littératures. "Initiations au christianisme ancien". Introduction d'Antoine Guillaumont, Le Cerf, Paris 1993, pp. 456.

Lorsque, jusqu'à une époque récente, on parlait d'Orient chrétien ou de christianisme oriental, on pensait immédiatement à l'Orient byzantin ou au christianisme byzantino-slave. Les églises chrétiennes se situant hors de la mouvance gréco-byzantine étaient plus ou moins marginalisées, sinon ignorées.

C'est pour aider à aborder l'étude du patrimoine religieux et culturel de ces "Christianismes orientaux" non byzantins qu'a été conçu ce manuel d'initiation. Dans une introdution claire et brève (pp. 9-21) le Prof. A. Guillaumont donne un aperçu panoramique sur l'histoire de ces églises et les études et recherches dont elles sont l'objet. Il souligne à la fois leur diversité due aux particularismes culturels et nationaux et aux antagonismes politico-religieux surgis au cours de leur longue histoire et en même temps leur profonde unité basée sur la Bible et un fonds culturel commun. D'où le titre au pluriel "Christianismes orientaux".

Le corps de l'ouvrage est divisé en six parties traitant successivement: 1) Langue et littérature arabes chrétiennes (pp. 35-106), 2) Langue et littérature arméniennes (pp. 107-166), 3) Langue et littérature coptes (pp. 167-217), 4) Langue et littérature

éthiopiennes (pp. 219-260), 5) Langue et littérature géorgiennes (pp. 261-296), 6) Langue et littérature syriaques (pp. 297-375). Chaque chapitre est construit en gros selon le même schéma. Après une brève introduction historique, sont présentés en une première section la bibliographie commentée des instruments de travail: grammaires, chrestomathies, dictionnaires, manuels de littérature, catalogues de manuscrits. Une autre section présente ensuite les auteurs et leurs oeuvres par ordre chronologique ou selon les matières (hagiographie, histoire, droit canon etc....). Chaque partie se termine par une section donnant des renseignements pratiques sur les centres d'études. Ici on peut regretter que ces renseignements se limitent aux pays francophones et que soient ignorés les autres centres, surtout ceux des pays anglophones.

Des tableaux chronologiques et des cartes géographiques (pp. 381-411) viennent compléter utilement ce manuel qui, malgré la carence qu'on vient de signaler, rendra d'immenses services à tous ceux qui sont à la recherche d'un ouvrage pour les guider dans ce monde si varié et si riche des "Christianismes orientaux".

R. Lavenant, S.J.

E. Contreras, E. Peña, *El contexto histórico eclesial de los Padres Latinos. Siglos IV-V.* ECUAM, Victoria, Argentina, 1993, pp. 263.

Non è compito di questa pagina marcare ancora una volta la funzione capitale che il IV secolo ha nella storia della cultura europea, né aggiungere ulteriore inchiostro sull'importanza della letteratura cristiana che nacque nel IV e nel V secolo. Eppure è doveroso riconoscere nell'economia di questo non voluminoso libro il senso di una ragionevole completezza, di un equilibrio pacato e realistico nell'introdurre una lettura storica sul mondo ecclesiale latino del IV e V secolo. Gli autori riconoscono di offrire con questo libro un sussidio atto a situare i Padri Latini nel loro Sitz im Leben e, al tempo stesso, a rivedere il senso del "nostro battesimo", quasi un invito a confrontarsi, noi del XX secolo, con la realtà ecclesiale e storica dei Padri occidentali. Quando si parla della patristica latina, il lettore è invitato subito a pensare ad Agostino: egli è l'interlocutore principe in questo libro, anche se Ambrogio, Girolamo, Ilario, Massimo portano il proprio specifico apporto in questo dialogo. Il libro è diviso in sette capitoli: si parte con il "riconoscimento" della chiesa da parte dell'impero; la chiesa posta nella vita socio-economica dell'intera società; i Padri e la cultura occidentale del tempo; aspetti della vita ecclesiale nell'Occidente latino; lo studio della Bibbia e la formazione della nuova cultura cristiana; la peculiarità teologica della patristica occidentale; alcune manifestazioni di pietà religiosa. Si danno, inoltre, delle appendici a mo' di esemplificazioni e di aiuto (testi particolari in traduzione o liste di concili); v'è una sinossi cronologica del periodo considerato ed una bibliografia introduttiva consultata dagli autori (avremmo visto volentieri citati in essi i saggi editi da A. Momigliano, *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, London 1963 per complementare molti punti trattati dagli autori; R. L. Fox, *Pagans and Christians*,

New York 1987 per una visione complessiva della cristianità; il prezioso piccolo libro di L. Storoni Mazzolani, *Sant'Agostino e i pagani*, Palermo 1988[2] che in appendice offre una traduzione dell'importante libro XVI,10 del *Cod. Theod.*). Come si diceva, l'equilibrio e la pacatezza stanno alla base di queste pagine. Quando si affronta il problema della cristianizzazione dell'impero, o, in altre parole, della ufficialità del cristianesimo come religione di stato, non solo è affrontato il nuovo problema culturale-linguistico-cultico della catechesi di massa, ma anche della povertà esistente negli strati bassi della società (cf. la bella lettura di Girolamo sulla chiesa dei martiri e quella della ricchezza e del potere: p. 39-40; la *afflicta paupertas*: p. 53-54). L'impatto dei Padri nella vita socio-economica è presentato con forte realismo, con domande volte al lettore (p. 79) ed intese ad individuare una pista di lettura che riguardi un periodo o temi specifici (povertà, schiavitù, assistenza sociale, ricchezza e la sua distribuzione, potere) vitali per la comprensione della chiesa di ieri come quella di oggi. Persone di alta educazione culturale come Agostino, Ambrogio, Girolamo hanno tuttavia impiegato molte loro forze nei "commentari" biblici. La Bibbia diveniva fonte e mezzo della nuova cultura, un orizzonte culturale che portava in sé anche il senso del dialogo ideologico con il retroterra classico così fortemente vivo nella formazione di questi Padri. È vero che questi uomini furono educati sui classici nella loro giovinezza, e il peso del grande pensiero greco cristiano del IV secolo è evidente; tuttavia, Agostino rappresenta per gli autori la figura che eccelle di fronte al pensiero cristiano greco (credo che in questo libro sia stata data poca importanza alla "funzione" esegetica esercitata da Girolamo). Giustamente si sottolinea quello che è stato il precipuo dell'apporto latino: l'originalità occidentale risiede essenzialmente nella visione antropologica ed ecclesiologica (influsso evidente dei pensatori africani), un apporto unico alla intelligenza teologica dell'incarnazione che non è facilmente riscontrabile nel pensiero orientale. Questo libro ha il dono della essenzialità nell'inquadrare un tempo ecclesiale così fondamentale per la teologia dell'Occidente. Ma, credo, è ancora più prezioso perchè non ripete formulari più o meno ovvi, ma stimola il lettore a dare una risposta contestualizzata ed attuale su istanze presenti ancora nella società ecclesiale occidentale.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Bibliotheca Ephemeridium Theologicarum Lovaniensium. *Origeniana Quinta.* Historica — Text and Method — Biblica — Philosophica Theologica — Origenism and Later Developments. Papers of the 5th International Origen Congress Boston College, 14-18 August 1989. Edited by Robert J. Daly. Leuven University Press 1992, pp. 635.

Questo poderoso volume raccoglie gli atti del "Quinto Colloquio su Origene", convegno scientifico svoltosi nel Boston College dal 14 al 18 agosto 1989. Il tema centrale del Colloquio verteva su "Origene e la filosofia"; questo chiarisce il perché la sezione filosofica di questo volume comprende ben 17 saggi.

Come di costume, un pensatore come Origene non poteva non essere analizzato, penetrato e spiegato se non in una multiforme presentazione metodologica del suo pensiero. Oltre alla suddetta nutrita sezione filosofica, quella teologica ha 14 saggi, mentre la storica ne contiene 8, la biblica 4 e quella dedicata ai problemi testuali e metodologici 8. L'ultima sezione è sull'origenismo e gli sviluppi posteriori (11 saggi) ove l'accento è posto sulla lettura di Origene, la sua comprensione e l'influenza che Origene ha esercitato sul pensiero cristiano.

I partecipanti sono studiosi ben noti e la conoscenza che essi hanno su Origene fa certamente dei loro saggi solidi punti di riferimento sulla continua ricerca attorno a questo discusso ma grande personaggio della Chiesa antica.

Questi atti, nel complesso, risultano ricchi, incisivi e chiari: evitano la schematizzazione del pensiero di Origene e cercano di sottolineare al contempo i caratteri ortodossi dell'autentico pensiero origeniano.

K. Douramani

Eusèbe de Césarée, *La Préparation Évangélique*, Livres VIII-IX-X. Introduction, traduction et notes des Livres VIII et X par Guy Schroeder et Édouard des Places, du Livre IX par É. des Places; texte grec révisé des Livres VIII-IX-X par É. des Places (= SC 369), Paris 1991, pp. 510.

L'ardore apologetico di Eusebio, vescovo di Cecarea in Palestina, si mescola in questi libri alla lucida "economia" dell'intera sua opera. V'è un tessuto, un ordito ben chiaro nella mente di questo vescovo a riguardo della *Préparation Évangélique*, ed egli si attiene rigorosamente a questo piano pur evidenziando tutta la sua carica emotiva e la sua attestata identità di cittadino del nuovo impero, il suo essere cioè cristiano. Gli antichi Ebrei furono descritti nel libro VII; seguendo ora la *taxis* del suo piano, Eusebio si occupa ora nel libro VIII della *politeia* secondo Mosé, cioè del popolo giudaico sottomesso alla legge consegnata da Mosé. Il libro IX tratta delle testimonianze greche sugli Ebrei e sul popolo giudaico, mentre il libro X, libro che chiude l'opera, si concentra in un'analisi ed un'accusa fatta contro i Greci (i pensatori e letterati) i quali, a detta dello stesso vescovo, sono dei ladri e plagiatori della saggia conoscenza degli antichi Ebrei (p. 348). Il volume che qui si presenta è dovuto alla costanza e maestria di É. des Places che con l'aiuto dei suoi collaboratori ci ha assicurato un'ottima ed accurata edizione di questa grande opera del vescovo palestinese. Des Places e G. Schroeder stabiliscono il testo dei libri VIII-X su 7 MSS (compresi i tre folia del *Vat. gr. 2210*, del X sec. utilizzati per il capitolo 5 del libro X); cosa lodevole, essi ripropongono la divisione dei capitoli dei libri secondo l'ordine dei capitoli stessi indicati dai MSS (metodo non usato nelle recenti edizioni dell'opera di Eusebio). Le pp. 8-27 sono dedicate ai vari testimoni usati da Eusebio in questi 3 libri. Accurata, puntuale, critica è la scelta attuata dai Curatori quando hanno usato le edizioni delle opere dei testimoni. Alla rinomata ottima stampa del testo greco, propria alla collana delle SC, si affianca una scorrevole e fedele traduzione francese del testo. Alla fine, il volume presenta una

serie di indici utilissimi per la consultazione dell'opera: un indice scritturistico, di citazioni di antichi autori, di nomi propri (questo a cura di P. Évieux). Libro forbito, stimolante per la ricchezza delle lunghe citazioni (era poderosa in Eusebio la capacità di collazionare testi e di argomentare con essi), culturalmente polemico, ma scritto con un intento apologetico ben chiaro: la superiorità della cultura giudeo-cristiana su quella ellenistica. È evidente che il testo di Eusebio, a parte la sua insita eccellente qualità di opera apologetica, apre al tempo stesso un ulteriore e più cogente questito per i cultori della Weltanschauung del IV secolo: quale sia stata l'economia culturale di una siffatta impostazione ideologica quando si verifica poi una presenza massiccia di "filosofia greca" nella stesura teologica e semantica del pensiero cristiano (= bizantino) che segue.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Eusebius Werke I/1; *Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin*, hrsg. von Friedhelm Winkelmann (*Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*) 2. durchges. Auflage, Berlin 1991, pp. LXX+270.

L'eccellente edizione critica della *Vita Constantini* di Eusebio, dovuta alla maestria di F. Winkelmann, apparve la prima volta nel 1975; quanto quì si presenta è la seconda edizione. Abbiamo, dunque, un'edizione riveduta, corretta di qualche errore precedente di stampa, con nuove aggiunte bibliografiche di scritti apparsi nel lasso fra le due edizioni, ma senza alcuna nuova testimonianza testuale.

Come dicevo all'inizio, l'opera del Winkelmann è magistrale. L'esigenza di avere un'edizione critica di questa fondamentale opera di Eusebio è stata dallo Studioso assecondata in maniera appropriata. Alla correttezza del testo, si aggiunge ancora una capillare analisi (nelle prime LXX pagine) della tradizione manoscritta, letteraria nonché stilistica e linguistica che introduce il lettore all'opera e chiarisce le varie difficoltà storiche e politiche del contenuto della *Vita*.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Joseph Ḥazzāyā, *Lettre sur les trois étapes de la vie monastique*, édition critique du texte syriaque, traduction et introduction par P.Harb et F.Graffin avec la collaboration de M.Albert (= Patrologia Orientalis, Tome 45, Fasc. 2, N° 202) Brepols, Turnhout/Belgique 1992, pp. 253-442.

Le manuscrit karšūnī *Vat. syr.* 207 attribue ce traité à "Joseph Abba, dit Mar Philoxène". Se basant sur cette affirmation, le catalogue de Étienne Évode et Joseph Simon Assémani, à son tour, attribue l'oeuvre à Philoxène de Mabboug. En 1950 G. Olinder publie une traduction anglaise de la rédaction brève de ce texte d'après un manuscrit de Londres. En 1961, F. Graffin donne une traduction française de la

rédaction longue. En 1963, le spécialiste de Philoxène, A. de Halleux se prononce contre l'attribution à Philoxène. Paul Harb, en 1968, propose d'en restituer la paternité au mystique nestorien du VIIIe siècle, Joseph Ḥazzāyā (= le Voyant).

Dans ce fascicule de la PO, outre le problème de l'attribution, est résolu aussi celui du texte original dont est donnée l'édition critique sur la base d'une douzaine de manuscrits, dont dix contiennent la rédaction longue. En face de ce texte est mise la traduction française.

Joseph Ḥazzāyā présente les étapes de la vie monastique selon la division tripartite bien connue: étape somatique, psychique et pneumatique. En cela il se montre l'héritier de maîtres spirituels comme Évagre et surtout Jean le Solitaire (ou Jean d'Apamée). Mais son originalité réside dans la manière d'appliquer cette division tripartite à la description des étapes du progrès spirituel. Pour Jean le Solitaire les trois étapes ont, selon les explications du P.R.Beulay, (*La lumière sans forme*, Chevetogne s.d p. 120) "une base anthropologique objective, le principe de l'orientation vitale de l'homme étant soit les convoitises du corps, soit l'effort ascétique de l'âme, soit l'ouverture à Dieu de la nature spirituelle de celle-ci". Les mystiques nestoriens, eux, font "correspondre chacun des trois ordres au travail ascétique et à la sanctification d'un des trois éléments constitutifs de l'homme: pratique des vertus du corps, pratique de celles de l'âme, contemplation surnaturelle de l'esprit" (ibid. p. 121). "... Cette perspective objective est encore accentuée chez Joseph Ḥazzāyā par la correspondance systématique qu'il établit entre les trois degrés et les contemplations évagriennes" (ibid. p. 122). A l'étape somatique correspond la contemplation mystique du monde corporel, à l'étape psychique on arrive à la limpidité de l'âme qui lui permet de contempler les êtres incorporels et enfin le degré spirituel fait parvenir à la contemplation de la sainte Trinité. La première étape de ce processus a son correspondant typologique dans la libération des Hébreux de la servitude en Egypte, tandis que la deuxième étape est représentée par les trois jeunes gens dans la fournaise et l'arrivée dans la terre promise.

L'édition et la traduction nous ont paru soignées. Les deux éditeurs ont eu l'heureuse idée d'insérer à la fin de ce fascicule (pp. 435-9) un index analytique des principaux thèmes traités dans cette Lettre avec la translittération du terme syriaque correspondant. C'est sur ce dernier point que se sont introduites des imprécisions ou des erreurs, par exemple nezīrūtā au lieu de nazīrūtā (abstinence), mesarqūtā au lieu de mesāruqtā (dépouillement), ṭaksā au lieu de takrā (ordre) etc. ... Il reste malgré tout, que ce genre d'index est très précieux pour faciliter l'étude d'un auteur qui, avec d'autres, est à l'origine de théories dont on retrouvera des éléments jusque dans la mystique musulmane.

R. Lavenant, S.J.

Reinhard M. Hübner, *Die Schrift des Apolinarius von Laodicea gegen Photin (Pseudo-Athanasius, Contra Sabellianos) und Basilius von Cesarea,* (Patristische Texte und Studien, 30), Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York 1989, pp. XII+324.

Franz Xaver Risch, *Pseudo-Basilius, Adversus Eunomium IV-V.* Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar (Suppl. Vigiliae Christianae, 16), E. J. Brill, Leiden – New York – Köln 1992, pp. VIII+236.

Le petit traité pseudo-athanasien *contra Sabellianos* (PG 28, 96-121) n'avait guère attiré l'attention des patrologues à cause de son affinité avec l'*homélie 24* de Basile de Césarée : il paraissait normal de donner la priorité à Basile, réléguant le *contra Sabellianos* au rang d'un exercice d'école anonyme. Or voici que R. M. Hübner a repris à fond cette question, en aboutissant à des conclusions surprenantes : 1. C'est Basile qui dépend du *contra Sabellianos* et non l'inverse. 2. L'adversaire visé dans ce traité est bien Photin de Sirmium. 3. Son auteur ne peut être qu'Apollinaire de Laodicée († ver 390). 4. Si cela est vrai, la question des rapports entre Basile et Apollinaire doit être reprise sur de nouvelle bases.

La démarche employée est extrêmement rigoureuse et laisse peu de place a des doutes. Je crois que M. Hübner a bien identifié un écrit d'Apollinaire de Laodicée, et cela est très important pour la suite des études apollinariennes. On sait en effet que les nombreuses œuvres du laodicéen nous sont parvenues d'une façon bien fragmentaire; en outre, il y a toute une série d'écrits qui gravitent autour de son nom ou de son école et qui attendent de nouvelles confirmations. Tout d'abord, le pseudo-athanasien *contra Arianos IV*, que Stegman déjà en 1917 considérait comme un "Apollinarisgut" : Hübner pense que c'est une thèse à reprendre (p. 282). Le même discours vaut pour le Pseudo-Basile, *Adversus Eunomium IV-V*, que J. Dräseke en 1892 avait attribué à Apollinaire. Hübner est déjà intervenu sur cette question en faveur de la paternité apollinarienne de cet écrit et se propose d'y revenir avec une nouvelle publication (cfr. p. 283, note 7). Nous reparlerons de ce Pseudo-Basile à propos du livre de Risch.

Un autre "gros problème" touché par Hübner est celui des rapports entre le *contra Sabellianos* et le traité athanasien *contra Arianos III* (p. 284). Peut-être n'a-t-il pas eu le temps de prendre position sur le travail que Ch. Kannengiesser a dédié à Athanase, paru en 1983 (= *Théologie Historique*, 70). Or Kannengiesser nie précisément la paternité athanasienne du *contra Arianos III* et propose celle d'Apollinaire, du moins sous forme hypothétique. La question reste posée et on ne peut pas l'éluder. Certes, il faut se garder de voir de l'Apollinaire partout, mais avec un travail comme celui de Hübner on a un point de repère suffisamment sûr. Moi-même, il y a une douzaine d'années, j'avais revendiqué au profit d'Apollinaire de Laodicée la paternité de trois homélies pascales pseudo-chrysostomiennes (= *Théologie Historique*, 58). Or la restitution du *contra Sabellianos* au même Apollinaire apporte une confirmation indirecte mais importante à ma thèse, car j'ai pu remarquer plusieurs points de contact entre ces homélies et le *contra Sabellianos* (cfr. la note que j'espère publier dans un des prochains numéros d'OCP).

Revenons maintenant sur le pseudo-basilien *Adversus Eunomium IV-V,* qui a reçu pour la première fois, avec le travail de F. X. Risch, une étude systématique.

Nous trouvons en effet dans son livre la traduction allemande de ce texte (pp. 49-110), puis un long et détaillé commentaire (pp. 111-205), le tout précédé d'une introduction relativement brève (pp. 3-48).

L'histoire de l'attribution de l'*adv. Eunomium IV-V* est assez complexe. Rangé à la suite de l'oeuvre de Basile de Césarée *adv. Eunomium I-III*, il a été attribué à Apollinaire de Laodicée, comme on l'a déjà rappelé, par Dräseke, qui cependant n'a pas été suivi. Par contre, beaucoup de savants ont avancé le nom de Didyme l'Aveugle, surtout sur la base des rapprochements avec le *de trinitate*. Mais la paternité didymienne de ce traité demeure très contestée.

Pour sa part, Risch énumère un certain nombre de points doctrinaux qui montrent un profond désaccord entre l'*adv. Eunomium IV-V* et le *de trinitate* (pp. 9-12). Puis il trace un espèce de portrait de l'auteur de l'*adv. Eunomium IV-V* : 1. Il est un nicéen convaincu et nomme souvent l'Esprit comme *Theós*. 2. Il s'adresse contre Aetius et Eunomius d'une part, et en même temps contre Marcel et Photin d'autre part. Il combat aussi des tendances pneumatomaques. 3. Il a lu les écrits logiques de Porphyre et connaît la philosophie plotinienne. 4. Il est contre les argumentations argumentations sophistiques, mais il n'y échappe pas complètement. 5. Il se situe consciemment dans la suite d'Athanase. Et Risch de conclure : «Cela convient parfaitement à Apollinaire. Il est nicéen, écrit contre Eunomius et Marcel, connaît Porphyrius et écrit même contre lui, a un penchant pour la méthode syllogistique et se considère comme héritier d'Athanase» (p. 12).

Tout cela cependant ne suffit pas à Risch pour atteindre la certitude : la question de l'auteur de l'*adv. Eunomium IV-V* reste pour lui encore sans solution («Die Verfasserfrage ist also nach wie vor unentschieden und kann hier nicht gelöst werden», p. 9). Extrême prudence, qui invite à pousuivre la recherche, mais qui suggère déjà une direction assez précise.

E. Cattaneo, S.J.

Maximi Confessoris *Opvscvla Exegetica Dvo* (Maximi Conf., *OPERA: Expositio in Psalmum LIX; Expositio Orationis Dominicae*), edidit Peter Van Deun, (= Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 23), Turnhout-Leuven 1991, pp. CLXXII+135.

Le due opere di Massimo il Confessore, l'*Expositio in Psalmum LIX* e l'*Expositio Orationis Dominicae* restavano le uniche opere di Massimo accessibili in base alla vecchia edizione stabilita nel 1675 da F. Combefis. P. Van Deun difese nel 1989 la sua tesi dottorale a Lovanio sull'edizione critica di queste due opere, aggiungendovi uno studio sulla lingua dei testi. Questo libro, dato alle stampe nella *Series Graeca* del *Corpus Christ.* è una versione riveduta del lavoro dottorale, ed è certamente un lavoro pregevole ed encomiabile non solo per aver finalmente prodotto un'edizione critica delle due opere di Massimo, ma anche per la forbita capacità critica esercitata nello stabilire il testo stesso. Anche se non vi sono prove apodittícamente certe per l'autenticità di attribuzione di questi due testi, tutta la

critica interna ed esterna conviene nel a ritenere le due opere come veramente di Massimo. Vi è stato nel passato una instabilità sulla data di questi scritti (la *Vita Syriaca* edita da S. Brock in *An.Boll.* 91, 1973 non sembra intaccare la discussione cronologica di Van Deun). Von Balthasar proponeva di datare le due opere prima della crisi monoteleta in forza di una critica interna ai testi stessi, cioè attorno al 633/4; P. Sherwood riduceva ancora di qualche anno la data della *Expositio in Ps.*, portandola al 626 (al tempo quando Massimo risiedeva ancora a Cizico), mentre proponeva il 630 circa per la *Expositio Orationis Dom.*, forse quando Massimo stava ancora in Africa. Van Deun, molto correttamente, presenta queste argomentazioni che, se pur corrette, non conducono ad una data sicura. Come dicevo in precedenza, questo libro è certamente uno strumento utilissimo perchè ambedue i testi sono stabiliti con correttezza critica. Per l'*Expositio in Ps.* Van Deun si avvale di 21 MSS, per l'*Exp. Orationis Dominicae* ben 39. L'archetipo a cui si rifanno i 21 MSS del primo testo deve necessariamente essere anteriore all'XI secolo (cf lo stemma finale a p. LXX), terminus a quo dato dall'*Angelicus gr. 120*, dal *Paris. gr. 886* e dal prezioso ma sfortunato *Taurinensis c.III.3*, tutti dell'XI secolo (dei MSS usati per ambo i testi, l'editore offre un'ottima scheda critica); per la tradizione indiretta non si è ritenuto possibile usufruire della *Catena sul Salterio di tipo X* (cf M.-J. Rondeau, *OCA* 219, Roma 1982, p. 217-8), e Van Deun si affida al ben noto florilegio offerto dall'*Ath. Dionysiou 180*, cartaceo del XIV sec. Per il commento di Massimo sul Pater noster (=*Expositio Orationis Dominicae*) i MSS sono 39 (cf lo stemma a p. CXXXIX). Se molteplice appare la tradizione diretta di quest'opera, ancora più ricca è quella indiretta, indice della forte popolarità di quest'opera che offre non solo spunti di buona teologia, ma anche di catechesi facilmente comprensibile. Per quest'opera come per la precedente (pp. 3-73), Massimo procede "pedagogicamente"; ad ogni versetto del salmo, o ad ogni inciso del Pater, il Confessore si ferma dilungandosi nel commentario (questo procedimento è reso bene nella stampa del libro, dove tra l'altro non si segue la divisione del testo in paragrafi modellata da Combefis). Per quest'ultimo testo l'archetipo si pone anteriormente al X secolo (fra i MSS usati vi sono, infatti, il *Marcianus gr. 137* ed il *Vat. gr. 1809* datati al X sec.). Fra i buoni principi di edizione seguiti, due mi sembrano degni di essere particolarmente segnalati. Il primo riguarda la punteggiatura del testo: Van Deun si affida alle indicazioni dei MSS, piuttosto che al gusto che oggi avremmo nel ritmare la lettura di siffatti testi. La seconda è l'esauriente apparato critico che arriva ad offrire ben cinque livelli di riferimento: a) apparatus fontium; b) app. dei passaggi paralleli nelle altre opere di Massimo; c-d) app. critici propriamente detti inerenti al testo dato; e) app. marginalium, ove sono citati gli *scholia* e le note scritti in margine o fra le linee dei MSS utilizzati. Una serie di indici (*nominum, graecitatis, locorum parall., testimoniorum et manuscriptorum*) chiude questo prezioso volume che consegna agli studiosi, e non solo ad essi, queste due deliziose opere di Massimo.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Origène, *Commentaire sur Saint Jean*, tome V (Livres XXVIII et XXXII). Texte grec, introduction, traduction et notes par Cécile Blanc, SC 385, Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 1992, pp. 392.

Già precedentemente comparvero nelle SC parti del *Commentario* di Origene al Vangelo di Giovanni (cf SC, nn. 120, 157, 222, 290). Quest'opera colossale -non solo per la mole che rappresentava all'origine, ma anche per la profondità delle intuizioni esegetiche e teologiche che Origene profuse in questa sua fatica — vede ora finalmente il suo ultimo volume grazie ancora alla costanza ed alta competenza di C. Blanc (sua è la promessa di pubblicare in un prossimo volume i frammenti delle *catene*, a tempo già edite da Brooke e Preuschen). Il libro XXVIII (diffile estrapolare una data per la sua composizione) affronta il capo 11 di Gv., precisamente dal v. 39 a 57; l'altro, il libro XXXII, riguarda Gv. 13, 2-33 (si è perso il primo verso di questo capo, come anche tutto il cap. 12 che doveva probabilmente riempire i libri XXIX-XXXI del commentario) e come probabile data si può pensare agli anni '40 del III sec. (a Nicomedia?). Ancora una volta sorprende la libertà di associazione mentale nell'esegesi che Origene esprime in questi due libri. Fermo restando "il senso della lettera", che Origene sottolinea quando affronta un nuovo verso, il Commentatore fa uso della sua libertà di intuizione nello svolgimento del tema scritturistico. Mi sembra che Origene attui, in altra sfera, quella esegetico-teologica, ciò che egli sbricciola nella dinamica della "preghiera", la *parresia*. È nel commento alla risurrezione di Lazzaro che Origene si dilunga sulla preghiera, un tema a lui molto caro (si ricordi che la sua ben nota operetta sul *Pater* resta un gioiello della spiritualità antica). Nel lib. XXXII il Pensatore si ferma sul tradimento di Giuda: egli è il primo a focalizzare teologicamente questo evento, e quanti seguirannno si appelleranno al suo commento (pp. XXXII, xx, 260 e ss.). È, in vero, rinvenibile in questo passaggio del *Commentario* (spec. pp. 281-287 con il parenetico 288) una sosta di riflessione su quella che è la responsabilità umana, sulla libertà. "L'entrata di Satana" in Giuda non è determinismo, ma in Origene appare chiaramente come un effetto causato dalla libera volontà del soggetto che accetta il "pezzo di pane" (= una linea di condotta sostenuta dalla superbia). Il testo greco è ineccepibilmente presentato, come di costume, da C. Blanc che offre a fianco una ottima traduzione francese. Le note a piè pagina sono essenziali: in esse si trova quel materiale complementare rinvenibile nelle altre opere di Origene e nella letteratura del milieu culturale del tempo. Mi sembra opportuno segnalare la sezione introduttiva e quella finale del presente volume. Blanc ha sinteticamente riunito, prima di dar via al testo greco, in modo veramente encomiabile delle idee teologiche sottostanti ai due libri del *Commentario*, mettendo in rilievo non solo quanto il testo greco dice, ma distillando il pensiero espresso da Origene accompagnandolo da quanto il Pensatore dice di simile in altre sue opere. Alla fine del testo greco, l'ultima sezione raccoglie una serie di appendici (14 in tutto): esse sono preziose addizioni filologiche e storiche sul testo del *Commentario*. In queste ultime pagine si respira un'altra aria, quella dell'analisi semantica e filologico-storica: un evidente accenno ancora sulla poderosa qualità intellettuale che il *Commento* a Giovanni contiene.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Philologica

Lexicographica byzantina. Beiträge zum Symposion zur Byzantinischen Lexikographie (Wien, 1.-4. 3. 1989), hersg. Wolfram Hörandner und Erich Trapp (*Byzantina Vindobonensia* B. XX) (Wien, 1991), pp. 314. ISBN 3-7001-1853-8.

Il progetto che da anni procede sotto la direzione delle Università di Vienna e di Bonn, e dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Vienna, di creare cioè un *Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Literatur besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts*, prevede dei Symposia, in cui novità e contributi nuovi siano presentati e discussi. Questo libro — qualcosa di simile apparve a Vienna nel 1988 (*Studien zur byz. Lexikographie* a cura di E. Trapp et alii) — offre al lettore i contributi del Symposium tenuto nel marzo 1989 all'Istituto di Bizantinistica e Greco Moderno dell'Università di Vienna. Sono quì riuniti apporti di carattere metodologico, relativi a progetti e studi già intrapresi altrove, ma anche ricerche ed analisi dettagliate volte verso qualche determinato autore o gruppo testuale o verso tematiche lessicografiche della letteratura bizantina (Trapp, p. 313-4). È certamente questa raccolta di "atti del Colloquio" di grande utilità per tutti coloro che lavorano sui problemi stilistici, semantici e lessicografici relativi alla letteratura bizantina non solo perchè i relatori si basano su provata conoscenza dei propri soggetti, ma anche perchè i soggetti stessi comprendono una gamma variegata di interessi letterari. I saggi, con i relativi autori, sono i seguenti: W. J. Aerts, "Ein Lexikon (in statu nascendi) zur Chronik von Morea"; K. Alpers, "Ein Handschriftenfund zum Kyrill-Glossar"; Th. F. Brunner, "TLG Expansion: the Byzantine Era"; L. Burgmann, "Lexeis rômaikai. Lateinische Wörter in byzantinischen juristischen Texten"; F. Conca - R. Maisano, "Eine lexikographische Untersuchung über die byzantinischen Historiker"; C. Cupane, "Ein Index zur byzantinischen Gebrauchssprache"; Th. Detorakis, "Athêsauristes lexeis apo ta erga tou patriarchê Germanou I"; J. Diethart, "Die Bedeutung der Papyri für die byzantinische Lexikographie"; G. Fatouros, "Zur Sprache des Theodoros Studites"; A. Hohlweg, "Terminologie in byzantinischen medizinischen Texten und Lexikographie"; H. Hunger, "Was nicht in der Suda steht, oder: Was konnte sich der gebildete Byzantiner des 10./11. Jahrhunderts von einem 'Konversationlexikon' erwarten?"; A. Kambylis, "Lexikographie und Textkritik"; J. Karayannopulos, "Zu einem Lexikon der byzantinischen Terminologie"; J. Koder, "'Problemwörter' im Eparchikon Biblion; E. Kriaras, "Apo tên poreia tou Lexikou tês Mesaiônikês Ellênikês dêmôdous grammateias"; W. Lackner, "Beobachtungen zum Wortschatz des Pseudo-Kaisarios"; L. Rydén, "Zum Wortschatz der verschiedenen Fassungen der Vita des Andreas Salos"; A. Steiner-Weber, "Merkmale der byzantinischen Wortbildung anhand der Komposition"; R. Stichel, "Die Bedeutung der mittelalterlichen slavischen Übersetzungsliteratur für die byzantinische Lexikographie"; E. Trapp, "Das Lexikon zur byzantinischen Literatur"; R. Volk, "Einige Beiträge zur mittelgriechischen Nahrungsmittel-Terminologie".

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Michele Di Marco, *Concordanza del* De Anima *di Cassiodoro.* (= Biblioteca Vivariensis, 1). Istituto di Studi su Cassiodoro e sul Medioevo in Calabria-Squillace, Rubbettino Editore, Messina 1992, pp. 873.

In una veste tipograficamente elegante esce questo poderoso volume sul ben noto opuscolo di Cassiodoro, *De Anima.* Il lavoro di M. Di Marco è altamente meritorio giacchè offre agli studiosi tutta una vasta gamma di utilizzazione del vocabolario cassiodoreo. Questo lavoro è stato condotto sull'edizione del *De Anima* di J. W. Halporn (Turnhout, 1973 = CCL, 96, pp. 534-75); non si è tenuto conto in questa concordanza delle varianti offerte nell'apparato critico edito da Halporn. Il volume si divide in dieci sezioni — una breve ed essenziale bibliografia sul *De Anima* chiude il lavoro. Un modo per utilizzare al massimo questo volume è certamente quello della lettura incrociata: da un lemma o da una forma, il lettore può subitamente risalire al capitolo e al contesto d'uso. In ordine abbiamo il *conspectus capitulorum*: comprende il titolo di ciascun capitolo (in tutto in numero di 18), il numero delle sue righe di testo, l'*incipit* e il *desinit.* Il nucleo principale consiste nella *concordantia lemmatum et formarum* (pp. 23-638): le forme sono ordinate alfabeticamente seguite, in parentesi tonde, dal numero della pagina in cui ricorrono. Le forme, segnalate in neretto, sono poste nel contesto di due righe dell'edizione di Halporn (un espediente che se da una parte allunga di molto il volume di questo lavoro, dall'altra lo rende molto funzionale per il lettore frettoloso). Il nominativo è usato per i sostantivi; comparativi e superlativi degli aggettivi sono posti sotto il nom. sing. maschile; il verbo è dato sempre alla Ia persona dell'indicativo sing. (a volte l'infinito è anche offerto per la distinzione di omografi). L'*index formarum* alfabeticamente riproduce tutte le forme presenti, con la loro frequenza e posto nel testo di Cassiodoro; l'*index formarum a tergo ordinatarum* è la lista delle forme ordinate alfabeticamente all'inverso; l'*index formarum graecarum* offre le sette forme greche (sono otto le occorrenze), già traslitterate da Halporn: queste non erano state lemmatizzate. Seguono poi: a) *enumeratio lemmatum*; b) *tabula frequentiarum* (dei lemmi); c) *index lemmatum a tergo ordinatorum* (i lemmi ordinati alfabeticamente all'inverso, un complemento all'indice delle forme); d) *index locorum S. Scripturae*; e) *index nominum.*

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Γερασίμου Γ. Ζώρα, *Φιλολογικὰ Μελετήματα*, Domos, Atene 1993, pp. 284.

Nel presente volume, l'autore raccoglie 24 sue pubblicazioni, apparse in varie sedi nel corso degli anni 1983-1993. Vale la pena menzionarne le seguenti: Βασιλείου Κεφάλαια Παραινετικά [p. 15-36: edizione della versione in neogreco di uno dei due trattati parenetici, che la tradizione attribuisce all'imperatore Basilio I (867-886), contenuta nel cod. 535 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Atene]; Μία ἄγνωστη μετάφραση κωμωδίας τοῦ Μολιέρου στὰ ἑλληνικά [pp. 37-73: traduzione di ignoto in neogreco contenuta nel *Vat. gr. 2481*, della commedia *Les*

Précieuses ridicules (1659), probabilmente non sul testo originale di Molière, ma sulla versione italiana di Nicola Di Castelli]; Leone Allacci e una dimenticata raccolta di versi in onore della Regina Cristina di Svezia [pp. 75-102: volumetto di poesie curato da L. Allacci, edito nel 1656 dal Collegio della Propaganda Fide in occasione della conversione al cattolicesimo di Cristina di Svezia, contiene un *Idyllion* dell'illustre Chiota, qui edito e commentato]; L'Egeo nella Fedra di Gabriele D'Annunzio, pp. 207-211; Κατάλογος χειρογράφων κωδίκων, περγαμηνῶν, ἡμερολογίων, λυτῶν φύλλων καὶ πρώτων ἐκδόσεων τοῦ Ἀρχείου Γ. Θ. Ζώρα (pp. 255-268).

Altri studi riguardano più da vicino personaggi della letteratura neogreca (quali Dionigi Solomòs, pp. 103-110; Stefanos Komitàs, pp. 111-123; Aristotelis Valaoritis, pp. 125-131; P. Brailas-Armenis, pp. 145-154; Kostis Palamas, pp. 167-172, 173-176; Ilias Venezis, pp. 181-184; Niceforo Vrettakos, pp. 185-195; Jannis Ritsos, pp. 197-206 ed altri) o argomenti più generali di letteratura neogreca (cf. Οἱ νεοέλληνες λογοτέχνες καὶ ὁ Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος Παρνασσός, pp. 213-219; Οἱ ζῶντες λογοτέχνες καὶ οἱ ἱστορίες τῆς λογοτεχνίας μας, pp. 221-225; Ὁ πολυδιάστατος καλλιτεχνικὸς χαρακτήρας τῶν σύγχρονων ἑλληνικῶν λογοτεχνικῶν περιοδικῶν, pp. 229-234 ecc.). Alla fine di vari saggi l'autore fornisce un breve riassunto in italiano.

Nelle pp. 269-271 del volume, ben curato anche dal punto di vista tipografico, si riferisce dove la prima volta i saggi siano stati pubblicati. Segue (pp. 273-284) l'indice dei nomi propri. Il tutto è preceduto (pp. 11-13) da una breve nota introduttiva.

A. Fyrigos

Proximi Orientis

Elias Chacour, David Hazard, *Fratelli di sangue. Una testimonianza di pace in Medio Oriente*, Edizione italiana a cura di A. Maria Cagiano de Azevedo in Malvezzi Campeggi, Edizioni Dehoniane, Roma 1990, pp. 236.

Elias Chacour, Mary E. Jensen, *Nous sommes tous des fils du pays*, Desclée de Brouwer, Paris 1992, pp. 256.

Sono due libri tradotti dall'inglese e incentrati sulla vicenda di un sacerdote palestinese di rito melchita che partecipa a fondo le sorti del suo popolo nello stato di Israele. Padre Elia Chacour predica il rispetto per Ebrei e Musulmani e, ritenendo l'ignoranza la prima causa di odio, crea attraverso numerose difficoltà una scuola media per formare all'amore reciproco. In questi due libri sono tracciate, in stile giornalistico, le vicende del ragazzo melchita che giunge alla prima presa di coscienza etnica quando la sua famiglia e tutti i componenti del villaggio di Biram sono costretti dai soldati israeliani a lasciare le loro case. Sboccia in lui la vocazione sacerdotale che gli fa abbandonare la Galilea per entrare in collegio, quindi lo porta in un seminario di Francia a prepararsi al sacerdozio, fino al rientro in patria, con un bagaglio di conoscenze teologali, linguistiche e di ricca umanità. Confrontato con gli

impegni del ministero pastorale nel villaggio di Ibillin, il giovane prete affronta le tensioni che sussistono tra i parrocchiani. Il vescovo ne apprezza le doti e lo invia all'università ebraica di Gerusalemme. Tornato a Ibillin il prete vuole realizzare il suo ardito sogno. Chiede il permesso di costruire la scuola. Il permesso non arriva e Padre Elias sfida la società di cui fa parte, basandosi sulle amicizie contratte a Gerusalemme e in Europa. La scuola sorge a Ibillin e i ragazzi la frequentano. Tale vittoria di un uomo senz'armi è prezioso insegnamento per tutti.

Un poco di semplificazione giornalistica e di tinte forti, se si vuole. Ma il nocciolo della vicenda è vero e avvincente. Il protagonista rinvia spesso all'esempio di suo padre, Michele Chacour, che ha formato i suoi alla prospettiva evangelica del discorso della montagna.

V. Poggi, S.J.

Commissariato di Terra Santa in Venezia VI Centenario. A cura di Ivone Cacciavillani, Commissariato di Terra Santa, Venezia 1992, pp. 132.

Nel 1392 il nobile veneziano Ruggero Contarini è nominato *commissario* di Terra Santa per Venezia, dal Custode di Terra Santa fra Gerardo Calveti Chaudet. Nella ricorrenza del sesto centenario da quella nomina, l'A. raccoglie notizie sul rapporto di Venezia con il pellegrinaggio in Terra Santa, sia prima che durante e dopo le Crociate. Venezia non solo vince le rivali repubbliche marinare italiane, assumendo "una specie di esclusiva per il trasporto dell'esercito crociato in Terra santa" (p. 36), ma riceve "una specie di delega generale dell'intero mondo cristiano ... la gestione in esclusiva del *Grande Pellegrinaggio*" (p. 60). L'esempio della nascente Compagnia di Gesù dimostra come il rapporto Venezia-Pellegrinaggio in Terra Santa sia determinante. Se Ignazio di Loyola e i suoi compagni, che ne avevano fatto voto a Montmartre, avessero potuto partire per Gerusalemme l'anno 1537, la loro vicenda avrebbe preso tutt'altra piega. Invece, dovettero rinunciare a quel viaggio, per la tensione fra Venezia e la Sublime Porta. Ignazio e i compagni, dopo un anno di attesa, se ne andarono a Roma invece che a Gerusalemme e nacque la Compagnia di Gesù.

Questa parte dell'opuscolo, pur basandosi generalmente su opere manualistiche, ha spunti documentari pregevoli, come le foto del porticciolo veneziano di S. Francesco della Vigna, dove si imbarcavano i pellegrini, della piazzetta di S. Giustina e della calle del *Te Deum*, dove i pellegrini si ritrovavano al ritorno, dell'antica sede del Commissariato veneziano (pp. 61-67). Segue il saggio di P. M. Brlek, archivista della Custodia di Terra Santa, *L'azione diplomatica di Venezia in favore dei luoghi santi dalla metà del '300 alla metà del '600*; breve ma ricco capitolo della internazionale ed ecumenica questione dei Luoghi Santi.Chiudono il volumetto due elenchi dei Francescani veneti della Custodia e di quelli che ne divennero Commissari in patria. Non si dice però come mai il laico Contarini sia divenuto Commissario quando i Commissari del secondo elenco sono tutti religiosi.

V. Poggi, S.J.

Lutfi Laham, *Mgr Germanos Adam, métropolite d'Alep, 1725-1809*, Jérusalem 1992, p. 87.

Plus de trente ans après la soutenance de sa thèse de doctorat au P.I.O. (1961), l'A. maintenant archevêque et vicaire patriarcal grec melkite à Jérusalem, en publie un abrégé en arabe. Le titre de la thèse rédigée en français, est: *Catholicisme, Gallicanisme et Orthodoxie dans l'ecclésiologie de Mgr Germanos Adam, métropolite d'Alep (1725 ? – 1829)*. Depuis, l'A. a publié des articles en arabe, tirés de sa thèse, dans la revue *Al-Waḥdah* qu'il avait fondée au Liban.

G. Adam jouit d'un grand prestige dans son Église, tant par ses idées et ses écrits que par son siège, Alep étant alors une ville très importante dans l'empire ottoman. Les 15 ans qu'il passa à Rome lui permirent de parcourir tout le curriculum classique des études ecclésiastiques et en outre d'apprendre le grec, le latin, l'italien et le français, l'arabe étant sa langue maternelle. Ensuite vingt ans de travail pastoral et scientifique eurent pour résultat d'attirer sur lui l'attention de ses supérieurs. Elu évêque de Saint-Jean-d'Acre (auj. Akko) en 1774 mais empêché d'y résider à cause de la persécution qui y sévissait, il devint métropolite d'Alep en 1777. Mais là non plus, il ne put résider, à cause des persécutions déchaînées contre la hiérarchie catholique et il se fixa au Liban. Après un bref séjour à Alep, il partit pour Rome en vue de contribuer au règlement de querelles intestines survenues dans la comunauté grecque catholique. Lors de ses pérégrinations en Italie, il eut l'occasion de rencontrer des évêques italiens et sans doute des prélats français chassés par la Révolution française qui le gagnèrent au moins en partie aux idées gallicanes. Rentré à Alep en 1798, il se donna tout entier à la polémique contre les orthodoxes, les missionnaires latins et plus généralement contre la mentalité théologique occidentale. Se voulant purement oriental au sens traditionnel, il professa une sorte de gallicanisme qui lui paraissait exprimer plus adéquatement la doctrine à la fois orientale et catholique. Il se dégage de ses écrits une doctrine plus "orthodoxe" que catholique, concernant surtout la primauté du Pape; par rapport à Vatican I certaines de ses propositions sont inacceptables en ce qui concerne l'exercice du pouvoir papal. S'agirait-il alors d'une ecclésiologie "orientale" anticipant Vatican II? C'est un point de vue que nous serions enclin à partager avec l'A. mais évidemment avec beaucoup de nuances!

Adam part d'une définition de l'Église, âme et corps, pour démontrer, preuves et citations à l'appui, que la seule véritable Église est l'Église Romaine, parce qu'elle en possède les quatre notes constitutives: Une, Sainte, Catholique et Apostolique. Il en vient ensuite à traiter de l'Église visible, de la primauté du pape de Rome, de son infaillibilité qu'il tient de l'infaillibilité de l'Église; il explique le canon 28 de Chalcédoine. Mais quand il parle du pouvoir du concile oecuménique, sa position est celle du gallicanisme. Son ouvrage principal: *Le Candélabre des enseignements précieux pour expliquer le pouvoir de l'Église* (1804). Pour finir, qu'il nous soit permis de souhaiter la publication de la thèse de l'A.

J. Ḥabbī

Vita di Santo Stefano Sabaita (725-794). Testo arabo, introduzione, traduzione e note, a cura di Bartolomeo Pirone. (= Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographicae, n. 4) The Franciscan Center of Christian Studies, Cairo 1991, pp. 428.

La pubblicazione della Vita araba di S. Stefano Sabaita era un progetto di G. Garitte. Infatti, dopo averne pubblicato l'estratto georgiano (Mus 1954, 71-92) dipendente dalla redazione araba, aveva pensato di pubblicare l'intero testo arabo dei codici sinaitici ar. 496 e 505. Non gli bastava riprendere dalla redazione araba la parte che manca alla Vita greca acefala, edita da J. Pien in AASS julii III, Anversa 1723, 524-613.

Attuando questo piano del Garitte, Pirone edita finalmente tutta la Vita araba, basandosi sui due codici sinaitici. Premette un introduzione filologica e aggiunge la sua scorrevole e precisa traduzione italiana, tanto più meritevole in quanto l'arabo di Anba Giovanni, figlio di Stefano al-Fakhuri, traduttore della Vita l'anno 902, è denso di espressioni popolari, di grecismi e di siriacismi. Pirone correda il volume di note storiche, archeologiche, geografiche e di illustrazioni. In tal modo questo numero di *Studia Orientalia christiana, Monographiae*, interessa la patrologia, la storia del monachesimo, della liturgia bizantina e della Chiesa in Palestina sotto regime islamico.

Se la Vita greca ha valore originale, si capisce che la redazione araba deve confrontarsi con quella, almeno dal capitolo 19, dove inizia la redazione greca mutila. L'utilità del paragone si manifesta fin dal problema dell'identità di Stefano Sabaita. S. Vailhé, basandosi sui Sinassari greco e georgiano, lo aveva identificato con il nipote del Damasceno e aveva dedotto la data della morte del Damasceno al 749, ultimo anno della presunta convivenza a S. Saba di Stefano con lo zio. In realtà, la redazione araba integrale rivela che Stefano Sabaita non è il nipote del Damasceno, ma di Zaccaria di Ascalona che muore appunto nel 749. L'altro Stefano Sabaita nipote del Damasceno è invece l'innografo che compone, insieme a Marco il Cieco, il Triodion Sabaitico.

Anche per quanto riguarda la storia della liturgia a San Saba, bisogna confrontare le due Vite, araba e greca. Il traduttore avrebbe potuto infatti modificare espressioni e usi liturgici adattandoli a quelli usati a S. Saba al suo tempo. Per esempio, la Vita greca parla di salmodia delle ore; quella araba, invece, di *horologion.* L'espressione "canti biblici", della Vita greca, è sostituita nell'araba con *qanūn*, segno di evoluzione liturgica a S. Saba, dopo il canone di Andrea di Creta. Il "tempo dell'epakusta" o ascolto del Vangelo mattutino, in greco precede i canti biblici, mentre nell'arabo avviene durante il canone.

La stessa formula liturgica tecnica greca, *nekterine psalmodia*, è tradotta in arabo, talvolta con *qanūn salat al-layl*, talaltra con la semplice parola *qanūn*, omettendo *salat.* Non è possibile dunque limitarsi all'arabo per ricostruire l'esatta terminologia liturgica.

Si capisce che per cogliere queste divergenze bisogna avere familiarità con la liturgia bizantina. Anche Pirone, buon arabista e storico delle Chiese Orientali, può sbagliare, come a proposito dell'esclamazione, *le cose sante ai santi!*, in questo caso, propria alla liturgia di S. Giacomo del patriarcato di Gerusalemme, pur trovandosi anche nella liturgia del Crisostomo.

Per la storia monastica di S. Saba, la Vita parla dei Reclusi, degli Esicasti, dei Kellioti e dei Cenobiti. Stefano non era un Recluso, categoria cui apparteneva invece Martirio. Era un kelliota, che trascorreva in cella i 5 primi giorni della settimana, recandosi poi il sabato mattina a consegnare il lavoro manuale eseguito e a trascorrere in chiesa la veglia comune, in uso allora a S. Saba, tra il sabato e la domenica. Più tardi Stefano, di kelliota, si fa esicasta.

Quanto all'ordinazione sacerdotale di Stefano, si legge che l'ha ricevuta perché celebri messa nel suo romitorio e ne riceva profitto spirituale. Non importa che un sacerdozio e un sacrificio eucaristico a vantaggio spirituale personale urtino le nostre concezioni. Il testo dice così, anche se mette in crisi le nostre idee.

Numerosi sono i prestiti greci nell'arabo del traduttore, per descrivere parti della liturgia o del suo strumentario: *minaon*, *triodion*, *pentikostarion*, *fenolion*, *batracil*, *sakkos*, *omoforion*, ecc. Può essere un monito attuale alla Chiesa melchita, tentata di arabizzare artificiosamente e violentemente la sua terminologia ecclesiale, a rischio di perdere in tal modo il contatto con le sue genuine radici culturali.

Aftimios Skaf, B.S.

Russica

Auctores varii, *Un college Jésuite pour les Russes: Saint-Georges: De Constantinople à Meudon (1921-1992).* (= Collection Simvol, N° 4), Bibliothèque Slave de Paris, 1993, pp. 224+50 photos.

Le présent ouvrage, publié à l'occasion du 70° anniversaire de la fondation de l'internat Saint-Georges à Constantinople, jusqu'aux évènements récents qui ont conduit à la chute de l'Union Soviétique, évoque toute une période qui est notre passé immédiat. Ces évenements ont conduit à une révision radicale du travail fait à Meudon pour des émigrés et leurs enfants, mais en même temps ont créé de nouvelles possibilités pour d'autres travaux, comme les publications *Simvol* et *Plamia*, comme aussi pour la Bibliothèque slave elle-même.

Le livre est divisé en quatre parties: la première (pp. 7-84) raconte l'histoire, rendue plus vivante, dans la deuxième partie (pp. 87-106), par des témoignages. Dans la troisième partie (pp. 109-144), suivent des idées concernant le travail futur avec les Orientaux, du P. Ph. de Régis, S.J. (cfr le commentaire par V. Poggi et le texte du de Régis, OCP 58 [1992] 5-21). Et dans la quatrième partie (pp. 147-203), des personnages qui ont joué un rôle spécial dans cette histoire sont évoqués plus longuement. Sept annexes (liste de supérieurs, des Maîtres et des Professeurs, des Assistants à l'atelier d'iconographie, des prêtres anciens élèves et des livres publiés: les thèmes des numéros de *Simvol* et une note sur *Plamia* (pp. 213-220) enrichissent ces études avec des statistiques utiles.

Le préface de F. Rouleau rélève que, sans chercher à effacer les ombres du passé, il n'y avait pas non plus, de la part des Jésuites, des idées préconçues, voire prosélytiques (pp. 3-4). Mais déjà le portrait sympathique du père Mailleux montre qu'il a vraiment évolué personellement d'une attitude qui n'excluait pas le prosély-

tisme à un comportement vraiment oecuménique (pp. 23-24, 192; cfr p. 58). Ce qui est complété à merveille par R. Marichal dans sa "Postface": maintenant que la Russie s'est ouverte il ne faudrait pas partir à Moscou, parce que Meudon peut maintenant davantage jouer le rôle de "trait-d-union" entre deux mondes (p. 206; cfr p. 55).

Dans ce cadre se déroule l'histoire marquée d'une coopération entre des gens de diverses confessions et convictions, mais qui, en somme, réussissent à créer une harmonie qu'il vaut la peine de ne pas oublier. L'histoire de l'école elle-même est divisée en trois parties: celle de l'internat (1921-1923), celle de Namur (1923 jusqu'à la fin de la deuxième guerre mondiale) et Meudon. L'histoire de l'Institut Sainte-Olga nous rappelle une des si nombreuses initiatives du p. de Régis (pp. 61-75). Le lecteur reconnaîtra des personnages qui ont travaillé à l'Institut Oriental, tels que le p. Stanislas Tyszkiewicz (pp. 164-167), qui a aidé a fonder Saint-Georges; le p. Ivan Kologrivof (p. 134), qui a enseigné à l'Institut Oriental la spiritualité russe; le père S. Obolensky, prêtre diocesain, arrière-petit neveu de Tolstoï (p. 200), et le père Alexis Stryczek (p. 33). Le père Charles Indekeu était bibliothecaire au P.I.O. (p. 32) et les pères Paul Mailleux, le fondateur de Meudon (p. 191), et de Régis furent recteurs du Russicum. Les autres professeurs qui apparaissent sont Edouard Huber et Ivan Žužek, anciens recteurs de l'Orientale, Miguel Arranz et le p. Edouard Hambye, dont la famille a généreusement contribué à la construction de la chapelle orientale (p. 39). Il y avait aussi les futurs professeurs du P.I.O., Juan Nadal, dont on voit la photo (p. xiii) et Roman Žužek qui n'est pas mentionné.

En somme, nous avons ici le riche tableau historique d'un service rendu à des émigrés qui se sont trouvés en difficulté, mais aussi à beaucoup qui ont appris à aimer la langue et le monde russes à l'École Saint-Georges. C'est peut-être le meilleur honneur que cette institution a pu reçevoir pour son anniversaire. Comme il est dit dans la partie sur "La Bibliothèque Slave," c'était sans doute l'étroite union et l'esprit d'équipe qui ont assuré le succès d'une telle entreprise (p. 79). On aurait pu attendre quelque réflexion sur le travail pour l'Orient chrétien, spécialement sur la coopération nécessaire entre les diverses instituions comme Meudon et le PIO. Mais peut-être, la présence de centres culturels comme Meudon, aussi pris en eux-mêmes, sont plus que jamais nécessaires dans cette heure quand, si quelque chose dans l'évolution de l'Europe de l'Est après 1989 s'embrouille, tout pourrait rester long-temps compromis.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

A. Leong (ed.), *Christianity and Russia, 988-1988*. St Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, New York 1990, pp. xix+177.

Among the many festivities celebrated on the occasion of the Millennium of the Conversion of Russia (988-1988) the symposium held at the University of Oregon by renowned specialists on various aspects of the Russian ecclesiastical, historical and cultural life present us here with a slim but dense collection of essays. The

editor outlines the scope of the symposium. To show the intimate link between Russia and Christianity he cites F. Dostoevsky's *Diary of a Writer* where he points out the practical philological synonymity of the words for "peasantry" (*krestianstvo*) and "Christianity" (*Khristianstvo*) (p. xv).

The perspectives on the conversion of Russia offer a prism of viewpoints, which marvellously complement one another, though at times they need complementation. In his "Introduction: Russia and the Millennium" A. Kimball stresses the decisive role played by Ol'ga and Anna in the conversion of Russia, the latter being assigned the central rôle (pp. 4, 11), even if the rôle of Photius in giving the invading Varegian hordes a bishop is nowhere mentioned. N.V. Riasanovsky's "The Christianization of Russia in Historical Perspective" draws attention to the fact that Russia joined the Undivided Church, but would have gained had it mentioned the "Slovo o perenesenii moščej Svjatitelja Nikolaja" in view of the millennium of the translation of the bones of St Nicholas from Myra to Bari (1087-1987) and the good relationship between East and West it presupposes (cfr G. Cioffari, *La leggenda di Kiev*. Bari 1980). G.P. Majeska, in his "Russia: The Christian Beginnings" shows that the availability in the vernacular of an extensive literature through the mediation of Bulgaria made the study of classical languages unnecessary (see pp. 28-29), but, as a matter of fact, a sort of renaissance did take place; associated with D. Likhachev, it goes by the name of the "Second South Slav influence".

In "Arabic Perceptions of Russia's Christian Conversion" W. E. Watson rightly remarks that one should not seek accuracy in these accounts; the sheer fact of their existence is enough (p. 38). B. Dmytryshyn makes a number of pertinent comments in his "The Ukrainian Church: Observations on the Occasion of Its Millennium." For one thing, the identification of national existence with the Church in East and South Slav countries has prevented the emergence of a supreme religious Orthodox authority (pp. 41-42). In "Christianity and Russia in the Modern Era" D. W. Treadgold notes the paradox that in 1905 full freedom was granted to Old Believers and sectarians, whereas the Orthodox Church remained under the Holy Synod (p. 63). The high price that had to be paid by dissenters until the reforms of Gorbachev (p. 77) is portrayed in R. L. Nichols' "Dissent and Conformity in the Russian Orthodox Church, 1943-1988." J. Gulka and A. V. Riasanovsky point out that Avvakum opposed some, and not all, of Patriarch Nikon's reforms (pp. 81-82). And, still in the area of liturgy, Maria Cherementeff shows that the innovative step of transforming the iconostasis into a solid screen, in Russia, was realized by Theophanes the Greek and his assistants, Prokhor of Gorodets and Andrei Rublev (p. 110). And in "Political Aspects in Russian Icons," A. Dean McKenzie illustrates the thesis that the icons in question show that Church and State were inextricably intertwined in Russia (p. 147).

Information on the Contributors (pp. 159-161), M. Sherwood-Pike, "Catalog of Symposium Audio and Videotapes" (pp. 163-165) and the "Index" (pp. 167-177) round off a very informative and interesting symposium.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Ernst Chr. Suttner, *Die katholische Kirche in der Sowjetunion.* Verlag "Der christliche Osten," Würzburg 1992, 108 S.

E. Suttner will die Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in der Sowjetunion, die am 30. Dezember 1922 anfing und am 31. Dezember 1991 zu Ende ging, kurz und in chronologischer Ordnung darstellen. Er schickt seiner Geschichte im ersten Kapitel, eine Skizze der Situation dieser Kirche am Ende des Zarenreiches voraus (S. 9-17). Das zweite Kapitel (S. 18-25) berichtet über das Schicksal der Katholischen Kirche unter der Sowjetmacht in der Zeit zwischen Revolution und dem Zweiten Weltkrieg. Das dritte Kapitel (S. 26-35) behandelt die Situation der Kirche in jenen Gebieten, die erst nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg zur Sowjetunion kamen, also in den baltischen Staaten, im damals zergliederten Polen, im Karpatengebiet sowie in der Bukowina und in Bessarabien. "Zwischen Hitler und Stalin" erörtert Entwicklungen in den baltischen Staaten, im ehemaligen Polen, in Bessarabien und Bukowina, und behandelt auch das kirchliche Leben nach dem Kriegsausbruch zwischen Deutschland und der Sowjetunion (S. 36-42). Die baltischen Katholiken, die polnischen und weißrussischen Katholiken, die Ukrainische Unierte Kirche Galiziens, die Unierten in Karpathoruthenien, die Armenischen Katholiken Galiziens, die Katholiken in Bessarabien, die Katholiken in Sowjetasien und die Zahl der Gemeinden sind die Themen des fünften Kapitels (S. 43-88), während Wiederaufbau und konfessionelle Spannungen die des sechten Kapitels (S. 89-106) bilden. Das Schlußwort (S. 107-108) endet mit 2 Kor 6:4-9, wobei die große Standhaftigkeit dieser Kirchen in Bedrängnis herausgestellt wird.

Diese Arbeit bietet nicht nur einen interessanten Überblick über eine komplizierte Geschichte einer Region, die gerade in diesem Zeitraum mehrmals Grenzverschiebungen ausgesetzt war, sondern konfrontiert uns auch mit den unausweichlichen ekklesiologischen Fragen, die diese Geschichte aufwirft. Manche werden wohl nicht wissen, daß das Zarenreich mit dem heutigen Rußland nicht identisch ist (S. 8). Die Rolle vom Metropoliten Andrea Szepticky (z.B., S.11-12, 19-20, 29, 38, 54-55), von M. d'Herbigny, S.J. (z.B., S. 24-25), von Patriarch Aleksej (S. 75-80) u.a. treten in ein neues Licht, jetzt da die Geschichte der Sowjetunion einigermaßen abgeschlossen ist und so ein ausgeglicheneres Urteil möglich geworden ist. Es erhellt, daß die Konzessionen, die Stalin während der Kriegszeit der Orthodoxen Kirche machte, mitbestimmt waren von dem unterschwelligen Versuch, das Ideal von Moskau als drittem Rom (Moskau als "Vatikan der Orthodoxie") wieder aufleben zu lassen (S. 45). Nicht wenigen Unierten Ukrainern war die Latinisierung ihrer Kirche gerade deshalb lieb, weil sie einen Schutz gegen die Russifizierung bot, als Verteidigung ihres Ukrainertums (S. 62). Es wird von dem Leid von Ukrainern berichtet (S. 56-57), das ihnen von polizeilicher sowie von kirchlicher Seite zugefügt wurde. Zugleich wird der Unterschied zwischen der Brester Union und der erzwungenen Union von 1946 erörert: In den Jahren 1595/1596 konnte die Minderheit ihre eigene Zukunft unabhängig von der Mehrheit gestalten; dagegen wurde im Jahre 1946 der Mehrheit der Unionsgegner keine Wahl zugestanden (S. 74-75).

Diese Arbeit lädt zur Reflexion ein, zu einer Zeit, da die Spannungen zwischen den Kirchen sich erneut zugespitzt haben. Als Mitglied der Kommission des

Internationalen Dialogs ist der Autor mit den Fragen der Katholisch-Orthodoxer Ökumene eng vertraut. Das vorliegende Buch bietet eine lebendige Geschichte des katholischen Kirchenlebens dar als auch eine anregende Reflexion darüber. Es wäre hilfreich gewesen, die verstreuten ekklesiologischen Erwägungen (z.B., S. 60-71) am Ende in einer Art Ausblick, in Hinblick auf den Dialog und das Problem des Proselytismus etwas systematischer darzustellen.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Michelina Tenace, *La beauté, unité spirituelle dans les écrits esthétiques de Vladimir Soloviev*. Éditions Fates, Troyes, France 1993, pp. 203.

Soloviev s'intéressa des problèmes esthétiques très tôt. Mais son rêve de mettre ensemble, en un système, ses réflexions à ce sujet ne devait pas être achevé: il ne reste, en effet, de cette recherche, que des fragments difficilement repérables dans des écrits quelquefois peu accessibles dans une oeuvre immense et complexe. Michelina Tenace s'est proposée de confronter ces textes qui concernent l'esthétique et d'en faire l'objet de sa thèse de doctorat présentée à l'Université Grégorienne à Rome.

Après la préface d'O. Clément, "Pour une beauté de communion" (pp. 3-7) suit l'introduction (pp. 9-18). Partant du fait que la beauté d'après la pensée de Soloviev est peu étudiée, l'A. s'est lancée dans la relecture d'un penseur qui est, actuellement, de plus et plus au centre de l'attention en Russie. Soloviev part de la description de la beauté dans l'ordre de la nature et de là il porte à conclure que la beauté est la force qui transforme et transfigure aussi bien le monde que la personne (p. 14).

Dans un premier chapitre l'A. rappelle le point de départ de la pensée de Vladimir Soloviev c'est-à-dire l'exigence d'une connaissance intégrale (pp. 19-49). S'insérant dans la discussion positiviste qui mettait en doute la possibilité même de la métaphysique, Soloviev a commencé sa carrière par une critique de la nature abstraite d'une grande partie de la philosophie occidentale contemporaine, critique qu'il exprime dans *La crise de la philosophie occidentale* (1874), sa dissertation de maîtrise à Moscou, dans *Les principes philosophiques du savoir intégral* (1877) et dans *La critique des principes abstraits* (1880), sa thèse de doctorat à l'université de S. Petersbourg. À la culture occidentale Soloviev reproche d'avoir remplacé l'autorité de la foi par l'autorité de la raison (p. 23). L'abstraction qui s'en suit, d'autre part, porte au reproche d'avoir permis le dualisme qui rompt l'unité du monde et de la personne humaine (p. 31). Soloviev privilégie donc la connaissance mystique, celle qui tend vers la beauté du bien absolu et qui est capable de nous faire saisir l'unité du bien, de la vérité et de la beauté (pp. 41-42).

Vient ensuite la première partie intitulée: "Optique de l'évolution cosmique: analyse des écrits esthétiques" (pp. 51-125), qui contient trois chapitres: "La beauté dans la nature" (pp. 55-82), "Le sens général de l'art" (pp. 83-103) et "Un premier pas vers une esthétique positive" (pp. 105-125). La beauté est décrite come l'incarnation de l'idée uni-totale qui intègre le bien et le vrai dignes d'exister (p. 71).

Quand un homme réalise en soi l'idée plus parfaite de la divino-humanité, il est beau. Dans ce sens, le saint est beau, le Christ en croix est beau. En revanche, l'insensibilité à la vraie beauté exprime un manque de purification, une incapacité de "voir l'un dans l'autre". Précisement la beauté objective dans la nature (l'exemple du diamant) souligne ce que veut dire la lente transformation que subit la matière vers une phase plus parfaite de beauté; pour l'humanité cette lente transformation vers le beau converge vers l'incarnation (p. 88-91).

La deuxième partie intitulée, "L'optique de l'histoire humaine" (pp. 127-168) comprend deux chapitres: "L'évolution cosmique: vers l'unité par la beauté" (pp. 129-150) et "Du physique au spirituel: La transfiguration universelle par l'amour" (pp. 151-168). Une idée centrale est le rejet de la théorie de l'"art pour l'art". L'art ne peut pas servir seulement à soi-même. C'est une des caractèristiques de l'Antéchrist selon un autre texte important de Soloviev, *Récit sur l'Antéchrist* de ne vouloir "servir que soi-même" (pp. 139-143). Partant du fait que le processus de l'unité dans la nature s'identifie avec la sélection par la beauté, la métaphysique chrétienne est invitée à montrer, que l'homme évolue vers la transfiguration de la chair (pp. 153-157) en vue d'une unité pleine dans l'esprit et le corps. Dans ce processus, la force qui produit l'unité s'appelle Logos, tandis que l'unité produite s'appelle la Sophia (p. 144).

La conclusion, "De l'humain au divin: Une théologie qui intègre le langage philosophique à la vie spirituelle" (pp. 169-185) nous donne les reflexions de l'A. sur les implications possibles, en théologie, des idées de Soloviev sur la beauté.

On peut apprendre beaucoup de la façon claire avec laquelle l'A. explique Soloviev. Mais, malgré les nombreuses notes et références bibliographiques, l'A. ne donne pas suffisamment d'espace à la littérature secondaire. Le génie synthétique qu'était Soloviev permet de dépasser, si on en fait une bonne lecture, beaucoup des contradictions apparentes de ses idées. L'A. le montre bien en effet. Cependant, quand elle affirme avec Soloviev que la nouvelle philosophie devrait unir les intuitions de l'Orient et de l'Occident (p. 32), elle ne discute pas cette proposition pour en tirer des conséquences ni pour en faire une lecture critique à partir de l'histoire de la philosophie occidentale. Par exemple, au-delà du dualisme cartésien, il y avait en Occident la tradition spirituelle de Maine de Biran, de Ravaisson, tradition qui culminera dans la pensée de Bergson. Soloviev critiquant la philosophie occidentale doit cependant beaucoup à l'idée schellinghienne de l'*Alleinheit*, et, quant à ses idées sur la théocratie, il faut rappeler qu'il avait lu L. Perrone, S.J., et qu'il avait des contacts personnels avec l'évêque Strossmayer. Il aurait donc été dans l'interêt de ce travail sur Soloviev d'éclaircir ces points et nuancer la critique.

De plus, quand l'A. se demande si la catégorie de la beauté ne peut pas aujourd'hui présenter de meilleures possibilités pour la théologie après que la réflexion chrétienne a déjà exploité presque en vain celle du vrai et du bon, elle semble ne pas vouloir tenir compte du fait que déjà dans la scholastique traditionnelle il y avait eu cette controverse pour savoir si la beauté est un transcendental à part, ou si elle n'est que la collaboration harmonieuse entre les autres transcendentaux, notamment ceux du vrai et du bien. Pour mieux souligner l'originalité de Soloviev, l'A. aurait dû prendre ces tentatives occidentales plus en

considération. Il manque, en effet, une critique, positive mais équilibrée, de Soloviev. Enfin, on regrette que l'A. ne considère pas (cfr p. 191) le texte d'une conférence de 1891, "Sur le déclin de la vision du monde du Moyen Age," texte qui a tant bouleversé le grand esthéticien qu'était Constantin Leontev. Ce dernier fut dans un tel désaccord avec les idées de Soloviev qu'il rompit immédiatement tous les liens avec son ancien ami qu'il appelait désormais: "Satan Soloviev!" Puisque il s'agissait du christianisme et du progrès, l'A. aurait pu saisir l'occasion de découvrir certaines convergences entre les développements esthétiques de Soloviev et ses préoccupations systématiques.

Mais, avec tout cela, pour finir, il faut affirmer que l'A. montre un talent remarquable pour expliquer des choses compliquées d'une manière simple. C'est son mérite à elle d'avoir su traiter un thème qui requiert beaucoup de lucidité. Son livre, non seulement se lit facilement, mais il offre des pistes intéressantes pour des réflexions utiles sur l'intégration personnelle. La Conclusion contient de très belles pages de synthèse.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Spiritualitas

A. M. Allchin, *Solitude et Communion. La vie érémitique, un lien très fort d'unité entre les différentes confessions chrétiennes.* Conférences sur la vie érémitique présentées par A. M. Allchin, avec, en annexe, une étude sur l'érémitisme celtique par E. de Waall (*Vie monastique*, n. 28), Abbaye de Bellefontaine, Bégrolles-en-Mauges 1992, pp. 149.

Nell'autunno del 1975 si riunirono alcuni rappresentanti delle principali tradizioni monastiche cristiane a Saint-David (Pays e Galles) per riflettere insieme sull'identica tradizione della chiamata alla vita monastico-eremitica, e per rinsaldare, al di là delle differenze confessionali, il legame che la comune vocazione esige. Di questo incontro sono qui pubblicati degli interventi tenuti rispettivamente da: A. M. Allchin, A. Louf, K. Ware, R. Walls, B. Ward e Mère Marie-Claire. Due appendici chiudono il volumetto: R. Waals offre una riflessione sul senso monastico di *skite*; E. de Waal chiude con dei pensieri sull'eremitismo celtico. Alle pp. 123-5 è pubblicata la dichiarazione comune sulla vita eremitica stilata alla fine dell'incontro.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Père Matta el-Meskine, *La Communion d'amour* (= Spiritualité Orientale, n° 55) Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1992, pp. 302.

Sono trattenimenti spirituali (Cassiano li avrebbe chiamati "collationes") che il famoso "padre spirituale" egiziano Matteo il Povero, al secolo Yusif Skandar, ha

tenuto a monaci o a una cerchia più vasta di uditori o lettori. Ora, sono tradotti in francese per un pubblico ancora più largo.

Nel volume sono trattati vari temi della teologia: i misteri della Rivelazione biblica, dell'Incarnazione, della vita terrena di Gesù, della sua morte e resurrezione; della vita del cristiano in Gesù; della pneumatologia, mariologia, ecclesiologia ed ecumenismo.

Come Enzo Bianchi rileva, nell'introduzione a parallela traduzione italiana, introduzione che le edizioni di Bellefontaine hanno avuto la saggezza di premettere anche a questa versione francese, "l'unica regola è l'amore di Gesù crocifisso e questo spirito di amore anima tutto"(p. 13).

Uno degli aspetti del libro che più colpisce è l'immagine dell'autore che ne traspare, cioè di un teologo che — direbbe Evagrio — è teologo perché sa pregare e sa pregare perché è teologo. Non postula come l'Occidente una separazione netta fra teologia e spiritualità. Matta al-Maskin parla della "storia di Dio" (p. 63). Il presepio lo commuove non tanto per la sua povertà, ma in quanto cornice del mistero dell'Emanuele o di Dio con noi (p. 88). La connessione tra digiuno e eucaristia è altrettanto stretta che fra giovedì e venerdì santo (pp. 143-144, 171). L'effato biblico-patristico di "Gesù che ha preso il nostro e ci ha dato il suo" è riproposto all'uomo di oggi (p. 147). Nel vero ecumenismo la comune vita in Cristo ammorbidisce le divergenze dogmatiche (p. 272).

Ascoltiamo dunque — come dice Enzo Bianchi — questa voce che viene da un deserto che fiorisce.

V. Poggi, S.J.

Père Matta el-Maskine, *Saint Antoine ascète selon l'Évangile*, suivi de *Les vingt Lettres de saint Antoine selon la tradition arabe* (= Spiritualité Orientale, n. 57) Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1993, pp. 222.

Uno dei protagonisti dell'attuale risveglio copto, il famoso Matta al-Maskin, del monastero di San Macario, mostra in quest'altra sua opera, felicemente presentata al lettore occidentale, come la sua spiritualità sia radicata saldamente in quella di S. Antonio. Infatti, dopo una *Introduzione*, (pp. 9-22) cui il traduttore ha aggiunto le pagine 15-22, (p. 15 nota 1), la prima parte del volume (pp. 29-78) riflette sui nuclei centrali della spiritualità di Antonio: amare Dio con tutto il cuore, genuino timore di Dio; primato dell'obbedienza; monachesimo, o sostituzione del martirio al cessare della persecuzione. Si riportano testi antoniani sullo Spirito Santo, la Sacra Scrittura, il continuo progresso nello spirito, l'abbandono totale a Dio, la discrezione degli spiriti, il controllo dei sensi, la conversione del cuore, la gioia e il fervore dello spirito, l'esempio dei fratelli e dei predecessori.

La seconda parte del volume (pp. 79-214) consiste nella versione francese delle 20 lettere attribuite ad Antonio dalla tradizione letteraria araba. Erano state tradotte a suo tempo da Abramo Ecchellensis in latino e il testo arabo era stato edito la prima volta nel 1899.

L'A. non pretende che le venti lettere siano tutte di Antonio. Lo sono con buona probabilità le prime sette (S. Rubenson, *The Letters of St. Antony*, Lund 1990, OCP 1991, 247-248) mentre le altre sono piuttosto attribuibili ad Ammone o a qualcun altro degli immediati discepoli di Antonio. Costituiscono comunque una raccolta di testi monastici primitivi cui deve interessarsi la storia del monachesimo e della spiritualità. Ci piace sottolineare che in queste pagine lo Spirito è madre (Lett. VIII, p. 122); che, dei tre personaggi misteriosi ospitati da Abramo a Mambre, uno sarebbe Dio e gli altri due, angeli (Lett. XVI p. 153); che l'allusione agli uccelli e al covare dei loro piccoli (Lett. XVIII pp. 182, 185) suggerisca l'ipotesi che l'ambiente di Antonio conoscesse lo Zoologo; che l'allusione a Santa Tecla (Lett. XX. p. 203) merita l'attenzione degli agiografi, ecc.

Questo agile volumetto si inserisce opportunamente nella collana di Bellefontaine che conta già 4 altri volumi su S. Antonio e 2 altri di Matta al-Maskin.

V. Poggi, S.J.

Leonard Swidler, *The Meaning of Life at the Age of the Third Millennium*. New York-Mahwah, N.J., 1992, pp. V+116.

Qualora l'Autore non avesse aggiunto il sottotitolo "sull'orlo (intenzionalmente mia questa traduzione) del terzo millennio", questo libro, a prima vista, sembrerebbe suonare come tanti altri nel prospettare un'esoterica panacea. Porsi la domanda sul "significato della vita" diventa per Swidler un atto essenziale espresso in un imperativo insito nella stessa natura umana (il lettore sappia che nulla di kantiano v'è in questa assunzione), soprattutto quando la storia volge verso un'ulteriore meta temporale, il terzo millennio (si noti che il "tempo" è numerato ancora, secondo Swidler, secondo le categorie del cristianesimo occidentale). La storia porta verso un orlo-limite non di un pensato, che può essere il tempo, ma verso un universo che tende sempre più a "pensare lo spazio", a ridurlo in estensione. In questa corsa è importante trovare un fondamento di una "Global Culture" resa possibile da un "Global Dialogue". Spetta al cristianesimo offrire gli strumenti non solo linguistici, ma conoscitivi ed ontologici (la libertà e la conoscenza fondati sull'amore-persona di Gesù) per questo dialogo. Buddismo, Islam, Marxismo e Cristianesimo sono state le religioni, ovviamente non le sole, che hanno incarnato — ed incarnano ancora in certo qual modo — qualche forma di potere nelle loro manifestazioni storiche. È quando esse si incontrano, dialogando, sui fondamenti della loro più profonda ontologia che Gesù di Nazaret diventa un essere trainante, capace di far attuare un salto di qualità, a ciascuna religione e per il mondo intero, un salto volto ad offrire un significato più pieno della "vita" all'uomo. Con modestia e con pacata enfasi, questo libro si presenta come un incentivo pratico, fattivo verso i primi passi di un dialogo "ontologico" fra le culture dominanti. A parte qualche lettura che non ci trova concordi, è il senso impellente e percepito della storia di oggi — e della sua domanda pienamente cristiana sulla vita — che fanno di queste pagine preziosi momenti di riflessione.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Marcel Viller/Karl Rahner, *Ascetica e mistica nella patristica. Un compendio della spiritualità cristiana antica.* Nuova edizione invariata con una prefazione di Karl Heinz Neufeld. Edizione italiana a cura di Antonio Zani. Queriniana, Brescia 1991, pp. 314.

La presente opera è la traduzione del piccolo libro di Marcel Viller, antico professore del PIO, *La spiritualité des premiers siècles chrétiens* (Paris 1930), nella forma ampliata e rielaborata datale da Karl Rahner, che la pubblicò sotto il titolo *Aszese und Mystik in der Väterzeit* (Freiburg i.Br. 1939).

Ma solo il piccolo libro di Marcel Viller, apparso quando egli aveva lasciato Roma per prendere la direzione del *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, fu recensito su *Orientalia Christiana* 22 (1931) 254-256. Quello molto più voluminoso di Rahner non è stato mai recensito su OCP. Fatto che lascia ancora più perplessi quando si pensa che la rielaborazione di Rahner era stata così radicale da meritare di essere chiamata una nuova pubblicazione (H.U.v. Balthasar). La traduzione italiana aggiunge solo la "Prefazione alla nuova edizione" (pp. 5-11) di Karl-Heinz Neufeld. Già professore alla Gregoriana e attualmente professore a Innsbruck Neufeld è stato assistente di Rahner ed ha redatto i suoi saggi patristici sulla penitenza, raccolti in *Schriften zur Theologie XI* (Einsiedeln 1973). Era quindi eminentemente qualificato per scrivere la prefazione. Egli nota, con ragione, che benchè ci siano stati progressi su molti punti presi individualmente sarebbe difficile trovare un lavoro d'insieme che potrebbe paragonarsi con l'opera attuale. Oltre al suo uso patristico l'opera serve anche per gettare una luce utile sulla teologia di Karl Rahner. Molti, in fatti, prendendo lo spunto da *Geist in Welt*, pensano che Rahner abbia come punto di partenza un tema filosofico. Chi invece comprende il valore centrale di *Aszese und Mystik in der Väterzeit*, vedrà la cosa in un'altra dimensione. Si vede in Rahner, quindi, quanto una patristica vivente, che unisce spiritualità e dogma, può servire da falsariga a una filosofia viva.

Si può quindi considerare utile il libro per un doppio motivo: per la patrologia, specialmente "per prendere le distanze da tante cose che diciamo 'spiritualità'" (p. 9), e per la ricerca su Rahner, entrata in crisi poco dopo la sua morte, per prendere le distanze da ciò che tante volte si attribuisce a Rahner. Ma mi pare che Neufeld perda un'occasione d'oro per ribadire un punto a lui caro, cioè la penitenza come punto privilegiato della teologia di Rahner (cfr l'indice a p. 307).

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Theologica

John Breck, *Spirit of Truth. The Holy Spirit in Johannine Tradition.* Volume 1. *The Origins of Johannine Pneumatology*, St Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, New York 1991, pp. XVI+188.

Questo libro rappresenta la prima parte di un dittico volto ad analizzare gli ambiti pneumatologici anteriori ai testi giovannei. L'opera che qui si presenta è una versione accuratamente aggiornata di una sezione della tesi di laurea che l'Autore

(oggi professore di teologia neotestamentaria ed etica nel Seminario Teologico Ortodosso di S. Vladimir) sostenne nel 1972 ad Heidelberg. Essa presenta in modo analitico gli anfratti e retroterra semantici e culturali della pneumatologia giovannea soprattutto quando questa si presenta come "dualismo dello spirito" (spirit-dualism) nella terminologia della 1 Gv. 4,6. Non si tratta di un libro a puro carettere esegetico. Breck, infatti, ci tiene a precisare che il suo lavoro è volto a raggiungere un vasto pubblico (studenti, pastori in cura di comunità, laici impegnati nel discernimento teologico e culturale del contenuto della fede, ed anche, certamente, gli specialisti della teologia giovannea desiderosi di una discussione critica sul testo della Prima Lettera di Gv.). Che il concetto e la realtà dello Spirito (santo) fosse presente nell'AT (come *ruah*), è un dato acquisito da anni dalla scienza biblica; l'individuare e chiamare lo Spirito come il Paraclito e Spirito di Verità spetta alla penna di Gv. cap. 14-16 e 1 Gv. Interrogarsi sulle culture storicamente anteriori alla sintesi neotestamentaria plasmata da Gv. è l'idea principe di quest'opera. Credo di non errare — è da attendere comunque il secondo volume per una retta e globale valutazione della teologia biblica verbalizzata da Breck — se intendo *Origins* del titolo non come un "causativo" della teologia giovannea, quanto piuttosto come fondo culturale anteriore alla stesura di Giovanni, semanticamente pregante ed atto ad una più completa lettura del testo neotestamentario. Questa mia convinzione trova conferma in vero nello stile pacato e dialettico dell'Autore che mai accenna ad un rapporto forzatamente "causativo". Il cammino retrospettivo di carattere storico-esegetico presente nel libro incontra quanto di "pneumatico" era stato formulato dal pensiero del Vicino Oriente. Si ripercorre, seguendo la traccia dello Spirito, la storia di salvezza dell'antico Israele (il Pentateuco, i libri storici e profetici, l'età del dopo esilio). Nuovo è l'approccio con la cultura egiziana, sumerico-accadica ed iraniana: interessante l'interferenza causata dall'insegnamento dualistico zorastriano nella creazione del dualismo dello spirito che apparirà nell'apocalittica giudaica. La seconda sezione è dedicata all'età ellenistica: la tradizione della corrente sapienziale giudaica (la Sapienza non assumerà il ruolo escatologico impersonato dallo Spirito) — e ben chiaro è il pensiero dell'Autore a riguardo, p. 93); l'uso greco classico (Pneuma non viene mai personificato in questa letteratura); Filone d'Alessandria; le religioni misteriche ed il pensiero ermeutico. L'ultima parte di questa sezione concerne i Rotoli di Qumran, scoperti nel 1947 (pp. 111-154). Certamente questi rotoli risultano come una scoperta essenziale per l'archeologia biblica e per il tema del libro "essi servono come ponte principale tra lo Spirit-dualism della religione iraniana e l'immagine dello Spirito rivelato nel Vangelo e nella 1Gv." La complessità del tessuto tematico dei rotoli è ancora oggi oggetto di studio da parte degli specialisti (come anche la bellezza stilistico-compositiva di alcuni di essi: *Test. di Giuda* 29, *Test. di Levi* 18). L'Autore affronta questo materiale seguendo sempre la presenza e la funzione dello Spirito, come e dove esso si manifesta negli scritti. I rotoli offrono una essenziale "funzione ermeneutica" della figura dello Spirito fra la fase ultimale del pensiero iraniano e la sintesi giovannea; lo Spirito dei rotoli suggerisce, infatti, "sia la corretta interpretazione del volere divino, come anche l'etica risposta del credente a quel volere nella forma di opere di giustizia" (p. 163).

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Sister Magdalen, *Children in the Church Today. An Orthodox Perspective*, illustrated by T. Misijuk, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, New York 1991, pp. 103.

Questo piccolo libro raccoglie delle relazioni tenute da Suor Maddalena (del Monastero di S. Giovanni Battista, Tolleshunt Knights, Inghilterra) a dei genitori. Si tratta dei vari aspetti della crescita dei bambini (fino alla loro adolescenza) visti, incanalati, vissuti all'interno di un ideale di vita cristiana ("se i bambini sono concepiti, nascono e sono educati circondati dalla preghiera e dall'amore, essi cresceranno come persone spirituali, e così essi adempiono la loro vocazione umana" p. 103). È un libretto utile per la catechesi e per la comprensione di come una visione ortodossa della vita cristana (*orthodox perspective*) plasmi delle linee catechetiche per i bambini d'oggi.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Ignazio Sanna (a cura di), *La teologia per l'unità d'Europa*, (= Nuovi Saggi Teologici, 31) Edizioni Dehoniane, Bologna 1991, pp. 332.

Dopo la prefazione del curatore, che firma anche uno dei capitoli, il volume si articola in tre parti, ciascuna suddivisa in quattro capitoli, firmati da altrettanti specialisti e termina con una conclusione del cardinale Martini.

Ecco la struttura dell'opera:

I. Sanna, *Prefazione*, pp. 5-7.

Parte prima, Riconciliare l'uomo con se stesso. Cap. 1. V. Grossi, Categoria teologica di persona nei primi secoli, pp. 11-45; cap. 2. M. Bordoni, Contributo della categoria teologica di persona, pp. 47-62; cap. 3, A. Ales Bello, Le culture del sospetto; cap. 4, I. Sanna, La categoria persona e le antropologie contemporanee, pp. 75-142.

Parte seconda, "Riconciliare l'uomo con i suoi simili". Cap. 1, F. Casavola, "Statualità e religione. Dalla 'Res publica christiana' alle democrazie moderne", pp. 145-180; Cap. 2, N. Ciola, "Immagine di Dio-Trinità e socialità umana", pp. 157-180; Cap. 3, P. Coda, "Personalismo cristiano, crisi nichilistica del soggetto e intersocialità trinitaria", pp. 181-205; Cap. 4, S. Lanza, "Comunità cristiana luogo di riconciliazione", pp. 207-239.

Parte terza, "Riconciliare l'uomo con la creazione", Cap. 1, C. Skalicki, "Teologia di fronte alla sfida dello sviluppo", pp. 243-261; Cap. 2, A. A. Piattelli, "Teologia della creazione e sabato", pp. 263-269; Cap. 3, G. Angelini, "Ecologia e Vangelo della creazione", pp. 271-278; Cap. 4, B. Honings, "Coscienza ecologica e scelte etiche", pp. 289-307.

Conclusione, C. M. Martini, "Cristianesimo e Europa", pp. 309-328.

Con i suoi molteplici apporti interdisciplinari, provenienti dalla teologia, dalla storia della teologia e dalle scienze umane, l'opera sollecita efficacemente una riflessione. Manca tuttavia, in questo volume, pure lodevole, un confronto Oriente e

Occidente sulla dialettica tra Chiesa universale e Chiesa locale. Ne risulterebbe che finora l'Oriente ha privilegiato la Chiesa locale a scapito dell'universalità e che viceversa l'Occidente ha messo l'accento sull'universalità, trascurando le autonomie locali. Anche l'Europa, la cui unità non deve sacrificare le singole identità locali, può imparare da questo confronto.

V. Poggi, S.J.

Alexander Schmemann, *Celebration of Faith. Sermons* I. Preface by Nikita Struve, Editor of the Russian Edition. Translated from the Russian by John J. Jillons. St Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, New York 1991, pp. 124.

At his death in 1983 S. left some 3000 radio talks, largely unedited. Thanks to his last months of illness, when he had more leisure to dedicate himself to such tasks, but mainly to his wife Juliana Sergeevna S., a three-volume edition of these talks is now planned. The present volume is the first, concerned with Foundations of Faith, whereas the other two will deal with the Church Year and the Veneration of the Mother of God.

After the Preface (pp. 7-8), the theme of the foundations of faith is itself divided into three parts: 1. On Faith (pp. 11-31); 2. On Revelation (pp. 35-50) and 3. Symbol of Faith (pp. 51-124). In the first part S. wants to abandon what he calls an "impersonal, objective, dogmatic level," so as to show the Christian point in an experiential setting (p. 16), thus leading to the question: "What does the word 'God' mean — *to you*...?" (p. 16). It is precisely this cordial approach ("from one heart to another," p. 18), which enables him to thematize faith as encounter (p. 22) and to cast a critical glance on all those who, by reducing religion to its usefulness, believe in religion, not in God (pp. 20-21). Faith should not be presented as if it were the key to petty and illusory successes (p. 30). We believe because God gives us the gift of faith. "It is not because we want eternal life after death that I believe in God; on the contrary, I believe in eternal life because I believe in God" (p. 26).

Pursuing further this experiential approach S. discards a quest for proofs while pointing instead to the basis of our faith in revelation. Faith is a person's receptive response to this free gift of self on the part of God (pp. 35-39). Not being ideology, Christianity does not use compulsion, anymore than Christ forced anybody to follow Him. And yet, the Christian experience originated in a concrete frame of reference, a historicity underlined by the phrase "suffered under Pontius Pilate" (pp. 48-49). Though it does not settle everything, this historicity reminds us that we are free. "It is only in relation to Him that we are free, as Pilate was free, and in this freedom each of us determines his own eternal destiny..." (p. 78).

In the Symbol of Faith, S. points out to the original meaning of "symbol" as that which unites and joins... (p. 53). The Creed, as the symbol of faith, thus holds together all truths the Church considers essential for man (p. 53). S. then proceeds to explain the respective parts of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, known in English as the "Nicene" creed. Considering the virgin-birth to be the greatest

stumbling-block for somebody imbued in the scientific mentality, S. comments: "Faith and the Church only affirm that this ineffable, unprecedented and, for our fallen minds, impossible event occurred that one time — and only that one time — when God Himself appeared on earth as man!" (p. 74).

The crux of faith remains suffering. Humanly speaking, we expect God to curtail suffering rather than transform it; for it is a scandal that suffering and death should have become absolute laws of life (p. 84). Yet Christian faith does not promise us liberation from suffering, and in this it stands alone (p. 83). Then, Christ's crucifixion was not due to some misunderstanding, but simply to the fact that people could not stand His goodness (p. 80). The Nicene creed speaks of Christ's burial rather than of His death (p. 87). S. rejects the immortality of the soul as a pre-Christian idea, if not downright anti-Christian, since it would seem to preclude resurrection (pp. 90-91). Likewise, the idea of death as the separation of body and soul, in its Platonic dualism, goes counter to the Biblical doctrine of the unity of the human (pp. 94-95).

From the higher vantage-point of belief in the resurrection the fear of God is seen as wonder and reverence (p. 103) and the call to repentance becomes the urgence with which we have to decide between God and whatever is not God (p. 114). "The world's sin and tragedy is that its entire life is fundamentally a war of all against all for the sake of *self*" (p. 117), whereas Christ's antidote is unity at all levels, doctrinal, personal and ecclesial.

The only critical note is perhaps the reference, without any explanation, to the forbidding, at Ephesus, of another faith except that of Nicaea. According to J.N.D. Kelly, for example, this had much to do with patriarch Cyril's being displeased with the upstart see of Constantinople, thus glorifying a previous creed, "innocuous" on this controverted point (see Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*. London (3) 1972). Otherwise, the book is a moving tribute to the theologian and man Alexander Schmemann was. Rarely have we read such a clear and eloquent description of faith experience as this from the pen of one of the most outstanding Orthodox theologians of this century.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Alia Scripta ad nos missa

Diversorum Postchalcedonensium auctorum collectanea; I: - Pt. 1: – Pamphili theologi opus. Edidit José H. Declerck. Pt. 2: – Eustathii monachi opus. Edidit Pauline Allen. (= Corpus Christianorum; Series Graeca, 19) Turnhout/Brepols, Leuven/University Press 1989.

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